

JANUARY, 1911

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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**THE FIGHTING GARMENT WORKERS**

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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# The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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WHO DO THE POLICE WORK FOR?

## THE FIGHTING GARMENT WORKERS

BY

ROBERT DVORAK

**M**AULED by city police, assaulted and beaten by armed, hired slugs, shot by strike breakers and now being faced with a winter full of the horrors of cold and starvation, the striking garment workers of Chicago still remain undaunted.

Not even the best efforts of the mayor,

the city council, the Chicago Federation of Labor and very influential persons, such as Raymond Robins and other "Good Samaritans" can force the "ignorant strikers" to accept meaningless but well worded terms of peace from the hard pressed renegades, Hart, Schaffner and Marx.



ONE OF "OUR INFANT INDUSTRIES."

For the first time in history the autocratic Chicago Federation of Labor, headed by John Fitzpatrick, ably assisted by Mrs. Raymond Robins, has been non-plused. Over 41,000 garment workers have refused to obey the pleasure and whims of the leaders and have refused to go back to work upon the order of a president who tried to hand them lemons labeled as agreements and victories.

When the strike began on September 30th the Chicago Federation of Labor looked upon it as a joke. No one looked upon it seriously except the strikers themselves and a few of the garment workers' leaders who were more intimately acquainted with the situation. There was a strike in existence, but few knew about it. The capitalist papers refused to write, and the Chicago Federation refused to act. A strike was on but no one knew its extent.

Then it was that the Chicago Daily Socialist, urged and entreated by the strikers, took action, and on October 7 published its first story of the strike and what brought it on. A week later the

other daily papers took action, but not until after thousands of copies of the Daily Socialist had been distributed free of charge by the strikers in the city.

Before six weeks had passed by, a general strike of all the garment workers in the city, outside of those employed by union concerns, had been called. From an unorganized strike, composed of unorganized workers, sprang an organized movement for a recognition of the union, and the manufacturers, themselves harassed by internal fights over profits and business supremacy, grew uneasy.

Workingmen and women all over the United States, attracted by the brave and determined fight of the garment workers against the greatest odds, began to act. They refused to buy clothing without a label and warned local business men against buying clothing from the strike-bound Chicago concerns, and the uneasiness of the manufacturers grew from day to day.

After the calling of the general strike there began in Chicago the greatest and most unique strike ever known in the his-



EARNING THEIR PAY.

tory of labor struggles. Started by sixteen girls, without the vestige of organization, the struggle spread to 41,000 persons and tied up almost 200 shops.

Labor papers all over the country took up the astounding fight and unions began to send in cash donations. Farmers, the best customers listed on the books of the strike bound concerns, sent in letters and resolutions condemning the manufacturers and an entire fall and winter clothing trade was crippled or ruined.

Doctors agreed to treat patients free of charge. Barbers gave free shaves, theaters gave benefit performances. Private families housed and fed homeless strikers. Druggists gave free drugs or offered a certain percentage of their daily profits. Grocers and butchers gave free food supplies to the various free supply and relief stations. Clubs and societies gave benefit balls and entertainments. Song writers and artists offered their productions and gave the strikers the full profits and the hotel keepers refused to house the strike breakers.

Business and professional men, of whom the majority were members of the

Socialist party, organized a strikers' aid committee and in two weeks' time collected over \$3,000.

The strike was progressing admirably. Public sentiment was with the garment workers in every part of the country and money was just beginning to come in, when President T. A. Rickert, head of the national organization of the United Garment Workers, brought the strikers a peace offer from the Hart, Schaffner and Marx concern.

Rickert had signed the peace offer and tried to railroad it through the ranks. The offer guaranteed the workers nothing more than an assurance that every striker would be taken back irrespective of whether he belonged to a union or not, and a promise that many of the abominable persecutions would be abolished.

Hisses and angry cries greeted Rickert and his peace offer when he read it before the cutters at Federation hall, 275 La Salle street, Saturday afternoon, November 5. The same fate met the fatal agreement when it was presented to the strikers at Hod Carriers' Hall, and at all the other meetings.



MARCH OF THE FIFTY THOUSAND STRIKERS.

Dazed and dejected, Rickert abandoned all idea of settlement on the terms offered by Hart, Schaffner and Marx, and instructed his organizers to work as they had never worked before organizing and aiding the determined garment workers. For the first time in his life Rickert met determined workers who ignored the wishes and advice of their superiors and he submitted gracefully.

Later in the week, following his Waterloo, Rickert gave his one reason for endorsing the agreement. He stated that the demands for strike benefits had been so great and the income so small that he feared the possible suffering that was likely to follow inability to pay the men, women and girls. The starvation bogey had made its first appearance and was brushed away by the only people it could affect.

Their faith in Rickert and many of the other garment union officials shaken, the strikers with the aid of the Daily Social-

ist, of which over 10,000 extra copies had been sold one Sunday afternoon, following the rejection of the peace offer, appealed to the Chicago Federation of Labor for aid.

This time the federation, at its meeting, endorsed the strike of the garment workers and assessed its members 25 cents each. John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the Women's Trade Union league, took the strike in hand and began work by appointing working committees composed of women prominent in Chicago.

Four food supply stations were established in various parts of the city and the strikers asking for help were given cards good for the amount food punched in therein. The supply stations lessened the demand for actual cash and the strike once more was progressing in a most satisfactory manner.

The most admirable and contagious

kind of enthusiasm accompanied the strike meetings held in thirty-seven various halls in the city and money was pouring in from all parts of the country, with letters of encouragement and promise of further aid when another blow, again from union headquarters, once more nearly demoralized the strikers.

Alderman Charles E. Merriam, pressed by some outside influential persons, brought the strike question up at the council meeting Monday, Nov. 28, and asked that a committee be appointed by the city body for the purpose of trying to end the strike. Mayor Fred Busse, City Clerk Francis D. Connery, and Aldermen Chas. E. Merriam, William F. Ryan and Winfield P. Dunn were elected on the committee.

The Chicago Federation of Labor was represented by John Fitzpatrick, at the subsequent meetings, the garment strikers by Edward Anderson, the garment workers' union by Samuel Landers, national organizer, and the Women's Trade Union League by Mrs. Raymond Robins. Hart, Schaffner and Marx stockholders were represented by Levy Mayer and Harry Hart.

Four locked door meetings were held in the mayor's office and not a soul outside of the main strike committee knew what was going on. Then the silence was broken and another peace offer was flaunted before the eyes of the workers.

Great wordy speeches accompanied the reading of the agreement by the union officials, but no amount of flowery talk and beautiful visions of organization at a later day could cover the fact that the new peace offer was only a repetition with but one exception of the brand submitted by Rickert, more than a month previous, and another storm of dissent greeted Fitzpatrick and his assistants when they read it at the meetings.

Not even the fact that the agreement had been recommended for acceptance by the Chicago Federation of Labor delegates could alter the strikers' feeling, and Fitzpatrick, like Rickert, discovered that he was dealing with unorganized but well posted workers, who knew what they wanted and refused to be told what to do and when to do it.

The Fitzpatrick agreement again guar-

anteed the strikers a position within fifteen days without regard to whether they were strikers or not, and specified that an arbitration committee of five members, two of the union, two of the manufacturers and one to be chosen by the four, was to be appointed to settle all grievances. It further stated that no discrimination was to be practiced against either the union or non-union employees.

Seeing that no amount of cajoling, entreating or intimidation could get the strikers back to work, and fearing to submit the agreement point blank in person, Fitzpatrick and the strike board decided



FOR EIGHT HOURS.

to take a secret ballot vote after the bitterness had died down somewhat.

Mrs. Robins and the Women's Trade Union League adopted a new policy, however, and began the work by giving out horror-inspiring interviews to capitalist press reporters on the terrible suffering and extreme starvation among the strikers.

Columns of interviews bearing directly on suffering of the strikers were given out by Mrs. Robins, and the capitalist papers featured these with extra coloring and display. A picture taken early in the strike showing a group of Jewish and Italian strikers was printed and declared to be that of families evicted by landlords for non-payment of rent, said to be living in one room.

The strikers condemned the stories, and votes taken in the various halls failed to show one person who had suffered from starvation or even the slightest lack of food.

Mayor Busse and his aldermanic committee tried their best to secure a similar agreement to that signed by Hart, Schaffner and Marx from the Wholesale and National Clothiers' Association, but these worthy gentlemen laughed and told him that Hart, Schaffner and Marx brought the strike on and could fight it out itself. They refused to arbitrate through their representative, Martin J. Isaacs, and the city hall attempt to aid the great strike was a fizzle of the worst kind.

Following the sentiment expressed by the strikers for rejecting the last agreement of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx concerns, the Socialist party stepped in and determined to aid financially so determined a band of workers.

At its meeting, Sunday, December 11, the national executive committee of the Socialist party passed a motion instructing the secretary to insert an emphatic appeal in the coming issue of the National Bulletin, calling upon all Socialists to aid to their utmost the striking garment workers.

The Cook county central and delegate committee, at a meeting on the same date, instructed the secretary to issue subscription lists and to do his utmost to secure funds for the strikers. The delegates further instructed the editor of the Daily



KEEPING IN PRACTICE.

Socialist to insert a permanent appeal for funds in the columns of the paper.

While the negotiations for peace were going on, the strikers were suffering from the razors, knives, clubs and revolvers of the hired sluggers, special detectives and armed strike breakers who were furnished with weapons by the strike-bound concerns. No person daring so much as brush up against a strike breaker was sure of his life, for the beasts in human skin had an ever-handy revolver or other weapon ready to kill or maim.

The first weeks of the strike, the sluggers and "detectives" used only clubs with which they broke the heads of more than a score of strikers. Later they gained courage and displayed revolvers and steel knuckles. Not being interfered with by the police, they began to fire the revolvers and use the knuckles openly. Finally they began to take aim and a number of strikers, women and men, fell to the ground shot with bullets furnished by their employers.

Finding the hiring of special detectives and sluggers a little too expensive the owners of sweatshops armed their scabs

with firearms and a girl striker lost a finger as a result of this new and money-saving move.

She and a few of her companions had gathered near the home of a girl scab and tried by persuasion to bring her to their ranks. An automobile drove up while they were arguing with her. She jumped into it. A brother of the girl scab lifted a rifle to his shoulder, a shot echoed and Miss ..... had one finger less.

Every day strikers reported to headquarters with tales of how they had been shot at and attacked by armed strike breakers. Protests galore were made to Leroy T. Steward, chief of police, but he only shook his head sagely and said: "Wait until the strike is over."

Then all at once, while the peace conference in Mayor Busse's office was going on, Charles Lazinskas, a striking garment worker, was attacked while speaking to several scab girls in front of the Royal Tailors' establishment, and shot through the heart by Martin Yacullo, a tailor, who had been made a special detective by the strike-bound company.

The murder acted like a spark in a pan of gunpowder. Not one striker had committed any violence up to this point. Some had broken windows, true enough, but no person had been seriously, or otherwise, hurt by the strikers. The murder of their comrade, however, fanned the strikers into a fury and several detectives were beaten so badly the following day that they had to be taken to a hospital.

Even the police were stirred into activity and an order was issued to the policemen to arrest any person caught carrying concealed weapons of any kind. At an inquest held over the dead body of Lazinskas the coroner's jury held the murderer, Yacullo, to the grand jury.

There never was a funeral in Chicago such as was held in the case of the murdered garment striker. Thousands of men, women and girls followed the hearse that carried the body of their comrade.

They marched with their heads bowed. On their coat lapels and breasts each striker had a piece of crepe pinned down with the union button of the garment workers. Banners carried by the thousands proclaimed to other workers that



YOUNG AND OLD.

another person had fallen victim to the greed of the employers.

Every person who took part in the funeral march swore solemnly that he or she would never go back to work until the bosses gave them what they wanted or at least a big part of it. They condemned the pending agreement in the most bitter terms, but the Chicago Federation of Labor would not be warned, and various attempts were made to force the agreement upon the strikers at various meetings. Speakers were sent out to talk the people into the peace offer, but these were hissed and hooted out of the halls.

At Hod Carriers' hall, where the largest part of the strikers meet every day, John Fitzpatrick and Mrs. Raymond Robins tried to tell the people to go back to work, and read the peace offer. There was a storm of protest and neither one of the union officials could be heard. One Jewish worker got up on a chair while the storm was on and holding up his hands said :

"Brothers and sisters, we have just put our murdered comrade into a grave. He was fighting with us against the murder-

who own the big tailor shops. He is killed by a man who was given a gun and bullets by the bosses. Now they want us to go back to work and offer us nothing.

'Just think, my brothers and sisters, of how we have been clubbed, shot at, clubbed and murdered. It was all because we wanted better conditions. Now they bring us an agreement that is nothing; and tell us to go back. I say no, others, I say no—and I know that poor Lazinkas in his grave would say no too.' There was a storm of applause that could not be quieted when the speaker

finished and the crowd began to surge threateningly against the platform where only a little over a month before Robert Noren had almost received a beating at the hands of the strikers when the Rickert agreement was proposed.

The funeral of Lazinkas was held on Monday, December 5, and was viewed by thousands of people. The Wednesday following 50,000 strikers left their homes early in the morning, and braving the cutting wind, marched for two hours through the streets of Chicago in a protest against police brutality, murderous sluggers and the conditions in the tailor shops.



FROM MANY NATIONS.

Following the parade, the police brutality stopped to a large extent and several strike breakers caught with concealed weapons were arrested for the first time since the beginning of the strike. Public sentiment at last won a slight victory.

As a sample of the police tactics used against the strikers and their extreme brutality it is only necessary to cite the case of Frank Kriz, living at Trumbull avenue and Twenty-fifth street:

Kriz was on his way to the home of a friend when he saw a great crowd of people on the corner of Homan avenue and Twenty-fourth street. He stopped to watch the sight of strikers being beaten by police while picketing the shop of a tailor known as Peklo, when a policeman, Sergeant Scully of the Lawndale street police station, dashed up and lifted his club.

Seeing that a broken head would be the only result of standing still, Kriz ran into a private home near where he was standing. Scully pursued him. They ran into a kitchen. From there into a parlor and finally into a bedroom. Here Scully caught Kriz and beat him mercilessly. Then pulled him out and arrested him. Kriz had his wrist almost broken, his ears were swollen, two bumps pained him on his head, and a welt rose on his neck.

Finishing with Kriz, Scully dashed into the corner saloon of Frank Merhaut and began to pull people away from the bar. Merhaut protested and was told to shut up or get a crack over the head. After cleaning out the saloon Scully, who had been drinking extensively in the scab shop of Peklo, grinned like a hyena and returned to the street, where he scored policemen who were not busy enough breaking the heads of working men.

The fiendish work of Scully has been repeated throughout the city time and time again, since the strike began, and it is such work as that which has won the strikers the sympathy of the public and has brought condemnation upon the police and the strike-bound firms.

In another case a number of policemen guarding the strike-bound shop of the Royal Tailors, saw a strike-breaker pull out a razor and slash with it at a strike picket who was standing on the corner. The police made no effort to interfere until after the poor fellow had been cut up so bad that it took sixteen stitches in the hospital to sew up his wound. The assailant escaped.

The most peculiar phase of the strike thus far has been the orderliness of the strikers. It has been a surprise to almost every one, even the police, that no outrages have been committed by the 40,000 persons of at least nine languages.

It would not surprise any one, though, if he attended the meetings of the strikers in their various halls and heard the instructions given them in various languages to remain peaceable, and in case of fight only use the two arms given them for defense. The strikers have followed these instructions in spite of the fact that it has cost them many a broken head where a fight with equal weapons might have resulted disastrously for the assailants.

There are four main nationalities involved in the garment workers' strike, the Polish, Bohemian, Jewish and Italian. The Jewish workers are in the majority, as there are approximately 10,000 of them involved in the struggle. The Bohemians follow with about 6,000 strikers, the Polish with about 5,000, and the Italians with probably 3,500. The balance of the 40,000 strikers includes Slavs, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Germans and Bulgarians.

Very few people understand the present strike and the workers involved in it because of their peculiar tactics. They are a band of people trained to look with suspicion upon the actions of those placed in the position of leaders. They have faith only in themselves, and claim that as long as they stand together as workers, no power on earth can defeat them. They want a union of workers and not leaders.



# HELP! HELP!! HELP!!!

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

It seems to me that I can hear this startling cry from the north this winter night as I read the evening papers and the harrowing stories they contain about the striking and starving slaves of the sweatshops in that capitalist bedlam at the foot of the lake. Women and children by thousands, who spend their wretched lives making clothes for others are themselves naked, without shoes, their wan features distorted by the fangs and pangs of starvation.

Is there any hell any savage ever conceived to be compared with this tragedy of horrors?

If the workingmen of Chicago were not inert as clods, white-livered excuses for men, they would rise like a whirlwind in defense of these shivering, starving children at their doors.

There are enough union men, so-called, in Chicago, to put an end to this strike in five minutes and snatch their suffering brothers and sisters from the cruel fangs of torture and death.

Why in the name of all that unionism stands for don't they act?

The steel trust has already wiped out the tin plate workers and marine firemen, the tobacco trust has all but destroyed the tobacco workers, and a score of other unions are hanging to life by a thread, and now the clothing trust is allowed to annihilate the garment workers.

When will these union men awaken? Or are they dead, except for the use of the city hall at election time?

Craft unionism stands utterly condemned in the presence of this ghastly strike of the garment workers.

The spectres of starved babies hover all over the battlefield; ghosts of mothers

sweated to death, flit about and human hyenas gnaw at corpses, while beastly, bloated capitalists await the inevitable surrender.

With industrial unionism—the kind of unionism that every criminal corporation and every ward-heeling labor politician is fighting—that strike would be won and the heartless bosses brought to their senses within twenty-four hours.

These sweatshop victims could hardly suffer more keenly if they were being slowly burnt at the stake. In the name of God and the dying little children, why does not organized labor act instead of seeing these babes go to their fate without putting forth a hand to rescue them?

After what happened day before yesterday when the bosses, merciless as jackals, spat full in the face of those pleading for the paltriest concessions to end the misery of the dying, Chicago, were it not dead as the consciences of the brutes who are murdering these babies, would seethe with revolt and the vaunted hundred thousand union men would give an exhibition of robust manhood that would make forever impossible a repetition of this monstrous crime.

Fine unionism this, that submits, except upon the part of the noble few whom I applaud with all my heart, to such shocking indignities and brutal outrages.

All over Chicago indignation meetings should be held, and the tide of revolt should rise and roar as it never has before in an American city.

The shriek for help can be distinctly heard by all who are not dead as stones. Will the workers respond a Hundred Thousand strong and save the day for the starving strikers, for unionism, and humanity?



## HOME WORKERS IN NEW YORK

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

**T**HE greatest disgrace of capitalist "civilization" is the economic slavery of women and children. Nothing is more pitiful than to see the mothers of the race and their little ones, mere babes with soft bones and tender muscles, crushed and brutalized by the weight of long hours of toil under degenerating conditions.

This slavery of women and children has perhaps nowhere reached such proportions in America as among the tenement workers of Greater New York. In the very heart of the most densely populated locality in this country more than 50,000 women and children all the year round, do factory work in their own "homes" for heartless millionaire exploiters. During the Christmas season between seventy-five and one hundred thousand, according to the best authorities, are engaged in turning out work in tenement houses.

At this time of the year they work night and day. Thousands of tenements are turned into busy workshops. Cooking and household duties are neglected and the poor women and children devour their cheap, unwholesome food like savages in order to rush at their work of

stringing beads, "rolling" cigarettes, "sticking up" toys, making garters, suspenders, artificial flowers, gloves, clothing, Christmas wreaths, candy boxes, etc.

This enormous conversion of tenement houses into workshops is in strict accordance with the labor laws of New York state. The bosses have found it good; therefore, to interfere with it would be "unconstitutional." The only requirement of the law is that these tenements in which home factory work is to be done, shall be licensed.

Indeed, the license law proves to be a good thing for the bosses. It furnishes jobs for the political lackeys of the exploiters and at the same time puts the whole business under the mantle of "law and order" and "respectability."

Also, because of this law, the masters get work done which they would otherwise have to do themselves. Every month the bureau of factory inspection and of the state department of labor issues a bulletin to the manufacturers with lists of licensed tenements in the greater city. For the month of October the bulletin shows that there are nearly 13,000 tenements where goods may be legally taken for manufacturing purposes.

It goes without saying that those 13,000 buildings are located in the most congested centers of Greater New York. There are thousands of other tenements whose owners have applied for licenses but have been turned down. Unsanitary conditions were the reasons. Probably the houses were so filthy that it would be impossible to turn out marketable goods in them.

However, a sufficient number of tenements have been licensed to turn out about all the work the bosses have to offer, and there are hundreds of other tenements, not licensed, where factory work is being done "on the sly." This offers a special graft for politicians.

In each of these 13,000 licensed tenements there are from six to twenty families. In some of the families there are as many as ten people. Often these families are jammed in from two to four rooms. They sleep and eat and work and die in these same quarters. Babes of three years, to old grandmothers of seventy, may be seen squatted on hard, bare, filthy floors at work in a dim lamp-light.

The black mammies of the South and their piccaninnies were a thousand times better off than these New York women and children are.

Almost the entire twenty-four hours of the day during the holiday season this brutal soul-rending slavery of women and babes goes desperately on. In much of the work the little ones are useful. Babes of three can string beads and they can help their mothers and grandmothers with work which their little hands are not skilled enough to do alone. At this time of the year it is not an uncommon thing to see the little ones, who should be enjoying the sunshine and fresh air and the games of childhood, fast asleep in the corner of a dark, ill-smelling tenement house with a partly formed wreath or a handful of beads scattered over the floor about them. They may be found from midnight to early morning in this condition. Their mothers are too busy doing similar work to bother with them. Children are often kept awake by bathing their faces with cold water in order that the last bit of work may be squeezed from



MAKING ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS.



ROLLING CIGARETTES.

their poor, frail, starved little bodies. Grandmothers, too, may be found nodding and dozing over a bunch of plumes or a wreath of holly until they fall in a heap upon the floor and remain there till daylight.

Miss Frances Perkins, secretary of the Consumers' League, said, a few days ago:

"Child labor is at its highest point now in New York. It always is just before Christmas. If you want to convince yourself take a stroll through some of these streets." And then she brought out a big ledger and gave me a peep inside. Hundreds of streets were listed.

Go where you will on the lower East and West side of New York and you will find this terrible slavery with which no age in the past is comparable.

Long after midnight the tiny lights may be seen through the windows and the slaves within toiling silently on. Piles of holly, wreaths, candy boxes, flowers, plumes and the hundred and one things which Santa Claus brings, may be seen on the tables.

Acting upon Miss Perkins' suggestion,

I went to see for myself. Elizabeth street was the first I visited. It was about 10 o'clock when I called. I talked with the mother. Beside her at a table were two girls, her daughters, about twelve and fourteen years, respectively. Fast asleep on the floor were four other children, who, since they came from school, had toiled until they fell asleep on the floor and forgot the twigs of holly with which they had been working.

The father, the mother told me, was on the night shift at the docks. He had been out of work for more than two months and now during the holiday season he was given a chance for a few days employment before Christmas.

"Mrs. D., what do you and the children make at this work?" I asked. With a slight twitch of her shoulder and pushing aside a pile of wreaths which had been made by the children after school hours, she replied:

"Me and the girls, wit de odder chilren, before dey go to sleep, make \$1.35 a day, when we work hard. Sometimes (and she shrugged her shoulders again), we must

work sixteen, sometimes twenty hours for dat."

I asked her how much she got a dozen for wreaths. "Four cents, no more," she said. "When not so many people do dis work at home, much more money. You don't work for dat, the boss says, 'all right, me give somebody else.'"

Mrs. D. is only one of the thousands of Italian, German, Jewish, Irish and American women who are doing this sort of work. During the holiday season they push aside much of the work which is done the year round in the tenements, such as plume making, cigarette rolling, button-holing, etc., to make toys, wreaths, and holiday decorations.

It would be impossible to accurately state the average daily wage made by the tenement workers. It is safe in saying, however, that the average wage of a mother with three to five children assisting her, is between a dollar and a dollar and a half for eighteen hours' work.

I visited another family on the upper West Side—a family of two, an old woman of sixty years and her little granddaughter. She is not an Italian, but an American, and a woman of much intelligence. She and her little girl of ten are alone in the world. They occupy one dark room in the rear of a tenement. From charities their rent is partly paid. For her food and clothing and that of her granddaughter, she works about eighteen hours a day.

Mrs. H. does crocheting. When a girl she learned this work and now in her old age she must depend upon it for an existence.

Before Christmas and New Year's there is a big demand for fancy worked slippers and Mrs. H. is rushed with orders. She gets 40 cents per dozen for all she can turn out during the holidays, and that's why she works almost night and day at this time of the year. By working eighteen hours a day she is able to turn out about nine pairs of slippers, making 30 cents for that amount of work.

How does she and her little granddaughter live? Look up the death rate among these tenement workers, find out how many die of starvation, and the amount of money doled out for charity and you may find the answer.

Some of the tenement workers make violets, pretty artificial things. But if you saw the poor human wrecks making those flowers you would lose your love for them. Thirty-six cents a gross is generally the price the bosses pay for them. It a woman works hard for about eighteen hours she may make 40 cents.

If you have not actually seen these conditions yourself, you will wonder what a child of five or six years is able to do at tenement factory work. Miss Perkins has plenty of evidence. She showed me a book of 500 pictures taken in the tenement house sweat-shops under the direction of the Consumers' League. These pictures show children not only five but three years of age, doing their share in the work of making the hundred and one things that fill the holiday store windows.

Pointing to one photo Miss Perkins said: "This child here is a girl, three years old. She is helping make the flowers by stringing petals together. There is nothing difficult to it. You just string the petals together on a piece of wire. The more complicated work of flower making is done by her older sister, and the most skilled part of all is done by the mother. The mother pastes the petals together and puts the finishing touches to the bouquet, or whatever it may be."

Finally Miss Perkins said: "The little ones are piecing together the wages which their father should have earned."

Go to the heads of the bureau of inspection of the department of labor in the state and you will be very gracefully received, but when you leave you will know little more about the tenement workers than you did before. They will give you a long argument in an attempt to show that the manufacturers are really doing humanitarian work in furnishing opportunities to the poor people in order that they may make both ends meet. It is among the poor slaves themselves and to the city and national child labor committees that you must go for the facts.

Here are the principal reasons for the enormous number of home sweatshops:

1. They enable the manufacturer to save large sums in rent by having a great many of their employes work at home.
2. They enable the bosses to employ child labor, for there is no law which can



.WHERE YOUR GLOVES ARE MADE.

stop a child from working at home, after school hours.

3. By fostering home sweatshops, the manufacturer divides the workers and pays different prices to each. These working at home do not know what others are getting for the same work.

4. They keep the workers from being organized.

Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor committee, says: "We have been combatting the home sweatshops for years, because they are one of the worst features of present day industry. Home sweatshops cannot be inspected properly. Children can be worked in them more cruelly than in factories.

"All arguments to the effect that home industry is needed by thousands of families to make ends meet are pure fallacy. The home sweatshops increase the burden of poverty. The more the manufacturer can have his work done in the home by women and children, the less he pays to the man who works in his shop. What

the women and children earn is sliced off his wages."

These "home factories" are fostered vigorously by the bosses. Rent, heat and light are saved thereby. The workers carry their goods to and from the bosses' place of business. He is free from sanitary responsibilities.

On the other hand, the women who take goods home to work in this way have to pay out of the miserable wages they receive for extra gas, and they even pay higher rent. On the whole these tenement workshops are the most crafty, though heartless, methods of exploitation.

According to legal listing, the following are the kinds of work done in the home sweatshops:

"Manufacturing, altering, repairing and finishing of coats, vests, knee pants, trousers, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, dresses, waists, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, fur, fur trimmings, fur garments, skirts, shirts, aprons, purses, pocketbooks, slippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers,



DAYLIGHT NEVER ENTERS THIS INNER COURT.

artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, articles of rubber, macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ices, candy, confectionery, nuts and preserves."

It is needless to say that the prices for manufacturing all these things have decreased since the "home factories" have reached to the power in Greater New York's industrial life that they hold today. This is commonly stated by all those engaged in social and investigating work for the various child labor organizations.

George A. Hall, who is secretary of the New York Child Labor committee, cited two instances. He said:

"A few years ago the price of making a dozen bunches of violets was 6 cents. Now it is 3 cents. Where 11 cents was paid for tying an inch of an ostrich feather a few years ago, only 5 cents is paid now for the same amount of work.

Mr. Hall is not an avowed Socialist, but he sees where the basis for the home sweatshops is. He said:

"The whole problem of home sweatshops goes back to the problem of the

underpaid father. To do away with the home sweatshops, you must raise the wages of the men, but so long as the manufacturer can turn his work over to women and children in the home, he will not raise the wages of his employes."

Yes, Mr. Hall has stated the condition which exists in a nutshell. The thing to do is to raise the wages of the father, so that the wife and children will not have to work "in order to make both ends meet."

There is one way to do it and it is the only effective and permanent method. Here it is:

Teach the class struggle now raging more bitterly than ever in society. Carry on an intense industrial union propaganda. Craft unionism breeds scabs and acts as a club upon the militant element of the working class. Make the shorter workday the most important demand. Organize into one big union—a union that takes in men, women and children, regardless of color, creed, nationality or condition of life. According to the power of the workers through this form of or-

ganization to compel the bosses to give in, the hours of labor will be shortened and wages increased. By shortening the hours of labor competition is reduced among the workers for job, and thereby the ranks of the unemployed will be thinned out.

Fathers will not then break up their homes by turning them into workshops. They will not permit their wives and children to slave their lives out.

Industrial organization of the working class is the most important need of the working class today. Everywhere conditions are ripe for it. There may be factory inspectors galore and organizations protesting against child labor may spring up in every city of the country,

but until the workers realize that they must organize industrially, as the capitalists are organized, industrially, the tenement sweatshops will increase. As long as the workers perpetuate craft division, we can expect very little relief.

New York today is divided by craft organizations as are the workers in no other city in the country. This, at the bottom is the cause for the merciless exploitation of women and children in the tenement sweatshops.

But there is an awakening coming. And it is not far away. The Social revolution is not as distant as many well-fed comrades think. And New York is going to play a tremendous part in that great social transformation.



MAKING SILK TASSELS.

# HOW TO KICK

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

**S**O you can kick, Mr. American Workingman? Yes, you can; there is no doubt about it. If any one doubts, let him apply to the intrepid African Explorer, the Sage of Oyster Bay.

That you can kick rejoices my heart. I used to compare you unfavorably to the bucking broncho of the prairies. When it was ill-treated, it kicked. When you were ill-treated, you kissed the hand that smote you. Which is only another way of saying that when a Governor sent the troops to shoot you down when you were on strike, you hailed with eager joy the chance to vote for him for President; when a judge issued a blanket injunction to prevent you from speaking to the poor devils of scabs who had been fooled into acting as strike-breakers to take the

bread from your children's mouths, you could not rest easy till the judge was sent to the Senate or the White House; when the leader of your trade union betrayed you and sold you out by settling your strike behind your back on terms dictated by Civic Federation millionaires who had utterly crushed the labor unions in the industries they themselves controlled, you were not happy till you had doubled his salary or sent him on a free trip to Europe.

I began to fear you could not kick. But I was wrong. You have proved that you belong in the broncho class. You *can* kick. But here comes the rub—*how* do you kick? Have you got beyond the broncho class? It never occurs to the broncho that he can get along without a rider or master. He kicks one master away, but when the next one comes along with the whip hidden under his coat and a lump of sugar in his hand, the poor stupid brute whinnies while the new tyrant climbs into the saddle. No, you have not yet gotten out of the broncho class; you even help the new rider to mount.

## The Kick Political

But you *can* kick. You have done it. You have kicked the Republicans out of the saddle and kicked the Democrats into it. You have changed riders. Some day you will find out you need no rider.

But why did you kick the Republicans out? Because your wages would no longer feed and clothe you and your family. The prices of meat and flour and eggs and butter and coal and clothes had gone up and up, while your wages had either stood still or risen far more slowly, and your work was becoming more and more irregular. The mill was only running part-time. You blamed the party in power. You kicked them out. But will you be any better off?

### The Tariff

The Democrats (with their whips under their coats and their spurs in their pockets) told you your troubles were caused by the high prices and that the high prices were caused by the trusts and the tariff, and that as the trusts were the children of the tariff, that if you could just get rid of the high tariff your troubles would disappear.

You believed them and tried the experiment. How is it going to work? Your memory is very short. If it were longer, so you could recall the Wilson Bill, the last tariff framed by the Democrats, you would have grave doubts as to whether the Democrats really will reduce the tariff on the necessities of life at all. But suppose they do; how much better off will you be?

### The Trusts.

Do you think a low tariff will kill the Oil Trust? Will it kill the Beef Trust? Will it kill the Tobacco Trust? Will it kill the Steel Trust? Does not every great trust in America sell its products abroad on the world market in competition with the products of all other lands?

No, lowering the tariff will not kill any trust that is strong enough to hurt you. It is true that *some* of the high prices you have to pay have been boosted up by the trusts, but a low tariff will not kill the trusts.

### Lower Prices.

A lower tariff *may* reduce your living expenses by giving you cheaper woolen and cotton clothing. At present, as you know, you cannot afford to wear wool at all. A low tariff on wool and manufactured woolen goods would make really good woolen clothes cheap. Would that do you any good? It might and it might not. It would all depend on whether or not you had the price, and that will depend chiefly on whether or not you belong to a well organized, fighting labor union. For if prices *are* lowered, wages will fall too, *unless* your labor organizations are strong enough to prevent the wage drop. *This is the point for you.* This wage drop *cannot* be prevented by politics; it can only be prevented by you

and your fellows in your labor unions. Politics can help you only when your labor organization is strong enough to *seize* and *hold* the advantage given you by a political change.

But in general, cheap prices will cause low wages. Shortly after Mills Hotel No. 1 was opened, a manufacturer in the neighborhood announced a reduction in wages. A committee of the employes protested, saying: "We cannot live on the proposed wages." "O yes, you can," was the reply. "Go live at the Mills Hotel!"

Cheap prices may be a good thing for you, but cheap prices alone will not put an end to your troubles.

The tariff and the trusts are not the only causes of the high cost of living. No doubt they had something to do with it, but they have not had nearly as much to do with it as have the increased production of gold and the reduction in the cost of production of gold. This reduction in the amount of labor necessary to produce the gold in a Five Dollar Gold Piece cannot be blamed on the Republicans; and the Democrats whom you have voted into power can not restore the old conditions.

Thus, you see, the Democrats can not do as much as you thought they could to reduce prices. What little they may do in this direction will lower your wages unless you have the right kind of a labor union to prevent it. The right kind of a labor union will help you in any case, whether prices be high or low.

When you learn to kick effectively through your labor unions you can well afford to neglect the kind of politics that at best only gives you a reform such as cheap prices.

### The Hell of It.

The Hell of it is that as long as there are other men out of work ready and compelled by hunger to be willing to take your job, your wages are bound to be just about enough to keep body and soul together. That is why cheap food and clothes usually spell low wages. The most urgent thing for *you* is to reduce the number of the unemployed, until you are able to disband forever the army of the unemployed. For every unemployed

worker threatens your wife and your children with starvation. You need the kind of labor union that will reduce the number of the unemployed; you need the kind of politics that will help your union to reduce the number of the unemployed.

### **The Right Kind of Labor Union?**

What is it? Well, it is not a union with high initiation fees and high dues that shut the majority of the workers out. It is not a union that gets the boss to collect its dues for it. It is not a union that pleads sacredness of contract to remain at work while another union in the same works is on strike. It is a union that never forgets the imperative need of reducing unemployment, and so constantly aims at the shortening of the working day; it cares more to cut ten minutes from the day's work than it does to add ten cents to the day's pay.

### **The Right Kind of Politics?**

The kind of politics that will help you is the kind of politics that will unflinchingly back up your union in every effort it makes to reduce the army of the unemployed.

Republicans have never done that. Democrats have never done that. Neither Republicans nor Democrats ever will. Why not? Because every cent of the enormous sums spent in campaigns and elections by the Republicans and Democrats is contributed by your employers. "The ox knoweth his master's crib." The Republican and Democratic officeholders know who pays the freight. They dare not do anything effective towards reducing the army of the unemployed. For to reduce the number of the unemployed is to strengthen the right kind of labor unions, and thus to enable them to reduce working hours and raise wages. And that means to *lower profits*.

### **The Fatal Clash.**

It matters not to you whether Republicans or Democrats are in power, for neither of them dare touch profits; and you can not be helped so long as profits remain sacred. There is the fatal clash, and until you get that fixed and clear in your minds you will never kick right either in your labor unions or in politics.

### **Wages versus Profits.**

This is the fix you are in. You have to get food and clothes for your wife, your children and yourself. To get them you need money. To get money you have to sell something. What can you sell? Only one thing—your power, physical and intellectual, to do things. Suppose you sell that to a man who owns a gold mine and that you dig out Ten Dollars worth of gold a day. If he pays you Two Dollars, that leaves him Eight Dollars as profits. If your wages go up to Three, his profits drop to Seven. If his profits go up to Nine, your wages drop to One.

That is precisely the way the whole world of industry is organized today.

Get that clearly and indelibly in your mind and you will see that you have nothing to hope from a political party financed by the profit-takers; nothing to hope from a labor union whose leaders talk glibly of harmony between Capital and Labor at banquets paid for by the Kings of Profit.

### **The Way of Salvation.**

You can only be helped by a Labor Union and a Political Party that do not worship at the shrine of Sacred Profits; that aim consciously and deliberately at wiping out forever the whole system of wages and profits, by making you and your fellows, every man jack of you, full and equal partners in all the business and industry of the country. That is nothing less than Social Revolution, and nothing less can save you. But that can and will save you and all men by abolishing poverty from the face of the earth and ushering in the era of glad Fellowship.

### **The Socialist Party.**

No political party aiming openly at the destruction of the profit system will ever be financed by the Profit Takers. The only party in America not so financed is the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is run and supported by the working class. Its aim is to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution, and thus wipe out Wages and Profits. Its method from day to day is to aid the working class in every struggle for better conditions.

It is the only party for which you can vote without "throwing your vote away." By voting for any other party you vote for what you don't want, and get it. Usually you get more of it than you bargained for.

When once you have learned to vote the Socialist ticket, you will have passed politically out of the Broncho Class. You will be voting, not for a change of masters, but for NO MASTER.

### The New Unionism.

But the ballot can not perform miracles. Socialist ballots by themselves can not destroy the wage-and-profit system, but neither will the wage-and-profit system ever be destroyed by a working class that has not the sense to vote right.

You are engaged in a death struggle. You can not free yourself from poverty and the fear of poverty save by doing away with private property in those things that are used to create wealth. Against you are the rich and mighty, all the beneficiaries of privilege and all the Powers of Darkness. The stronger your political power appears the more tenaciously and desperately will they cling to the real political power which they and they alone hold. Never will they surrender to you as long as you seem disposed to make ballots your sole weapons.

Few Americans who remember the election of 1876 doubt that Tilden was elected. Yet Hayes was seated in the White House because the property owners of the country willed it so. Think you that Bryan would have been seated after the election of 1896 had he had the votes to entitle him to the Presidency? If you do, you know not the temper of Wall Street, which did not mean to have mortgages made on a gold basis paid in silver.

You must have beside your good Socialist ballot another weapon. And that weapon is the New Unionism. The New Unionism aims at the destruction of the capitalist system root and branch. But because it looks to the future, it does not neglect the present. It expects to administer the industries of the world Tomorrow, and to get in practice comes just as near as ever it can to running them Today.

The Old Unionism had small hopes for

Tomorrow and therefore dared make but small demands Today. It never dreamt of ending the wage system. It did not wish to interfere with "reasonable profits." It believed that the more profits the masters made the better it would be for the men.

It is true that most of the unions that have caught the modern spirit differ in hosts of ways; but the great fundamental difference is the difference of aim. The Old Unionism is without any great and noble hopes, it is pessimistic; the New Unionism is inspired by glorious hopes that are in very truth certainties; its noble optimism does not allow it for an instant to doubt that it is going to possess the earth and the fullness thereof, and that soon.

### Other Differences.

The Old Unionism believed in high initiation fees, high dues, in strict limitation of the number of apprentices, in accumulating vast war funds, so that when the single craft or trade to which the union was almost invariably confined, struck, it could pay strike benefits for many months, while the struggle dragged on and on till the strikers lost heart and hope. While the one craft struck all the other crafts in the same industry continued to work and thus helped the bosses to beat their fellow workers.

The New Unionism aims, not to keep the workers out, but to draw them in. Its doors are wide open, low initiation fees, low dues, little or no limitation of apprentices. It realizes that the manual skill on which craft distinctions were based is vanishing before the advance of the Machine. It pays little or no heed to craft distinctions, but aims to embrace in one and the same union every man, woman and child in or about a given industry. It needs no big war funds, for it does not wish any long-drawn-out strikes to starve and discourage the workers.

### The New Strike.

It believes in striking quick and hard with all its weapons at once. It believes in calling out every man and woman it can at once, and tying up mercilessly the whole industry. There is no need to prolong such a strike. It is usually either won or lost in the first three days. It seldom lasts more than ten.

Such strikes not only gain more and gain it quicker for the workers than the Old Unionism ever did or could, but they have political effects. They inspire with a most wholesome fear the political and journalistic lackeys of your masters. Just the other day such a strike forced the Prime Minister of France to re-organize his Cabinet.

The New Unionism has ever before its eyes the shortening of the working day as a means of reducing the number of the unemployed, as well as of giving the workers more leisure for study and thought and organization. It shrinks from no means. It believes heart and soul in the General Strike when it is practicable and the issue at stake is great enough. But it does not believe that the General Strike can work miracles any more than the Ballot can.

Above all else, the New Unionism has no romantic hopes of utopian revolution. It knows the workers must save themselves day by day; that nothing but revolution can save them, but that part of the revolution can be accomplished every day.

#### Politics and the New Unionism.

In France, where the New Unionism has reached its highest development, the political movement, the Socialist party, preceded it and prepared the ground for it, and was fortunately strong enough to give it much necessary protection in its early years.

Here in America the agitation of the Socialist Party and of the Industrial Workers of the World has prepared the ground for the New Unionism. But the Socialist Party unfortunately has not the power efficiently to protect the New Unionism.

Under these circumstances the two must develop side by side, and ought to do so in perfect harmony.

The political party is the best field for agitation and education of the general public. It can not be neglected.

But we must not forget that the fiercer the Class Struggle grows, the more will the brunt of the battle fall on the New Unionism. The nearer we approach the day of triumph the smaller will become the role of Socialist politics. But that

day is still to come. Today no wage-slave who hopes to escape from slavery can afford to neglect Socialist politics. Smile all you will at the extravagant pipe dreams of the Socialist orator who talks about converting a majority and "voting in the Co-operative Commonwealth," but keep your Socialist Party dues paid up, attend the meetings of your Local, start discussions on the New Unionism every time you get a chance, vote the Socialist ticket, while you bide your time till the General Confederation of your Revolutionary Unions shall grow strong enough to become itself the framework of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

#### Revolutionary Unionism.

But your chief reliance, both for the improvement of your conditions of work and life from day to day and for the realization of your goal, the abolition of wage-slavery, must be the New Revolutionary Unionism. To the development and strengthening of this your every energy should be unsparingly given; no sacrifice should be too great. For, unless you can develop a powerful revolutionary unionism in America, your lot is indeed hopeless.

Join any Union that can aid you to make a bearable living, but if the union be one of the old reactionary unions, work day and night to develop it into a revolutionary union. If to make a living you are forced to belong to a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, get all the help you can from it, and try to change it. But the day is fast coming when the Old Unionism will be powerless to aid you at all. Few men in America know the A. F. of L. so thoroughly as my comrade, Max Hayes, and in the September International Socialist Review he wrote of it: "It is more conservative or reactionary than it was fifteen years ago." He is an A. F. of L. man, and he ought to know. If he is right, as I fully believe he is, the sooner it is smashed the better it will be for you. In the meantime, if you can get anything out of it, by all means get it.

But if possible, join and do your best to upbuild and strengthen a real revolutionary union. Do your best to strengthen

such unions as the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World.

But remember the *form* of the organization is not the true test of the New Unionism. The Industrial form of organization (which includes in one and the same union every worker in an industry) is far more efficient to help its members than the antiquated craft form of organization. But a union may be industrial in form and still retain the spirit and most of the vices of the Old Unionism. This has been true of the United Miners until very recently, but of late they have shown many signs of progress toward the New Unionism. Again a union may retain the craft form of organization and yet be thoroughly revolutionary in spirit and act in the perfect solidarity with the other unions in the same industry. For example, the recent Railroad Strike in France was one of the best and most effective strikes in industrial history and yet the Engineers and Firemen were organized in a union of their crafts separate and apart from the other railway workers whose organization was industrial. But in practice, the *two unions acted as one*.

### Spirit More Than Form.

The form of organization is important; the spirit animating the organization is far more important.

You and your fellow workers must save yourselves from poverty and the fear of poverty. No one from without your class can save you. You yourselves must do the work. To do it you must learn to kick right. The way to kick right is to kick altogether as a class. To kick separately as individuals will do you more harm than good.

### Two Kinds of Kicks.

You need two kinds of kicks—the Kick Political and the Kick Economic. For both you need organization. For the Kick Political you have the organization, the Socialist Party. You have only to learn to use it to make it effective. For the Kick Economic, the necessary organization is still for the most part lacking. You and you alone can create it.

### WILL YOU DO IT?

Stupendously great is your opportunity.

Wiesbaden, Germany, November 15, 1910

## CLASS WAR

BY

ED. MOORE

**A**LL governments are kept up to take care of property rights.

Before the landholders in the colonies overthrew the government of the British king, it took care of the property rights of the aristocracy, the class of which King George was the legal head.

All the agitation against the tax on tea and the stamp taxes were excuses to attack the legal right of the British aristocracy to take wealth from the property owners in the colonies.

Colonial property owners did not want to be compelled to legally share with the aristocratic class the wealth they took

from hired and slave-laborers. They wanted it all for themselves, and to keep it they went to war and drove out the legally constituted of the British aristocracy.

After pulling down the government of the aristocrats, they established a government of their own and they took very good care to deny legal rights to hired and slave-laborers to own wealth produced by them while working for wages or as chattel slaves.

Business men would not stand for the "divine right of kings" to make them divide up the wealth they got by using the king's government and laws to take it

from "the laboring classes." It would be cheaper, the colonial business men saw, to get rid of the aristocrats and do the governmental work of robbing the wealth producers themselves. Boiled down and made plain, this is the high-sounding Jeffersonian doctrine of an "impartial government economically administered."

Handicraft workers, farmers and traders settled New England. Money-hunting aristocrats and their piratical and freebooting followers settled the South. In handicrafts, farming and trading, bosses and working people met on something like a level plane of equality. Lords, captains of pirates and chieftains of freebooters are raised above those they command. Therefore in the North there were friendly neighbors; in the South, vain and courteous "leaders of society" and meek servitors to arrogant masters.

Land owning and laws to compel laborers to produce crops on land is the ground on which aristocracy rests. Markets for the goods made by those they hire for wages are absolutely necessary for manufacturers, free farmers and their go-betweens—bankers and merchants.

Slave owners buy what they feed and clothe their slaves with in the markets where such goods are the cheapest. England bought cotton from the Southern slave owners, and she sold them goods much cheaper than the New England manufacturers and merchants could.

Fighting to get control of the government, the Northern manufacturers and merchants used humanity as a plea to get votes to take the whip hand over the slave owners. State and property rights were the slogans the slave owners used to get votes to help them to keep their hold on the national government.

These conflicting interests met in the clash of battle in the Civil war and the wage masters defeated the slave masters. But those whose labor makes all the wealth still remain legal slaves compelled to sell themselves for wages to the Captains of Industry and Kings of Finance.

While there is a class that can legally force another class to labor to support it,

no government can represent all the people. A government carried on by kind-hearted men for those who live off of incomes may make it less disagreeable for the forced laborers, but it will not move in the direction of compelling the legally favored class to work to keep itself.

Anything that keeps slaves satisfied with their slavery is a good thing for their masters. It prolongs their rule. Therefore reforms in government cannot bring about a revolution which will end the legal power of the capitalist class to force the working class to keep it.

Government does not make any of the things that give comforts and luxuries to the rich and the necessities of life to the working class. Capitalists use the force of organized society—the government—to make the working class bear all the burden of feeding, clothing, housing, transporting and informing all the people. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance for the working class to take the power of organized society away from the capitalist class and put an end to the robbing of the productive workers.

Skill in lawyers' tricks, capitalistic lore, politicians' promises, theologians' plans for man's salvation, nor constructors of social paradises are not needed to push on the class war to take the government away from the capitalists. No tricks will bring forth material wealth. Every maker of things knows this without the benefit of the teachings of doctors of philosophy. Makers of things must break the chains of wage slavery. As they know how to make things, they will know how to legally take things without wasting time in endless discussions on the right of slave owners to be pensioned by the slaves who have freed themselves.

From the farms, workshops, forests, mines, trains and ships must come the people who will answer Marx's call, "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain," and use the government to abolish classes by compelling everyone to do productive work.

# WHERE FURS COME FROM

BY

JACK MORTON



RACCOON.

**F**EW of us realize the amount of human labor spent in producing the furs from which muffs, stoles, caps and coats are made. All during the cold season thousands of men are busy in the woods of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, Missouri, Idaho and Montana, trapping fur bearing animals to send to market to be made into the fur garments many of us wear.

Great fur companies are now sending ship loads of traps, ammunition and food supplies into the far northern countries for the hardy men who spend the long days catching seal, tracking the sable, the fox, muskrat, raccoon, skunk, and many other valuable animals. In a little while they will return laden with furs which will some day keep out the cold for you and me. (If we have the price to pay for them.)

The coats of all fur bearing animals grow thicker and glossier and richer with the coming of snow. Of many the new coats come in snow-white, so that it is almost impossible to discover them against the spotless landscape. But the

tracks of one and all may be easily distinguished by the keen eye of the hunter.

Armed with his gun and accompanied by his faithful dogs, with the first fall of snow, he is up and on the trail, setting traps at long intervals, which he baits with the flesh of the varmints he brings down on the journey. When he visits the traps again on the return trail, often he finds fox, lynx, or the white ermine, of the weasel family, the most valuable of all white fur bearing animals. From these he carefully strips the pelts, packing them away in his great sack.

The white ermine resembles greatly his deep brown brothers, the Northern and the Siberian sable. Both are of the same family of carnivori. Seldom is one found over 12 or 14 inches in length and the pelts of the Russian sables bring as high as \$500 apiece.

Often a northern farmer will find his chicken house has been attacked and twenty or thirty chickens killed in a single night. The weasel seems to possess an insatiable blood hunger and attaches itself to the blood vessels of the fowl or



FOX.

animal attacked, drinking its life-blood very quickly and passing on to the next victim.

Seal-skins, of course, come from the far north, although mother seals are some-

times found as far south as the coast of California, where they swim from 150 to 200 miles in search of food. But the new government laws will prevent the killing of any but young bull seals hereafter, so that the breeding may continue and the supply remain as great as ever.

Seal peltry are very different from the finished products that we see in the shop windows in the form of seal-skin coats and caps. It takes over three months to prepare these pelts for the coat manufacturers. Every skin is carefully cleaned, softened and dyed before it appears on the market.

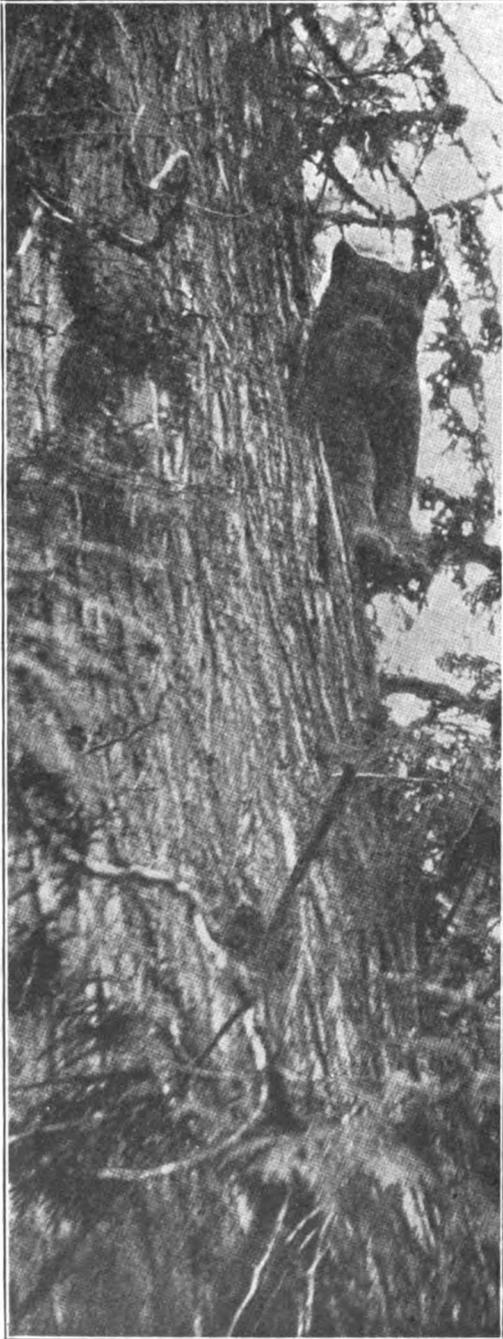
Fox, wolves, muskrats, mink, raccoon, skunk, squirrels, and opossum are still found in long-settled regions. Otters, beaver and marten are found in more remote districts. But the farmers' boys of the middle and eastern states put in many odd hours during the winter trapping fur bearing animals.

Unfortunately there is no way for the trappers to co-operate and protect themselves in disposing of peltry and there are still many dishonest dealers who take advantage of them.

Steel traps are the common means of taking fur today. The trapper usually places his traps, well baited, at a distance of a half or one mile apart. Trappers have to be very wary in setting these traps as a suspicious animal will often avoid a trap and bait for many hours after they have been touched by the hand of man. Sometimes a hungry wolverine will follow the trail of a trapper and systematically rob him of valuable catches. Then the trapper becomes a hunter in earnest, for he will find no reward for all his past endeavors till his enemy has been killed.

Beaver traps are usually placed a few inches below the surface of some stream where the large animals will be caught in passing and quickly drown.

A marten is a predaceous little traveler, more of a climber than the mink, but a great hunter among thickets, logs and such things. Old trappers advise everybody to use a spring pole in catching marten, so that the animal may be thrown into the air when caught. This is the best method for skunk also, although not for the same reason. A suspended skunk



LYNX.

is more apt to be peaceable, and a suspended marten is less apt to have its twenty-dollar coat eaten by some other animal.

Way up in Canada lives an old man in a small house which he built for himself and his wife thirty years ago. His wife died in 1885 and since that time the old man has lived alone. Every winter he takes up the trail and plants his traps for several miles through a dense wood. Once every week he visits each trap and upon his next visit to the village store, he carries with him two or three pelts. For these the store-keeper trades with him and the old man receives flour, corn meal, bacon and other groceries. By and by the store-keeper finds he has accumulated sixty or seventy pelts that have been brought in by the farmers' boys, the old man and others and he makes a shipment to the nearest fur-buyer.

A good grader is an important man in any fur-buying house. It is the work of the grader to sort and grade furs sold to the manufacturers so that the work of the fur sewers may be greatly simplified.

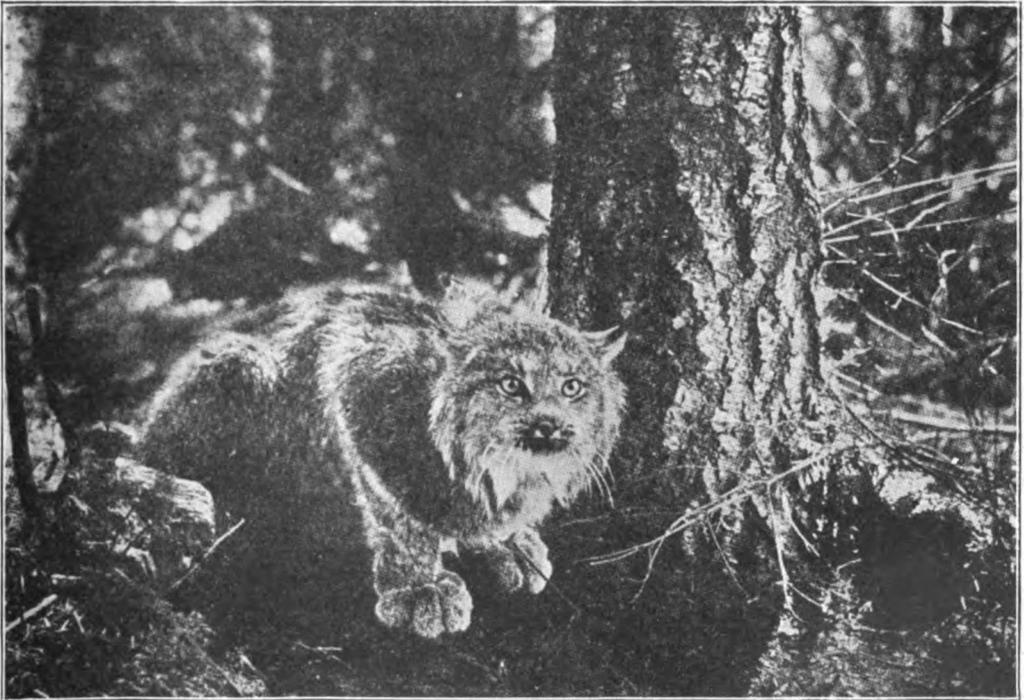
Nearly all marten or sable garments

are blended and are very much darker than any natural fur. The natural dark skins are worth much more than the lighter ones that have to be blended or dyed. Out of these dark skins the manufacturer will make up his fancy pieces—say a stole and muff composed of twelve skins, retailing at one thousand dollars. These prices are, of course, a very long way from what the trappers got.

The big houses usually work for a certain profit and the graders have to cooperate and make them one way or another. Sometimes when a trapper kicks about the price offered by the fur buyer, the buyer returns lighter and less valuable pelts to him and the trapper has no way to prove that he has been cheated.

Naturally trappers are isolated men. They do not learn of the changes in styles of furs, nor the demands for different furs in different seasons. A red fox skin used to bring about \$5.00, but it was several years before the trappers discovered they could get \$30 a pelt because of the new style and new demand.

The silver fox is the rarest and most prized animal for his beautiful fur. A



AT BAY--LYNX WATCHING THE DOGS.



ERMINE.

prominent member of the firm of Becker Bros. & Co., Chicago, recently told me he would be glad to get a silver fox pelt for the amazing sum of \$5,000.

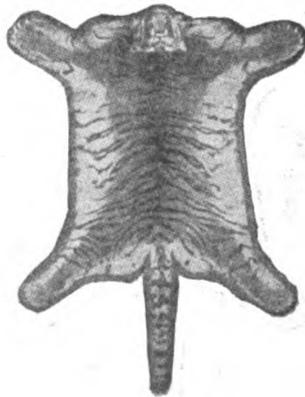
The art of trapping is a very old one. Success depends very largely upon a knowledge of the habits of the game pursued. Many books have been written about taking furs, but it requires long experience to learn to read the signs written all about a snow covered field or forest.

The old hunter knows them all. The small dainty prints of the fox, placed precisely one before the other; the tiny holes made by the snowy ermine, and the trail her lithe body leaves between leaps; the

scratches of the lynx and mink and the caches the wolverine leaves on his way, where he buries, for future need, remains of the varmints he has stolen or caught.

Winter has come again. All over the north the earth is covered with the white mantle over which no animal can pass without leaving signs of his going for the trapper to read. And it is during these days that the old trappers take up the long trails.

A dozen men, perhaps, have worked trapping the mink or marten, sending it to the fur-dealer, grading it, dyeing it and making the many pelts up into the muffs or collars we see in the store windows.



# DANGER AHEAD

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

**T**HE large increase in the socialist vote in the late national and state elections is quite naturally hailed with elation and rejoicing by party members, but I feel prompted to remark, in the light of some personal observations during the campaign, that it is not entirely a matter for jubilation. I am not given to pessimism, or captious criticism, and yet I cannot but feel that some of the votes placed to our credit this year were obtained by methods not consistent with the principles of a revolutionary party, and in the long run will do more harm than good.

I yield to no one in my desire to see the party grow and the vote increase, but in my zeal I do not lose sight of the fact that healthy growth and a substantial vote depend upon efficient organization, the self-education and self-discipline of the membership, and that where these are lacking, an inflated vote secured by compromising methods, can only be hurtful to the movement.

The danger I see ahead is that the Socialist party at this stage, and under existing conditions, is apt to attract elements which it cannot assimilate, and that it may be either weighted down, or torn asunder with internal strife, or that it may become permeated and corrupted with the spirit of bourgeois reform to an extent that will practically destroy its virility and efficiency as a revolutionary organization.

To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expected triumph.

It is precisely this policy and the allur-

ing promise it holds out to new members with more zeal than knowledge of working class economics that constitutes the danger we should guard against in preparing for the next campaign. The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us and do injustice to our party as well as to those who cast them.

These votes do not express socialism and in the next ensuing election are quite as apt to be turned against us, and it is better that they be not cast for the Socialist party, registering a degree of progress the party is not entitled to and indicating a political position the party is unable to sustain.

Socialism is a matter of growth, of evolution, which can be advanced by wise methods, but never by obtaining for it a fictitious vote. We should seek only to register the actual vote of socialism, no more and no less. In our propaganda we should state our principles clearly, speak the truth fearlessly, seeking neither to flatter nor to offend, but only to convince those who should be with us and win them to our cause through an intelligent understanding of its mission.

There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reactionary trade-unionists in local emergencies and in certain temporary situations to effect some specific purpose, which may or may not be in harmony with our revolutionary program. No possible good can come

from any kind of a political alliance, express or implied, with trade-unions or the leaders of trade unions who are opposed to socialism and only turn to it for use in some extremity, the fruit of their own reactionary policy.

Of course we want the support of trade-unionists, but only of those who believe in socialism and are ready to vote and work with us for the overthrow of capitalism.

The American Federation of Labor, as an organization, with its Civic Federation to determine its attitude and control its course, is deadly hostile to the Socialist party and to any and every revolutionary movement of the working class. To kowtow to this organization and to join hands with its leaders to secure political favors can only result in compromising our principles and bringing disaster to the party.

Not for all the vote of the American Federation of Labor and its labor-dividing and corruption-breeding craft-unions should we compromise one jot of our revolutionary principles; and if we do we shall be visited with the contempt we deserve by all real socialists, who will scorn to remain in a party professing to disreputable methods of ward-heeling be a revolutionary party of the working class while employing the crooked and politicians to attain their ends.

Of far greater importance than increasing the vote of the Socialist party is the economic organization of the working class. To the extent, and only to the extent, that the workers are organized and disciplined in their respective industries can the socialist movement advance and the Socialist party hold what is registered by the ballot. The election of legislative and administrative officers, here and there, where the party is still in a crude state and the members economically unprepared and politically unfit to assume the responsibilities thrust upon them as the result of popular discontent, will inevitably bring trouble and set the party back, instead of advancing it, and while this is to be expected and is to an extent unavoidable, we should court no more of that kind of experience than is necessary to avoid a repetition of it. The Socialist party has already achieved some victories of this kind which proved to be

defeats, crushing and humiliating, and from which the party has not even now, after many years, entirely recovered.

We have just so much socialism that is stable and dependable, because securely grounded in economics, in discipline, and all else that expresses class-conscious solidarity, and this must be augmented steadily through economic and political organization, but no amount of mere votes can accomplish this in even the slightest degree.

Voting for socialism is not socialism any more than a menu is a meal.

Socialism must be organized, drilled, equipped and the place to begin is in the industries where the workers are employed. Their economic power has got to be developed through efficient organization, or their political power, even if it could be developed, would but react upon them, thwart their plans, blast their hopes, and all but destroy them.

Such organization to be effective must be expressed in terms of industrial unionism. Each industry must be organized in its entirety, embracing all the workers, and all working together in the interest of all, in the true spirit of solidarity, thus laying the foundation and developing the superstructure of the new system within the old, from which it is evolving, and systematically fitting the workers, step by step, to assume entire control of the productive forces when the hour strikes for the impending organic change.

Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial cooperative training, discipline and efficiency which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve will turn to ashes on their lips.

Now that the capitalist system is so palpably breaking down, and in consequence its political parties breaking up, the disintegrating elements with vague reform ideas and radical bourgeois tendencies will head in increasing numbers toward the Socialist party, especially since the greatly enlarged vote of this year has been announced and the party is looming up as a possible dispenser of the spoils of office. There is danger, I believe, that the party may be swamped by such an exodus and the best possible

means, and in fact, the only effectual means of securing the party against such a fatality is the economic power of the industrially-organized workers.

The votes will come rapidly enough from now on without seeking them and we should make it clear that the Socialist party wants the votes only of those who want socialism, and that, above all, as a revolutionary party of the working class, it discountenances vote-seeking for the sake of votes and holds in contempt office-seeking for the sake of office. These be-

long entirely to capitalist parties with their bosses and their boodle and have no place in a party whose shobboleth is emancipation.

With the workers efficiently organized industrially, bound-together by the common tie of their enlightened self-interest, they will just as naturally and inevitably express their economic solidarity in political terms and cast a united vote for the party of their class as the forces of nature express obedience to the laws of gravitation.

## LOCKOUTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**T**HE lockout and blacklist, the old and blood stained weapons of the capitalist class, are certainly being used with a relentless hand by the employers of this tight little isle.

### Cotton Workers' Lockout.

A short time ago 120,000 cotton operators were locked out for more than two weeks because of a trivial dispute arising over the discharge of one man. The workers in a small mill immediately went on strike, demanding the reinstatement of their fellow worker; then the mill owners united to break the strike and give the cotton slaves a summary lesson, by adopting the brutal and cowardly method of throwing 120,000 men and women, boys and girls into the street, depriving them of their meager wage and reducing them to the pauper line. The trouble was finally patched up, the discharged man securing a place in a near-by mill.

Peace now reigns in the textile industry and human life is again being spun and woven into cloth. In the dark and smoke-grimed streets of Lancashire towns, before daylight and after dark, one can hear the noisy click-clack of iron-shod wooden clogs as the patient fellow workers go to and from their toil.

Day after day the same monotonous life; there can be no change. They are working out the penal servitude of a five years' agreement fastened upon them

with the connivance of their leisure-loving officials.

The real big things in this part of the labor world just now are the lockout of 46,000 boilermakers by the Ship Builders' Employees' Federation and the lockout and strike of 30,000 Welsh miners.

### Locked Out Boilermakers.

If there is a law in England against conspiracy, it surely could be invoked against members of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. In this instance there has been a coming together of minds, resulting in the misery and suffering of thousands of innocent human beings.

It seems that on March 9, 1909, a certain agreement was entered into between employers and employees, each agreeing to stated conditions to obtain for the period of five years.

The men claim the terms of the compact were not adhered to, many grievances arose, the adjustments were slow. In some instances the ships were away at sea while controversies over work done in the building of the vessels remained unsettled.

The burden of oppression kept growing until a small body of the men, unable to stand more, quit work and went on strike.

It was at this juncture that the employers began to conspire. There was to be adopted a program that would, for the

term of the ship yard agreement, at least, put an end to any stoppage of work either by one or more individuals.

The first step in the procedure was to lock out the members of the Boilermakers' Society, perhaps on the theory that poverty makes the worker gentle and pliable. After this medicine was given time to work, the doctors on the Board of Conciliation (?) drafted the following remarkable prescription to be taken with the original five-year dose, as an antidote for strikes. It is known as The York Agreement and here are a few gems:

"Both parties being in accord that any stoppage of work is against the best interests of all concerned, and that it is desirable to have further arrangements to secure the due observance of the Shipyard Agreement dated March 9, 1909, in federated shipbuilding yards and ship repairing yards, it is hereby agreed as follows:

"1.—The society undertakes that any member who is a party to a stoppage of work in contravention of the Shipyard Agreement shall be fined for the first offence at the rate of 5s per day for each day's absence from work. The society further undertakes to impose an increased penalty on members guilty of second or subsequent offences. A record of such fines and of their collection shall be certified each six months by a chartered accountant.

"2.—The society within seven days of any stoppage shall pay the amount of any fines into bank on a special deposit account in the name of the society, to be used solely for the benefit of widows and orphans of the members of the Boilermakers' Society. All intromissions connected with this fund shall be audited by a chartered accountant, and a certified copy of the account supplied each six months to the Federation.

"3.—In the event of any member of the society failing to pay the above fine or failing to make satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so, he shall not be employed by

any federated firm for a period of six months for the first offense or 12 months for the second and any subsequent offense. In such case the fine already paid by the society on behalf of such member shall, on the expiration of the periods named, be refunded to the society out of the special deposit account. Men who have paid their fine or made satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so shall not be penalized by being refused employment.

As a document to which pure and simple trade unionists were a party, this stands a close second to the famous Roosevelt Commission in the anthracite strike of Pennsylvania.

In this case, however, it has been repudiated by a referendum vote. The officials seemed strangely bent on furthering the program of the employers. They made no effort to enlist support for the men who were locked out. So flagrant is the wrong, every principle of unionism being violated, that other trade unionists have expressed sympathy and a willingness to help. They have been rebuffed.

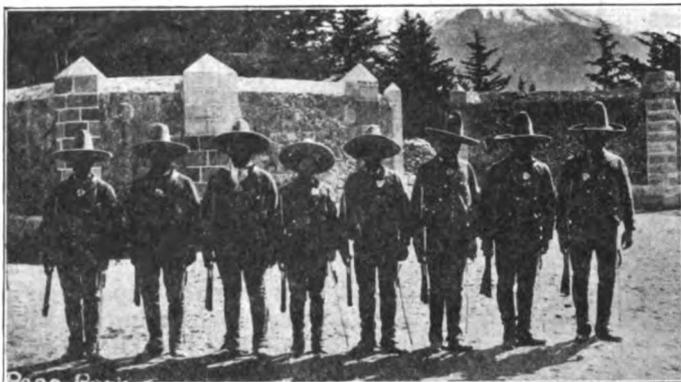
Mr. Hill and Mr. Bremner of the boilermakers have intimated that the men were not in their right minds on the first ballot. Accordingly they submitted another, being identically the same, with some added explanations.

These officials have received a stinging rebuke. The second proposal was rejected by a much larger vote than the first.

But the responsibility of the employers is not ended. Their attempt by means of the lockout to force the men to their knees is inhuman warfare. The men are not the chief sufferers. The first victims are the helpless wives and babies.



BLACKLEGS OR SCABS IN WHITE BEING ESCORTED OUT OF TOWN.



# THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

**T**HE prophecy of "Barbarous Mexico," that "Mexico is hurrying toward a revolution in favor of democracy," has been fulfilled.

If a revolution of the same proportions existed in Spain, in Russia, or in any other European country, as at this moment rages in Mexico, there would be columns and columns about it in the American press, there would be page-wide headlines, there would be special war correspondents in the field, there would be magazine articles explaining the situation.

As it is, the newspapers consider it of most importance to iterate and reiterate the official pronouncements, that the revolution is over, that the revolutionists are little more than bands of marauding bandits, anyhow, and that the reports of conflict which have leaked through the censorship were grossly exaggerated.

Were it not that a part of the truth has evaded the stifling hand of the censor, chiefly by means of travelers from the interior who have arrived at the American border, were it not that Diaz

has failed to control the press of Mexico even as well as he has controlled the press of this country, it would be impossible to guess at this time either the extent or seriousness of the rebellion. The day the revolution started, Diaz suppressed every independent newspaper in the country, and yet the subsidized papers themselves told more of the truth than did the American press! Even the press of England, which is much farther away from Mexico in the news sense, has so far printed two columns about the uprising to our one!

If the revolution is of no importance, if it does not seriously threaten the Diaz regime, why did the government seize the telegraph wires and prevent the sending of any private messages referring to the situation? Why did it prevent the sending of news messages except messages dictated by itself? Why did it suddenly suppress all the independent papers in the country? Why did it bar out every foreign newspaper containing news of the rebellion? Why did it hold up private mail both entering and leaving the country for days and days? Why did it spend huge sums

of money buying up firearms and ammunition in stores in all parts of Mexico? Why are soldiers patrolling the streets of every border town, and of every interior town, as far as we can find out? Why, if it is nothing serious, were not Diaz's inauguration ceremonies observed in the usual fashion? Why, if there is no revolution in Mexico, did the Federal Government, or at least the state government of Chihuahua, appoint a peace commission to make promises to the rebels and try to induce them to lay down their arms?

That all of these things have been done seems pretty well authenticated. One needs to know nothing more than these things to know that there are some very serious happenings going on in Mexico. Exactly how serious they are, the detailed stories of the fight, we may not know for many weeks. If the government triumphs in the end, we may never know half the story.

Why is there a revolution in Mexico? Not, as some would have us believe, because Mexicans have revolution in their blood. It is rather because they have manhood in their blood, because they are unwilling to be slaves, because they are ruled by a despot and they want democracy, because there is no way to progress under a despotism except through revolution. I am afraid that Americans generally do not approve of revolution any more, no matter what the provocation. Even some socialists will tell you that armed rebellion is out of place in the twentieth century. It is the despotism of Diaz that is out of place in the twentieth century. Free speech, free press, the ballot—these are modern safety valves against armed rebellion. By denying them, Diaz has made revolution inevitable in his country. Hence, for the blood that is now being spilled in Mexico, Diaz and his partners—including his American partners—are entirely to blame.

The immediate cause of this most recent attempt to overthrow the perpetual Mexican autocracy was the persecution of the Anti-Re-electionist party. About a year ago a movement was started to oppose the plans of Diaz to "re-elect" himself as "president" for the eighth time. This movement was entirely peace-

ful; its program would be considered conservative in this country; its appeal was merely that the people insist that there be an actual election, that they insist on their right to vote, and that they vote for the Anti-Re-electionist ticket, which was headed by Francisco I. Madero. The speakers and the press studiously observed the laws and even refrained from criticising the character or the acts of the "president."

Nevertheless, as soon as it became evident that the opposition movement would sweep the country, Diaz proceeded to annihilate it. The story of that campaign I have embodied in one of the chapters of my book, "Barbarous Mexico." Suffice it to say here that it is a story of press suppressions, political imprisonments, banishments, assassinations and massacres, perpetrated by the government to destroy a peaceful popular movement. Madero was among those thrown in jail for "insulting the president," and when "election day" arrived the "election" was a stupendous farce.

Following the announcement of the "election" of Diaz and Corral, Madero, as soon as he was admitted to bail, issued a statement to the effect that all peaceful avenues for a re-instatement of the constitution had been exhausted except one, that if that one failed, then the people "would know what they must do."

The one peaceful means referred to was a protest that might be filed with the Mexican congress against a ratification of the election on the grounds of fraud. This protest, backed by the evidence contained in hundreds of affidavits sworn to by thousands of citizens in all parts of the country, specifying the frauds committed, was duly filed in September. Since the Mexican "congress" consists entirely of appointees of Diaz, this step was merely a matter of form. Of course, the petition was denied.

When Madero announced that the people would know what they must do, he meant that they must oppose force with force. Immediately he began plotting and immediately he was compelled to flee to the United States to escape arrest on new charges.

The revolution was set for November 20. So well organized is the political spy

system of Diaz that it was impossible to keep this fact from the government, and a week before that date the prisons began filling up with political suspects. For months the government had closely watched the sale of arms, but at great expense and danger thousands of rifles had

were transferred from their commands; according to rumor, some of these were summarily shot; it is said that eleven were shot in Mexico City alone. Soldiers who were suspected of disloyalty, notably at Chihuahua, were disarmed.

A dramatic incident exemplifying the



BEFORE THE EXECUTION.

been smuggled into Mexico and distributed among some of the secret rebel groups. Many of these rifles were seized; thus was a terrible blow inflicted before the appointed day. The loyalty of the army was doubted. Officers who were suspected of being favorable to Madero

activity of the police previous to the appointed day occurred in the city of Puebla on the morning of November 18. The chief of police and a squad of gendarmes surrounded the home of Aquiles Cerdan, a political suspect. Knowing that they would be killed anyway, the inmates of

the house gave battle, five heroic women, Cerdan's wife and four others, standing shoulder to shoulder with the men in the fray. The *señora* Cerdan shot and killed the chief of police and the invaders, were repulsed. Reinforcements came quickly. Federal troops surrounded the house and a battalion of regulars was even sent from Mexico City. For many hours a fierce battle raged, in which it is said that more than one hundred lives were lost. The revolutionists who were defying the whole Mexican army did not give up until nearly all of them were killed and their last cartridge was gone. Two hundred rifles were taken from the house by the government.

Despite such set-backs, November 19 Madero left San Antonio secretly and crossed into Coahuila, and on the 20th and 21st the people rose in many cities and towns in widely different sections of the country. In the city of Zacatecas, capital of the state of the same name, the government having seized the arms of the revolutionists, an unarmed demonstration took place in the streets, and there was a wholesale massacre by the soldiers.

Near Rio Blanco, scene of the bloody strike of 1907, there was a fierce battle, the details of which are not yet known. During the first days the government poured soldiers into this section.

Battles are reported to have occurred at Torreon, Lerdo, Gomez Palacio, Parral, Acambaro, Puebla, Zacatecas, Orizaba, Cuatro Ciengas, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi, Camargo, San Andres, Tomosachic, Reynosa, Santa Isabel, Durango, Namaquipa, Cruces, Hermanas, Santa Cruz, Pedernales, Madera, Aqualulco, Etzatlan, Cocula, San Martin, Mazapil, Juchipila, Concepcion del Oro, Moyahua, Irapuato, Acultzingo, Valle del Santiago, San Bernardino Contla, San Pedro de las Colonias, Matamoros de la Laguna, and a number of other places. Some of the reported battles undoubtedly did not occur. On the other hand, it is more than probable that a good many battles occurred that were not reported at all. Uprisings were reported from as many as a dozen different states, but nearly all of those mentioned are reported from the states near the American border.

In the battles the rebels were many

times reported as being successful. Gomez Palacio, a large town near Torreon, was captured, but the report that Torreon itself was taken seems to be untrue. Cruces, state of Chihuahua, Santa Cruz, state of Tlaxcala, Guerrero, state of Tamaulipas, and several other small towns seem pretty certain to have fallen within the first few days.

At this writing, December 7, by reason of the government's control of the telegraph, absolutely nothing is known of the southern part of the country. The opposition to the dictator is stronger in the South than in the North. Naturally, it would be expected that the rebellion would be more successful in the South. From Yucatan have come very meagre reports. There was an uprising in Yucatan and it was reported that fifty soldiers were killed and many wounded. Yucatan regularly has several thousand troops to quell disturbances, yet November 28, a regiment of cavalry was hurried away from the capital to reinforce the government troops in the peninsula. A serious revolt in Yucatan might never be heard of until the rebels were in entire control.

In the North the revolution seems to have focussed in the state of Chihuahua, a large section of which is absolutely in the hands of the rebels. Here the army of the opposition defies the government, and in several battles has routed strong forces sent to subdue it. In the last days of November General Navarro, at the head of 600 soldiers, made a sally from the city of Chihuahua to engage the revolutionists. He was met at Santa Isabel, where nearly half of his men were killed and he was compelled to flee in disorder back to Chihuahua.

November 29, a body of 150 soldiers, which had sailed from Chihuahua, were met at Pedernales and the whole force was destroyed or captured.

Representatives from an El Paso paper, who penetrated the southwestern part of Chihuahua, reported that they found nine-tenths of the people of the farming districts against the government. These people have risen in arms, have taken possession of the Chihuahua-Northwestern railroad and seem to be in absolute possession of a stretch of 150 miles of the road and a large slice of country on each



side of it. In these parts they are so strong that the government has so far not dared to penetrate very far into their country.

Indeed, the operations of the Diaz troops in Chihuahua just now seem to be devoted entirely to defending themselves. Big guns have been rushed from Mexico City, fortifications have been erected, trenches dug; Chihuahua, with nearly 5,000 regular soldiers within its limits, is preparing for a siege. So, whatever the situation in other sections of the country, at least in Chihuahua the revolution is not dead.

During the fighting in Chihuahua the whereabouts of Madero himself has been in doubt. It is probable that, after crossing the border from Texas, he found himself unable to effect a junction with rebel forces which he had planned to lead, and was forced back, after a battle near Monclova, into the mountains of Coahuila or Tamaulipas, or possibly back into Texas, though if he is in Texas he is keeping very quiet.

This revolution of the Anti-Re-electionist party should not be mistaken for a movement of the Liberal party, many members of which have been subjected to persecution in the United States during recent years. While, as always, the working class will do most of the fighting and endure most of the suffering, the movement is dominated by middle class interests. If Madero wins, his party will undoubtedly free the slaves, ameliorate the condition of the peons, pass a few labor laws, and establish free speech, free press and actual elections. As these things would constitute a tremendous step forward, I, personally, wish the revolution every success, whether, in the end it is dominated by the Liberal party, or, as now, by the Anti-Re-electionists. The Liberal party, would, of course, go farther. The Liberal party would take immediate measures to break up the vast *haciendas* and give the lands back to the people. It would also rigidly enforce the existing laws against the Catholic church, which it suspects Madero would not do. In my



opinion the Mexican Liberal party is as thoroughly a movement of the toilers as is the Socialist party of the United States.

While the leaders of the Liberal party will not endorse Madero or his program, there is little likelihood of there being a clash between the two elements, at least not until after the Diaz regime is overthrown. When the revolution started, the Liberal junta, located in Los Angeles, issued a manifesto setting forth the difference between the two movements, but advising its members to take the opportunity of the Madero rebellion to strike a blow at the government. If the revolution grows the Liberal leaders will throw themselves into it and attempt to dominate it in the interests of the more radical Liberal program.

Will the revolution triumph? It is difficult for the ordinary American to understand the tremendous odds against which these patriots are fighting. The Diaz government is at least ten times as well prepared to cope with insurrection as is the United States. Mexico has a standing army of 40,000, which is three times ours in comparison with the population. Mexico has a force of nearly 10,000 *rurales* and a tremendous organization of regular and secret police. The capital has 2,000 uniformed policemen—double the number of New York, in comparison with population.

And these soldiers, *rurales* and police are everywhere. There is not a town of respectable size in all Mexico that has not at least one company of soldiers, as well as its quota of *rurales*. The barracks are situated in the heart of the city; the discipline of war is kept up at all times. Even the equipment of the army is especially designed with a view to putting down revolt; the Mexican army makes a specialty of mountain batteries, and mountain batteries are most useful in internal warfare.

The strength of the revolution lies in the fact that the people are with it. Were a fair election held, Madero or any other opposition candidate would defeat Diaz ten to one. But majorities do not count in a nation that is ruled by the sword. If the revolution wins, it will probably be only after a desperate struggle in which at least a part of the regular army is won

over to the revolutionist cause. Luckily, the army is made up largely of political suspects, labor agitators and workingmen who have been drafted, and they will fight for the purpose of improperly intimidating swords of their officers are threatening them. Give them a chance for their lives and they will desert, almost to a man. Whatever unreported success the revolution may have at this time, it is certain that the government, in general, has the upper hand; but if the rebel nucleus can be maintained as at present in Chihuahua for a reasonable time, it must mean the serious embarrassment and probable overthrow of the Diaz regime.

This article would not be complete without brief reference to the part the United States government is playing in the Mexican crisis. Hundreds of miles of the Texas, Arizona and New Mexico border are being patrolled by United States troops, ostensibly for the purpose of enforcing the neutrality laws, actually for the purpose of improperly intimidating Mexicans who wish to go home and fight for the freedom of their country.

The exact text of the neutrality law is as follows:

"Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins, or sets on foot, or provides or prepares the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people, with whom the United States are at peace, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding \$3,000, and imprisoned not more than three years."

Does this mean that a Mexican may not go home—armed, if he will—to engaged in a movement against the despotism?

Not in the opinion of United States Judge Maxey of Texas, who reviewed some of the cases brought after the uprising of 1908. January 7, 1909, the San Antonio *Daily Light* and *Gazette* quoted Judge Maxey as follows:

"If Jose M. Rangel, the defendant, merely went across the river and joined in the fight, he had a perfect right to do so, and I will so tell the jury in my charge. This indictment is not for fighting in a

foreign country, but for beginning and setting on foot an expedition in Val Verde county."

And yet the United States government has persistently prosecuted Mexicans who have done just this thing and no more. When I set forth these points in a public interview some days ago, an official of the State Department took issue with me, declaring that a Mexican has no right to arm himself and cross the line into Mexico. The official must have known that he was not speaking the truth, but made the statement with the distinct purpose of intimidating Mexicans residing in the United States and preventing them from joining the rebel forces. The presence and activity of the troops at the border themselves constitute a threat that is undoubtedly effective. The police of

the border towns, too, have been viciously active. A special campaign has been directed against Mexicans. Hundreds have been held up and searched on the streets and hundreds have been jailed for carrying concealed weapons or for vagrancy.

The American authorities are certainly doing their part in helping Diaz crush the movement against him. So far the American troops have remained on this side of the Rio Grande. If the revolution grows it is extremely probable that they will be sent across, ostensibly to protect American lives and property, actually to hold Diaz, the Mexican partner of Wall Street, chief slave-driver of "Barbarous Mexico," on his throne.

If, under such circumstances, the American people are quiescent, I shall be ashamed that I am an American.



MR. AND MRS JOHN KENNETH TURNER AND BABY.

# BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

## AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

### No. III. Prices

**T**HE value of a commodity is determined by the necessary social labor. If someone told me that an overcoat was equal in value, or contained equal value, to the value of (or contained in) a suit of clothes, I would know that the overcoat and suit of clothes were equal in value because they contained equal quantities of the same common thing—labor.

Generally speaking the value of four pairs of trousers is about equal to the value of one coat. Why is the coat more valuable than the trousers? And what determines the measure of value when we come to exchange commodities?

You exchange your labor power—to the boss—for perhaps \$2.00 in gold a day, and in turn the gold is exchanged for the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. Why do these commodities exchange for each other?

As we learned before, LABOR is the measure of value. The coat, mentioned above, exchanges for FOUR pairs of trousers because the coat contains FOUR times the quantity of social labor that one pair of the trousers contain.

The necessary social labor contained in a commodity (shoes, coats, gold, bread, YOUR LABOR POWER or whatever it may be) determines what it will exchange for. The natural tendency is for commodities of equal value to exchange for each other, or for other commodities of equal value.

For example: the amount of wheat produced by ten hours of necessary social labor time will exchange for the amount of cloth, shoes, chairs, gold or some other commodity that will be produced by ten hours of necessary social labor.

The value, or values for which commodities will exchange change constant-

ly as the social labor necessary to their production changes. Last month we read of a new molding machine that enables one boy to produce as many castings in one day as four men had been accustomed to produce. These castings have now greatly decreased in value (in the individual plant where the new process is used) but the total value of castings, in general, has been only SLIGHTLY reduced. The AVERAGE labor necessary to produce castings is only a little less than formerly. When the new process becomes general and the AVERAGE necessary labor greatly reduced, castings will greatly decrease in value.

“If we consider commodities as values, we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of realized, fixed, or, if you like, CRYSTALIZED human labor. In this respect they can differ only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labor, as for example, a greater amount of labor may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than a brick. . . .

“A commodity has value, because it is a crystallization of social labor . . . The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor worked up (or *contained*) in them.” (Pages 56 and 57, Value, Price & Profit.)

“In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity we must add to the quantity of labor LAST employed, the quantity of labor PREVIOUSLY worked up in the raw material of a commodity, and the labor bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings, with which labor is assisted.” (Value, Price & Profit, page 60.)

The value of barrels, for example, is determined by the social (factory) labor spent in producing staves and hoops and

the labor time used in producing the portion of machinery worn out in making them, as well as the necessary social labor spent in cutting and hauling (producing) raw logs for use in the mill.

Every time MORE social labor is needed in making commodities—shoes, hats, gloves, stoves or cigars—whatever these commodities may be—their value is INCREASED. Every time the quantity of socially necessary labor is lessened in the production of commodities, their value is DECREASED.

Nearly all kinds of furniture have greatly decreased in value the past few years owing to the improved machines used in their production and the relatively small quantity of labor contained in furniture.

Gold has steadily been decreasing in value in the past ten years owing to the improved methods of producing gold and the decreasing quantity of labor contained in it.

Rubber is steadily growing more valuable because the available world supply has been nearly exhausted and it requires more time hunting or planting, and caring for rubber trees—more labor is contained in a pound of rubber than a few years ago.

Gradually we see huge machines replacing the smaller ones in all the great producing industries and, with the constant introduction of more improved machinery, the quantity of human labor contained in commodities produced by modern methods—grows less and less. Such commodities decrease in value with every decrease in the labor embodied in them.

### Price.

Price is the money name for which commodities exchange. WE are accustomed to figure in gold prices. All our bank notes read "payable in—so much—gold." But gold is a commodity just like bread, or overcoats, or dresses or automobiles. And commodities tend to exchange for the sum of gold containing a quantity of labor equal to the quantity of labor contained in them.

That is, if ten dollars in gold contains 40 hours of necessary labor, that gold will exchange for (or will BUY) as many pairs of shoes as 40 hours of social labor will produce.

Generally speaking, a commodity containing 10 hours of necessary labor will tend to exchange for gold, or any other commodity containing TEN HOURS OF NECESSARY LABOR.

This is true when price and value are equal. But supply and demand cause commodities to exchange (or sell) above or below their value, temporarily.

A temporary shortage in coal—when the supply does not equal the demand—may enable the dealers to exchange coal ABOVE its value for a short time. An OVER supply of automobiles may cause the manufacturers to offer to sell (or exchange) autos BELOW their value, for a time.

Prices are often either a little above or below the value of commodities, but they are always *inclining* TOWARD THE VALUE OF commodities.

(Please remember that we are not here speaking of monopoly prices. We shall consider them in a later lesson.)

"If supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond with their natural prices, that is to say with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production. . . . If, instead of considering only the daily fluctuations, you analyze the movement of market prices for longer periods . . . you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyze and compensate each other; so that, apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective VALUES or natural prices. . . .

"If speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but the constant and usual profits of different trades, spring from the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price OVER and above their value. . . .

"To explain the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are SOLD AT THEIR REAL VALUES, and that PROFITS ARE DERIVED from selling

them at their VALUES, that is, in proportion to the quantity of labor realized (or contained) in them.

"If you cannot EXPLAIN PROFIT upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all." (From, Value, Price & Profit, pages 68, 69 and 70.)

### Questions.

Why does skilled labor-power sell (or exchange) at a higher price (for more gold) than unskilled labor? Does the fact that it requires more LABOR to produce a skilled laborer, that it takes more years of feeding, clothing and sheltering to PREPARE a skilled workman, have anything to do with the VALUE of their labor-power?

Mining experts tell us that it takes much less labor-power to produce the commodity—gold, than it did a few years ago. Have you noticed that your gold (or money) exchanges for fewer commodities nowadays than it did ten years ago?

Wheat is produced for a world market. Do you think wheat has decreased much in value during the past ten years as compared to the decrease in value (or social labor necessary) of steel?

We believe it takes very nearly as much labor-power to produce a bushel

of wheat (on the AVERAGE) as it did in 1900; hence its value must have remained nearly the same.

Why then will a hundred bushels of wheat today exchange for MORE gold dollars than it did in 1900?

If the VALUE of both commodities had remained the same and no monopolist controlled the world's wheat or gold supply, they would exchange upon the same basis as formerly. That is, the same amount of gold would exchange for (or buy) the same amount of wheat.

Does the decreased value of GOLD result in the farmer getting a higher price (or more gold) in exchange for his wheat crop?

(Do not forget that, as Marx says, if we cannot explain profits upon the basis that all commodities exchange at their values, we cannot explain them at all.)

Next month we shall take up Surplus Value, which explains how capitalists make profits even though all commodities exchange at their values.

(Replying to question from L. T. T., we do not sell our labor. We sell our strength to work or our laboring power, our labor power. Labor is the expenditure of labor-power. See Value, Price and Profit, pages 71, 72 and 73.



# EDITORIAL

## Fred Warren Goes to Jail.



FRED WARREN,  
Fighting Editor of the *Appeal*.

On December 30, 1905, Frank Steunenberg was killed by the explosion of a dynamite bomb at Caldwell, Idaho. Several weeks later Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners; William D. Haywood, Secretary, and George E. Pettibone, an honorary member of the organization, were kidnapped from their home in Colorado and secretly carried off to Idaho on a special train to be tried for the murder of Steunenberg. Requisition papers were issued by the Governor of Colorado on an affidavit signed by the County Attorney in Idaho, setting forth that the men were present in Idaho when the crime was committed and had fled from the state, although every one concerned knew perfectly well that they had not been in Idaho for months. The Western Federation of Miners was at that time engaged in a death struggle with the mine owners, and it is a fair inference that this kidnapping was a pre-conceived plan to discredit and crush this organization. The capitalist press of the whole country united to fasten the charge of conspiracy to commit murder upon these men, while the Socialist press, with scarcely an exception, defended them. They were held for nearly a year and a half without trial, while strenuous efforts were made by both accusers and defendants to arouse public opinion on one side or the other. In this situation Fred D. Warren, editor of the *Appeal to Reason* at Girard, Kans., conceived the idea of giving the American people a striking object lesson. With this in view, he had postal cards printed offering a reward for the kidnapping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, who was at that time under indictment for murder in his own state and was safe in Indiana, because the Republican governor of that state refused to sign extradition papers. This object lesson was an important factor in arousing public sentiment for the imprisoned miners, and when Haywood was finally put on trial he was acquitted; the other men were finally discharged.

But the government officials and their capitalist masters did not forget the part Fred Warren played in their defeat, and an indictment was brought against him for having "sent scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter through the mails." After long delay he was tried and convicted by a packed jury, every member of which was a Republican. From this decision he appealed. Again long delays, and finally, after election is over, the Appellate Court has sustained the decision of the District Court, and Fred Warren must go to jail for six months. On the 21st of January, he is to begin serving his sentence. Triumphantly he goes to jail. He has put the Federal courts on trial before the working class of the United States. He has charged that they are the tools of the capitalist class to protect the interests of that class and to keep the workers down. In sending him to jail the courts have pleaded guilty to his charge against them. They have failed and he has triumphed. They meant to crush the *Appeal to Reason*. It went into the fight with a circulation of a quarter of a million. It now has half a million. If the government officials are stubborn and stupid enough to keep Fred Warren in jail six months, he will come out of it the editor of a paper with a million enthusiastic subscribers, the most powerful man in America. Fortunately for the working class movement, Fred Warren is as true and loyal as he is able and resourceful. He strikes with tremendous power, because he is striking at the tyranny that stands between the working people of America and the happy life they want to live. **His fight is our fight, and it is a winning fight.**

### The Struggle of the Garment Workers.

Until now the most helpless and down-trodden victims of the capitalist system, the garment workers of America are opening their eyes, standing shoulder to shoulder and fighting for better pay and better working conditions. In Philadelphia and New York they have forced some real concessions from their employers; in Chicago, as this issue of the REVIEW goes to press, the fight is still on. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, the greatest scab

clothing house in the world, is the storm center of the struggle. This corporation has out-distanced its competitors by the use of modern machine methods in place of the hand work which has held over from bygone centuries in the clothing trade. But in its thirst for profits it has kept down wages to the old level, while the prices of what the laborers must buy have gone on soaring. At last its wage-workers rebelled, and after a brief struggle the corporation offered sham concessions which would have brought no relief. Unfortunately its proposals received the endorsement of prominent labor leaders and philanthropists, and it speaks volumes for the courage and intelligence of the striking garment workers that in spite of the defection of their supposed friends they have stood firm. Our capitalist government in Chicago has used the clubs of its policemen brutally and mercilessly to crush out the strike. It is different in Milwaukee, where a sympathetic strike was called. The chief of police, a hold-over from the Democratic administration, was using the patrolmen to suppress the strike as is customary under such circumstances, when he received the following letter:

Dear Sir:

"Complaints have been made here that dis-employed citizens have recently been subjected to abusive epithets and rough handling by policemen.

"Whatever may be the basis of these complaints, I want it understood that no man on the police force has the right to interfere with a citizen who is not violating the law.

"I expect you as chief of police to make clear to the members of your department that so long as a citizen is within his legal rights he should not be manhandled or insulted. Officers tolerating such tactics and patrolmen practicing them will be accountable.

"Hoping that reports referred to will on investigation prove to be exaggerated, I am,

Respectfully,

EMIL SEIDEL, Mayor."

How this letter impressed the Milwaukee capitalists may be inferred from the following dispatch published in the Chicago Tribune:

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 10.—[Special.]—In an open letter to the mayor and the public, strongly condemning inflammatory utterances such as were made during the garment workers' strike by members of the Socialist administration, and which were followed by rioting, the directors of the Merchants and Manu-

facturers' Association have issued an appeal for sane thinking regarding the business situation in Milwaukee. The letter says:

"Recent events in the community reveal a tendency which demands the earnest consideration of the great body of thoughtful citizens and which should engage the attention of the chief executive. The fact that expressions recently have gained currency which tend to disturb the police and good order of the community and seriously impair its prosperity and stability is to be deplored.

"The number of unemployed is already distressingly large. The reports of public utterances of an inflammatory character, which are heralded to the world, tend to impair the credit and standing of the city. While they cause unrest at home they are also destructive of confidence. We strongly condemn all public expressions designed to incite class hatred and to destroy respect for law and order."

We congratulate our Milwaukee comrades on the stand they have taken and on the enemies they have made. "Municipal Ownership" under capitalism does not frighten the capitalists and is a doubtful advantage to the wage-workers. But to deprive the capitalists of their time-honored privilege of using the police to club strikers, this is the beginning of the end. Fight it out on this line, comrades; better even lose one election on such an issue than win by compromise. But in every city the wage-workers are awaking and uniting. Let us, as the party of the working class, insist that the police be used to protect us and not to help our enemies, and victory will be in sight.

## ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

### Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization

One American and only one is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is Lewis H. Morgan, the author of this book. He was the pioneer writer on the subject. His conclusions have been fully sustained by later investigators.

This work contains a full and clear explanation of many vitally important facts, without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It shows that the successive marriage customs that have arisen have corresponded to certain definite industrial conditions. The author shows that it is industrial changes that alter the relations of the sexes, and that these changes are still going on. He shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which reformers have wailed in vain. And he points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**England. The Breakdown of the Old Unionism.** At last something is doing in England. I do not refer to the elections which are taking place as the REVIEW goes to press. The present Parliament has done nothing for the working class. During an existence of more than ten months it has not even discussed the problem of unemployment. And so far as the infamous Osborne decision is concerned Premier Asquith has not ventured further than to promise attention to it in the indefinite future, provided, of course, that his party is returned to power. The labor group has done little to earn its keep. In the last hours of the session it did rouse itself enough to do some brave talking. Its chairman even threatened on one occasion to abstain from voting. But that was the limit of Laborite accomplishment. So far as can be foreseen at the present moment the next Parliament will be made up much as the last one was, the Lords have little to fear and the working class little to hope.

Nevertheless these are great days in old England, days that will be long remembered as history makers. One beauty about the things that are happening now is that they are so intelligible to labor unionists and Socialists of the outside world. Last winter the editor of a certain important American Socialist paper was foolhardy enough to attempt an analysis of the English situation. The reward he got for his pains was a tongue-lashing in which Social Democrats and Independent Laborites joined forces. In despair the American editor promised never again to express an opinion on anything pertaining to the English labor world. So far he has kept his word. But the events of the past few weeks may well give him courage to make another venture. For these events indicate that at last the labor movement of England is swinging into line with the world movement.

For years past the English labor movement has seemed to be made up of a

great, slow-moving body of unionists and two energetic but mutually distrustful groups of Socialists. The unionists have been organized on craft lines. Most of them, 2,400,000, we are told, have been held down by long-time agreements. Their contracts have been long and their wages short. But they have seemed content with things as they are. There has been little sign of approaching change.

The Socialists, on the other hand, seem to have been exclusively interested in political propaganda. Whatever interest they have had in the labor movement has appeared to be concentrated in the attempt to make Socialists of the unionists. One group, the Social Democrats, have been irritated at the unresponsiveness of the union men. The union men have not been able to understand Socialism, hence these Socialists have been unable to understand the union men. Another group, the Independent Laborites, has worked with the unionists. Many members of it have gone to Parliament as representatives of labor. Necessarily these men have come, in course of time, to take on much of the conservatism of the organizations which they have represented. Naturally the two groups of Socialists, both including many sincere and able comrades, have not been able to co-operate. They have expended much time and space in fighting each other. Both have, it is true, done magnificent propaganda work. But they have done next to nothing in the direction of revolutionary unionism.

But England is industrially among the most advanced nations of the world. And its labor movement is old and strong. If America is the classic land of capitalism, England is surely the classic land of labor unionism. So it has been hard to understand why English Socialism has been at war with itself and English unionism has remained so long conservative.

But the situation is beginning to clear. Soon the broad lines of the class-struggle will stand out as sharply in England

as anywhere else. It is a fine thing to be able to record. It is with joy that we hail the new order of things in old England.

So far as can be seen from the outside the forces which make for the new order do not find their beginnings in the vigorous Socialist propaganda which has been carried on these many years. They rise rather out of the instinctive, untaught strivings of the hitherto conservative sections of the working-class. Workingmen who hitherto have patiently toiled under conditions established by trade agreements have suddenly rebelled *en masse*. They have ruthlessly broken the contracts entered into by their representatives. There is something elementally awe inspiring about the way in which they have disregarded the morality which they have been taught to hold sacred.

Take the Welsh miners, for example. Twelve thousand of them were employed in three groups of mines controlled by the Cambrian Combine. All of these, no matter under what conditions they worked or how thin the seams of coal which they were mining, received one shilling nine pence a ton for the coal actually brought to the surface. In many localities it was absolutely impossible for a man to earn at this rate a wage anywhere near the one usually regarded as standard. Finally seventy men working a particularly thin seam went on strike. Their employers responded by locking out all the men employed in the mine affected. This led to a strike involving all the mines controlled by the Combine. Unfortunately the engineers, stokers, etc., employed about the mines did not go out. After the strike was declared at least 1,000 men of various crafts remained about the mining properties taking care of the enemy's possessions.

This fact is what led to the Tonypandy "riot," which there has been such a talk about. On November 7th at six o'clock in the morning some 3,000 men and women marched up and down in the neighborhood of the Cambrian mines. Their purpose was to intercept the day shift of engineers when it appeared to begin its work. For some time all went well. From time to time these Welsh miners, true to their Welsh nature, filled

the air with the music of their old Welsh choruses. Finally a couple of engineers appeared. Immediately they were surrounded by a group of women. So far as reports inform us there was nothing but warm argument. That is, until the mounted police interfered. For mounted police had already been sent to the scene of action by the Home Secretary. These professional disturbers of the peace charged ruthlessly on men, women and children. Many heads were broken. It is reported that one union miner has died of the injuries received.

Since this Tonypandy riot there have been other scenes of violence. Columns of strikers have attacked a power-house and smashed shop windows. They have seen all the forces of society leagued against them and have grown desperate. So far as can be gathered from reports they have not done violence to a single human being.

The strike is still on. The men show a wonderful spirit of solidarity. Yet the cards are stacked against them. The South Wales Coalowners' Association is much better organized than the union of the miners. When a mine is shut down the Coalowners' Association contributes to the company involved as much as its regular income amounts to. The mine owners can wait peacefully till cold and hunger drive their slaves back to them. All this the men see. And it is teaching them a lesson.

The events in South Wales would be studied in connection with the great English boilermakers' strike. This latter struggle has been going on for more than three months now. Its center is the region of the Clyde. The boilermakers have a strong and rich union. It is one of the most respected labor organizations in England. Like the other English craft unions it is built upon the trade agreement idea. That is, the executive committee of the union enters into a long-time agreement with the Employers' Association. All questions of wages and conditions are to be settled in accordance with the provisions of this agreement. If a dozen men in a concern somewhere have to work over-time or perform services which do not belong to their trade, they make a complaint to their union offi-

cials. In course of time this complaint is carried to a board of arbitration. At least that is what is supposed to happen. Often enough, in reality, the men never hear of it again. If they do, the award is liable to come so long after the complaint that, even in case it is favorable, it is of little value. Yet the agreements under which all this takes place have been held as sacred as the national constitution.

Last summer one brave group of boilermakers got tired of the sacred agreement. Instead of starting a complaint on the long road to a distant and uncertain arbitration committee they went on strike. They were denounced by their union officials as anarchists. Their employers answered them with a lock-out. The struggle spread till it involved the whole of the great boilermakers' union. It has been going on now for more than three months.

The executive committee of the union, made up of labor leaders of the old type, has arrived at an agreement with the Employers' Association. This agreement has twice been submitted to the men. Every force available has been summoned to whip them into line. Their leaders have berated them. The capitalist press has denounced them. All to no avail. Twice they have refused to ratify the agreement. The second time they repudiated it by a vote of 15,563 to 5,650. This looks much as if the men knew pretty well what they are about.

England is very much wrought up over all this. The capitalist dailies cannot understand the utter depravity of the union men. The union leaders, alternately scolding and coaxing, cut a sad figure as they strive vainly to find a way out. Everyone who can see anything at all begins to see that the events of the past few months mean the end of conservative unionism in England. They mean the end of the collective bargain extending over a period of six or eight years. They mean the end of grievances smothered under the long deferred action of boards of arbitration. They mean the beginning of a definite, open, bitter class-struggle. Economic conditions have reduced the workers to such straits that their long agony has forced them to break through all the laws laid down for them by the

dead past and represented and defended by their leaders. From down in the ranks has swelled up a force which has burst traditional English unionism in sunder.

I cannot resist the temptation to insert here a passage from an article by Comrade Fred Knee in a recent number of the *Social-Democrat*. Under the title *The Revolt of Labor* he writes most illuminatingly of the crisis in the world of English labor. Especially illuminating is a paragraph in explanation of the failure of labor leaders to lead. Speaking of union executive officers he says: "It is quite easy to see where and how they may fail. It is years since they themselves had to work at these things; and however strong their recollection, there are the years between: and they count. Moreover, conditions in the industry itself may have changed; and the incidents of irritation and hardships filter very slowly and in diluted form from the actual worker, through branch official to district official, and on to the general office. And the man at work feels the irritation, has to deal with the hardship day by day, feels cheated hour by hour. Decision on the point at issue is far off; his Executive is far away, its action is slow; deliverance from this particular bondage seems hopeless that way; he is tied up for five years; and even then there may be no redress. He sees, too, that for every encroachment to which he submits the company's foreman will attempt another. So he kicks—he breaks his contract! And not one of my readers, with anything of the Man left in him, but would do the same."

With this revolt of labor there comes naturally new life for the Socialist movement. A revolutionary working-class will surely mean a united Socialist party. Once get the working-class thoroughly roused and some of the halting, timid Liberal-Labor Socialists will have to turn real revolutionists or throw off the mask and declare themselves unequivocal Liberals. The Social-Democrats, on the contrary, will find it possible to get into touch with the working-class as they never have up to the present time. From being a mere propaganda club they may develop into a real political party. Instead of criticising the labor movement from a

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Choicest Tea, any kind, 10 lb. Sack or more	.38	lb.,	" " "	.75
Best Flour, 1 Bbl. only.....	5.50	bbl.	" " "	6.50
Choice Flour, 1 Bbl. only.....	5.25	bbl.	" " "	6.25
Best Starch, 50 lb. Boxes.....	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	lb.,	" " "	5
Choice Rice, 100 lb. Sacks.....	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	8
Best Rice, 100 lb. Sacks.....	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	.10
Choice Mackerel, 50 lb. Tubs.....	.10	lb.,	" " "	.16
Choice Herring, 50 lb. Tubs.....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	8
1 Box Best Soap, 66 Bars.....	2.60	box	" " "	3.30
1 Box Prunes, New, 25 lb.....	9	lb.,	" " "	.12
1 Box Seedless Raisins, 50 lb.....	7	lb.,	" " "	.10
1 Box Raisins, 36 Packages, large.....	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	pk.,	" " "	.10
1 Box Figs, 12 Packages.....	8	pk.,	" " "	.10
1 Bushel Navy Beans, 60 lb.....	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	lb.,	" " "	6
1 Sack Rolled Oats, 90 lb.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	5
1 Bushel Green Peas, 60 lb.....	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	lb.,	" " "	6
1 Case Sugar Corn, 2 doz.....	.95	doz.	" " "	.12
1 Case June Peas, 2 doz.....	.95	doz.	" " "	.12
1 Case Acme Tomatoes, 2 doz.....	.95	doz.	" " "	.12
1 Case Choice Peaches, 2 doz.....	1.50	doz.	" " "	.20
1 Case Finest Peaches, 2 doz.....	2.25	doz.	" " "	.30
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Pepper.....	.20	lb.,	" " "	.35
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Cinnamon.....	.20	lb.,	" " "	.35
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Ginger.....	.20	lb.,	" " "	.35
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Allspice.....	.18	lb.,	" " "	.30
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Cloves.....	.20	lb.,	" " "	.35
6 Lb. Box Bakers' Cocoa, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.....	.34	lb.,	" " "	.50
12 Lb. Box Bakers' Chocolate.....	.30	lb.,	" " "	.40
6 No. 10 or Gallon Cans Syrup.....	.28	gal.,	" " "	.45
1 Jar Pure Jam, any fruit 20 lbs.....	.14	lb.,	" " "	.20
1 Can Pure Honey, 60 lb.....	9	lb.,	" " "	.16
1 Pail Christmas Mixed Candy, 30 lb.....	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	.15
1 Pail Chocolate Creams, 30 lb.....	.12	lb.,	" " "	.25
1 Box Lemon Peel, 10 lb.....	.13 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	.20
1 Box Citron, 10 lb.....	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	.25
1 Box Clothes Pins, 60 doz.....	.48	box	" " "	.75
1 Pail Peanut Butter, 25 lb.....	.13	lb.,	" " "	.25
1 Can Pure Baking Powder, 5 lb.....	.14	lb.,	" " "	.25
1 Box Codfish Bricks, 24 lb.....	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	lb.,	" " "	.12

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distance, they may become part and parcel of it. They may come to understand modern industrialism and fight for an industrial revolution as well as for a political one.

All this lies in the future. But there are plenty of signs that point to its becoming a reality. Our English comrades, displaying even more than their usual zeal in propaganda work, are everywhere in the field explaining Socialist economics to the rebellious workers. And in their writing about the union movement there is discernible a new note. As pure-and-simple unionism goes to pieces pure-and-simple politicalism also approaches dissolution.

**SPAIN. Liberal Reaction.** When Señor Canalejas came into power as Prime Minister much was expected of him. He was to tame the clericals, break with Rome, and institute a really liberal regime. He has been in power nearly a year now. Negotiations with Rome are still hanging fire. And the real power of the Clericals seems to be in no wise diminished. Indeed, if we look at the military activities of the government we may come to the conclusion that it is really the clericals who sit in the seats of the mighty. The government has secured from the Cortes an act empowering it to raise a loan of \$300,000,000. This tremendous sum is to be expended upon military and naval expansion. With the improved military and naval equipment war is to be declared with all speed on the tribes of Morocco. Materials of war are being gathered and Melilla has already been fortified.

Labor unions and Socialist organizations have carried on a vigorous agitation against the military designs of the government. As a result scores of anti-government agitators have been imprisoned. The government does not hesitate at the most violent reactionary measures.

In the midst of the political excitement a great industrial war has broken out. The textile workers of Sabadell have gone on strike to the number of 18,000. Their chief demand is recognition of their union. They would win had not the government interfered. National troops have been sent to the scene of action, and according to the last reports they "have the situation in hand." This means that, like their comrades in England and Wales, the workingmen of Spain are getting a good taste of liberalism. For the present the Liberal reaction seems to be triumphant both industrially and politically.

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# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

**T**HIS year's A. F. of L. convention was, if possible, more tame and listless than last year's gathering or that of the year before. Nothing new developed. President Gompers made the same exhaustive address that he did at previous conventions, and the executive council's report lengthened out over half a day's reading by Vice-President Duncan. Other reports and speeches from the stage helped to pad out the usual four days' time before the delegates could get down to work.

Pretty much the same resolutions dealing with jurisdictional questions, demanding legislation from law-making bodies, to levy boycotts, endorse union labels, etc., were presented as were before the body in former years. Then, after some perfunctory discussion, the resolutions were adopted, rejected or referred to the executive council once more for adjudication, especially where jurisdictional claims were concerned.

About the only discussions that enlivened the proceedings were those relating to the electrical workers' troubles and the chartering of the Western Federation of Miners, which, after some debate, were sent back to the executive council.

It should be mentioned in this connection that attempts were made throughout the early part of the convention by certain press agents to arouse the prejudice of the delegates by "doping" newspaper reporters with stories about the wicked Socialists framing plots to steal the A. F. of L. The fact that the Reid faction of the electrical workers controls a large majority of the organized men in the trade made no difference to the press agents. The Reidites were classified as "seceders" because the minority faction (the McNulty followers) said so, and, of course, the Reid people were dubbed as Socialists, and that was sufficient to condemn them.

The further fact that the Western Federation of Miners was invited during the last dozen years to join the A. F. of L.

made no difference, either. They, too, fell under the ban because they are Socialistic, and at the psychological moment enough craft unions trotted out claims of jurisdiction to make further procrastination possible in the matter of issuing a charter.

After the electrical workers' controversy was sent to the executive council the Reid faction gracefully and unselfishly accepted in toto the plan outlined by Vice-President Duncan, to establish harmony in the trade, viz.: to call conventions of both factions to meet in the same city at the same time and appoint committees to work out an amalgamation plan, to withdraw all suits now pending in the courts and to turn over all funds to the executive council in trust until the unions are combined, and now it remains to be seen whether the tail will continue to wag the dog, and whether McNulty still runs the executive council.

In the case of the Western Federation of Miners, the executive council considered that organization's claims after the convention and postponed further action until January, about the time that the coal miners meet. The latter insist that the W. F. of M. be admitted, and come in they will, no matter what obstacles may be thrown in the way by the reactionists. If the W. F. of M. is not granted a charter, after all the invitations sent them to come in, it will merely hasten the merging of the coal and metaliferous miners, and then the latter cannot be kept out, no matter what the labor "trust-busters" may say or do.

\* \* \*

**T**HOSE delegates who are Socialists held a number of conferences during the convention, and it was decided that, on account of the deliberate misrepresentations to which they were subjected, no resolutions of a progressive character would be presented and no debates would be participated in, so that the conservatives could perform their same stunts of mediocrity that they did in previous years.

Another reason why the "Reds" decided to turn a deaf ear to the delegates who importuned them to "start something" and keep those brethren who were dozing in their chairs awake, was that their measures would have been defeated and also would have furnished the capitalistic politicians of the country, who are being driven to distraction by the rampant dissatisfaction that confronts them on every hand, with a few crumbs of comfort and an opportunity to claim that the tide had turned against radicalism.

Then, again, the "Reds" were not so certain that their agitation would not have encouraged further discussion favorable to the formation of a labor party, which is not now needed, if it ever was, and would only serve to confuse the workers. Besides, the Socialist party will have plenty of work to assimilate the new recruits who are coming into the fold this year and prevent itself from being hamstrung by some radical reform movement that may be launched by clever capitalistic politicians with the promise of "getting something now," week after next or thereabouts. Indeed, Gompers displayed his thinly veiled contempt for ephemeral and transitory "isms" at every opportunity, and quite likely the wish fathers the thought that the rising young Socialist movement will be swamped in the same manner that the Populist revolt was, over a dozen years ago.

The truth of the matter is that the Socialist movement doesn't need to pursue the same tactics that were necessary ten or fifteen years ago to gain attention. It is receiving plenty of publicity nowadays from all sides, and the problem of the future is to educate and organize the newcomers and maintain a class-conscious, militant organization.

Let us not forget that the resourceful capitalistic enemy will send its spies into the Socialist party, just as those soulless scoundrels are sent into the trade unions, for the purpose of creating strife and disruption. The time has come to watch out in this respect. There are a number of states and cities in which some individuals have been and are acting as though they had the brand of the Manufacturers'



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Information Bureau or Corporations Auxiliary or the National Civic Federation on them. The persons that I refer to are never happier than when engaged in hair-splitting over tactics and starting factional rows, and raising Ned generally. These pinheads seem to take more delight in lambasting their own comrades for some alleged shortcomings than giving their attention to the great, broad principles that form the basis of the working class movement, and keeping their guns trained upon the common enemy. These dogmatists and catmatists appear to think that their mission in life is to denounce somebody else for not being a "good Socialist," just as the old school of trade union leaders, so-called, imagine that it is up to them to charge others with whom they disagree as being anything but "good unionists."

I repeat that this holier-than-thou danger point should be avoided in the Socialist party as well as the trade unions. Let us rather aim to discover the general principles and tactics upon which we can agree; let us go along together as far as possible, for there is work ahead to keep everybody busy—in fact, we are entering an era, indeed are already in it, that will put the organized working class movement to the fiercest test that ever has been experienced by any modern human institution. Centralized capitalism and its multitudinous agencies have never been more powerful than now, and the predictions that the Socialist agitators made upon the floor of the A. F. of L. conventions a decade ago are being fulfilled. The machinery of production has become trustified and monopolized, and labor is being mercilessly attacked on every side. The rank and file are beginning to appreciate that fact, even if their alleged leaders are not, and there is a widespread wave favorable to independent political action sweeping through the country. The thinking members of union labor are beginning to understand that the old methods of organization that obtained a quarter of a century ago are inadequate in this monopoly age.

Shall we take advantage of this opportunity to bring about a closer affiliation between the unions and the Socialist party, each to control its particular sphere

of action? In my opinion, yes; and in my dual capacity I would advise all Socialists to join the trade unions and take an active interest in them, and all trade unionists ought to join the Socialist movement, and thus bring about a situation that will enable us to fight effectively with our industrial and political arms. And if it is necessary to unhorse a few reactionists on the one side and impossibilists on the other, let us do that. It is not a question of keeping leaders and spokesmen in positions of prominence, but rather the good of the whole American labor movement.

**Portland, Oregon.**—I take this opportunity to add my indorsement of your series of lessons on Marxian Economics by Mary E. Marcy beginning in the November REVIEW. These and your articles on Anti-patriotism are the most vital and necessary to the Socialist propaganda; and again let me say the REVIEW has the most thorough grasp on the needs of the movement of any publication in America. The comrades on the Pacific coast are strong for the I. S. L.

Yours for the Revolution,

W. G. H.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



COMRADES DEBS AND BREWER.

**Our Local Sends This \$10.00** for ten Review subscriptions. Send us the \$10 worth of books we ask for as premiums. We are going to give these to the Public Library, and next week we will come in with another list of subscriptions. Book premiums will also go to the library. Why don't you tell other locals how to get free books to donate to the public libraries? Perhaps they would like to do likewise.—W. T. Rubell, Calif.

**Socialists in Gary, Ind.**, have organized a Local of eighteen members with Paul P. Glaser, Gary building, Gary, as their secretary. The Local plans to start a regular educational campaign and started a lecture course December 11th; with Secretary Glaser as their first speaker. Gary ought to be fruitful soil for the movement, and we believe our comrades there will be able to show great results if they carry out the big plans they have formed.

**From Sharon, Pennsylvania.**—It makes no difference how much or how little you have read on the question of Socialism, you should

read "THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW." It has been styled "the fighting magazine of the Socialist movement." This is perhaps true, but the style and tone is such, that no one but a bigot can reasonably take offense at anything in it. It can be found on sale at all times at Alderman's cigar store, State street, Sharon, who reports that it sells equally as well as any other magazine on his stand, and he has perhaps the largest sale of magazines of any news stand in Sharon. It is also on sale at all Socialist meetings in Sharon.

**Rochester, N. Y.**—Here are my loyal greetings with my renewal for the constantly improving REVIEW. Although my hands are tied financially, I am with you body and soul to carry on the good work. I have not voted for anybody in the old robber parties since Grant and Colfax ran, and I am beginning to call myself one of the Old Socialists, and you may know how I glory in the strides the Cause has taken since those days. Yours for Socialism.—A. E. Murray.

**The December Review** is the BEST EVER. From Geo. Humberstone, of Toledo.

**The Review Is Selling FINE.**—I only got copies three days ago and am almost sold out. Send me 100 for January and 30 more of the December number. Find check to cover same enclosed—W. S. Holly, California.

**C. J. Pickert, of Minnesota.**—Mere words butter no parsnips; but I am almost as proud of the REVIEW as though I had had something to do in making it what it is.

**C. E. Kline, Washington.**—Here is another dollar for which extend my REVIEW subscription another year. The REVIEW is the only magazine in America worth taking. It gives the REAL NEWS.

**W. W. Barden.**—I have been successful in my efforts to persuade Local Union No. 151 to subscribe for 100 INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS each month.

**Charles Drenk.**—Our twelve-year-old comrade in Elkhart, writes ordering 20 copies of the December REVIEW early, and advising us that he was doing fine selling his bundle after school. We wish more of our young comrades would send for bundles to earn Christ-

mas money or spending cash. Good for you Comrade Drenk. We hope you will keep at it and at it till you get all your friends and neighbors interested in Socialism.

**Comrade M. E. Haskell** of Boston writes: A capital issue—November, 1910; interesting, convincing, meaty—an almost incredible growth in readability and richness within the past two years. Signed—A Proud Subscriber. Just you wait, Comrade Haskell, till we make the REVIEW what we are aiming for. Such post cards as yours make us determined to make the REVIEW the best magazine ever published.

**H. A. Sullivan, Ohio.**—Please find \$3.00 for 60 copies of the December Review, I am well pleased with your magazine. It's a good seller and a favorite with the shop boys. You will hear from me again.

**J. H. Coon, Idaho.**—Enclosed find one dollar bill to renew my subscription to the Review. the best magazine on deck.

**From W. Va.**—My barber had promised to keep the REVIEW in sight if he gets it free—so enclosed find \$1.00 for which you may send the REVIEW one year to C. C., barber, and the dollar book selected for myself is "Looking Forward."

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**Barbarous Mexico.** This new illustrated book by John Kenneth Turner is already a big success, and scarcely an effort has as yet been made to circulate it outside Socialist channels. The price is \$1.50, but we will mail YOU a copy for 50 cents, provided that at the same time you send \$1.00 for a year's subscription to the REVIEW.

**Co-operative Buying.** We have had many inquiries from Socialists desiring to purchase their supplies of food and other necessities co-operatively. Our objection to such attempts in the past has been that too often there is no competent management, and the result is a disappointment to every one concerned. This objection is entirely overcome in the case of the Co-operative Bulk Buyers' Agency, whose advertisement appears on another page of this month's Review. Comrade Walter Huggins, its manager, is a thoroughly experienced grocery buyer and salesman, and has facilities for supplying the best goods for the least money. He has been a party member for many years, and we can recommend him. Send him a trial order and you will come back for more.

**Stockholders' Meeting.** The annual meeting of the stockholders of Charles H. Kerr & Company will be held at 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago, on Saturday, January 14, 1911, at 1 p. m., for the purpose of electing a new board of seven directors for the ensuing year in place of R. H. Chaplin, J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, L. H. Marcy, Charles H. Kerr, Walter Huggins and Charles Roux, whose term of office expires at that time. We have now over 2,200 stockholders, scattered all over the world, and many of them fail to notify us when changing their postoffice addresses. If you hold a share of stock and do not receive a

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THE FIGHTING EDITOR, or Warren and the Appeal, by George D. Brewer, tells the complete story of the Warren case. See Editorial page of this month's Review. Cloth, 50 cents postpaid; 10 copies prepaid for \$3.00; 40 for \$10.00.

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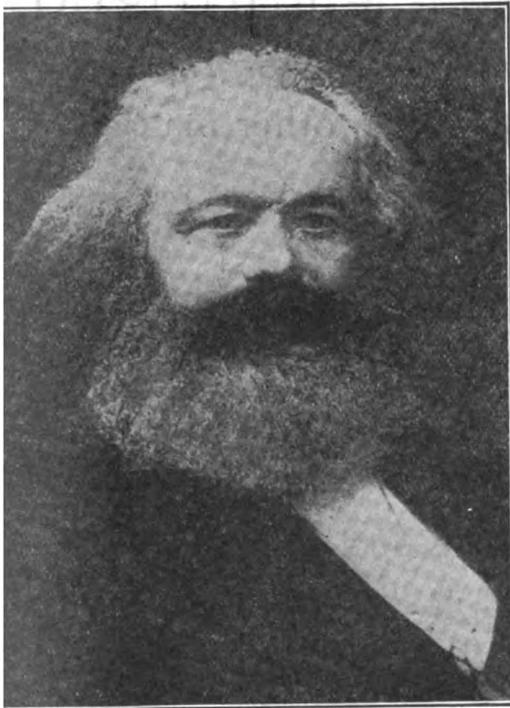
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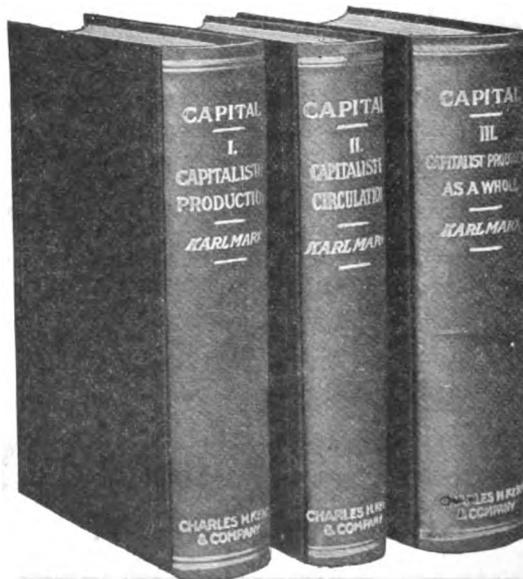
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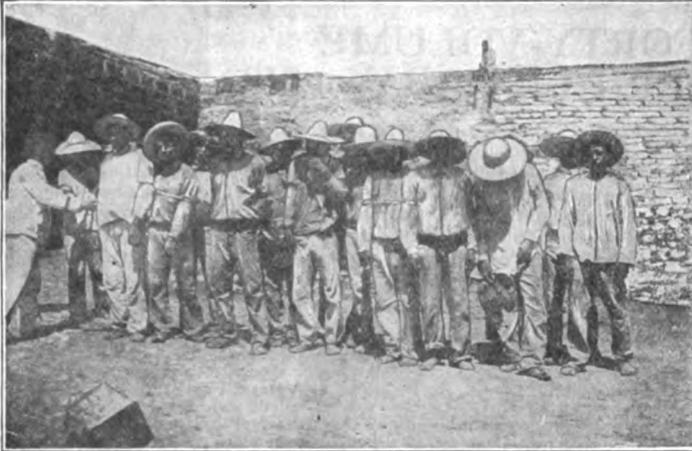
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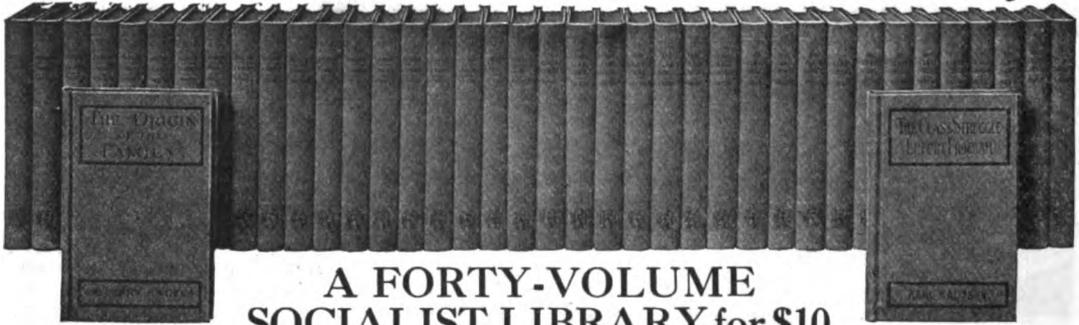


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