

JULY, 1911

PRICE TEN CENTS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*



**The Night Shift at the Speculator Mine—A Part of the Six Thousand
Who Marched on Miners' Union Day, Butte, Mont.**

SQUEEZING THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES

By ONE OF THEM

THE COMING OF THE CAPITALIST FARMER

By FRANK BOHN

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The Bible reviewed in the
light of Modern Science

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR

By

ROBERT BLATCHFORD

IS THE BIBLE TRUE?

This is the chief subject of debate to-day between Christians and Scientists the world over

Robert Blatchford says: "Is the Bible a holy and inspired book and the Word of God to man, or is it an incongruous and contradictory collection of tribal tradition and ancient fables, written by men of genius and imagination?"

Mr. Blatchford believes RELIGIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. "God is love," they say. To which Blatchford replies: "This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR is not an attack upon religion. It is a study of the Bible from the scientific point of view. It is one of the most thought-provoking books of the age. It is being discussed from hundreds of platforms and in thousands of homes.

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118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Growth of the REVIEW. With this issue THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW begins its twelfth year. Its period of rapid growth starts with 1908, when its editorial management was changed. At the beginning of that year its actual paid circulation was only about 3,000. By the end of the year it was 10,000, and since then its growth has been steady and solid. Our editions for the last year have been as follows:

July, 1910	26,000
August	23,000
September	26,000
October	27,000
November	28,000
December	30,000
January, 1911	33,000
February	40,000
March	35,000
April	36,000
May	46,750
June	40,000

Our actual average for the first six months of 1911 is 38,458, and no future issue will be less than 40,000; on the contrary, a rapid increase is certain.

Help Us Enlarge. THE REVIEW is now just self-supporting. Ten thousand new subscriptions at the full price of a dollar a year will make it possible for us to add thirty-two pages without advancing the price. The increased circulation will make it easy to get more advertising, and in the course of a few months this should enable us to give double the present number of pages at the same price. Two things should be noted.

1. It is the NEW subscriptions sent DIRECT to us that will help us enlarge THE REVIEW, and we must depend on our present readers to FIND the new subscribers.

2. By answering the advertisements published in THE REVIEW our readers will help us hold and increase the advertising absolutely essential to the enlargement we hope for.

A Socialist History of the United States. It is with very great pleasure that we announce what we believe to be the most important contribution to the literature of American Socialism. For over ten years Comrade Frank Bohn has been gathering data in

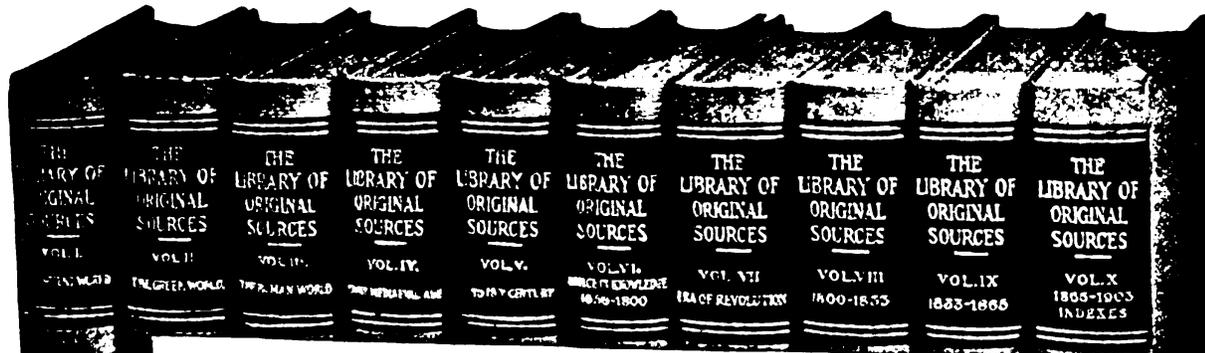
preparation for this undertaking. He worked two years as Fellow of the University of Michigan, specializing in this particular line, and has made a personal study and examination of many of the most important documents that have had a bearing upon the history of the United States.

Comrade Bohn has also had experience lecturing upon the Industrial History of the United States at Columbia University and is, we believe, better qualified to carry on this work than any other man in the United States. There have been many so-called histories, but heretofore no economic interpretation of the history of the United States.

Comrade Bohn's work, long in preparation, is nearing completion and we hope to make the publication of it one of our great accomplishments this fall. The author has had years of practical experience in the Socialist Movement of America as well as years of scientific training in methods of historical research and we have no hesitation in saying that his present work will be the most important contribution to the literature of American Socialism.

New Propaganda Books. Do not fail to read the announcement on the last page of cover, describing *Industrial Socialism*, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn; *The Strength of the Strong*, by Jack London, and *Shop Talks on Economics*, by Mary E. Marcy. These will all be books of the sort most urgently needed—easily understood, forcible, direct, books that help develop CLEAR-HEADED REVOLUTIONISTS. We expect to have all three ready to send out by July 15. The price after publication will be \$5.00 a hundred, but for \$12.00 sent BEFORE July 15 we will send by express prepaid upon publication 100 each of the three books.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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

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International Notes : Literature : News and Views : Publishers' Department

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For \$1.50 mailed to reach us on or before July 31, 1911, we will mail the REVIEW one year and THE ROSE DOOR; see third page of cover.

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are still for sale. We want to issue these to active Socialists at once. We promise no dividends, for our aim is not to make profits, but to circulate the greatest possible quantity of the best socialist literature at the lowest possible prices. Every dollar we have received for the last eleven years has been used to print and advertise socialist books and to build up THE REVIEW, and we expect in future as in the past to use our entire income in the work of socialist education and propaganda rather than to divide any money in dividends.

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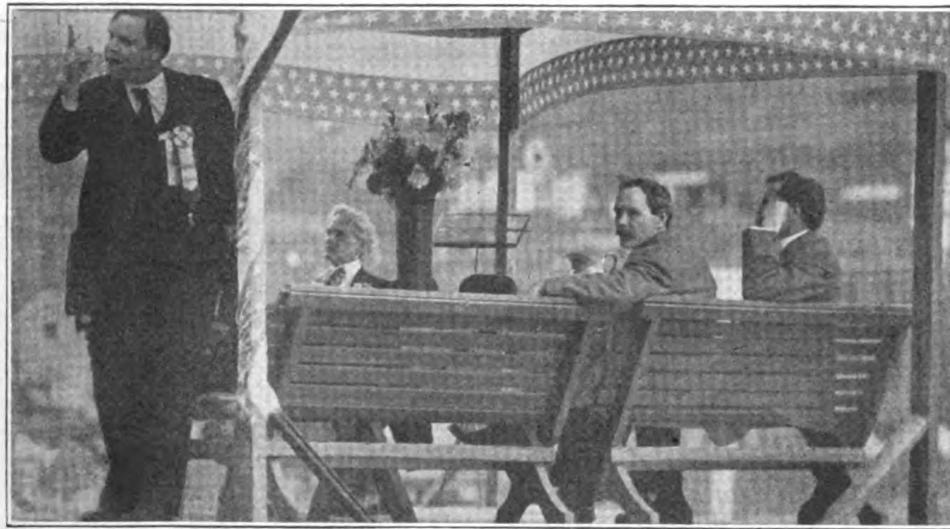
JULY, 1911

No. 1

MINERS' UNION DAY IN BUTTE

BY

CLARENCE A. SMITH



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD ADDRESSING THE MINERS AT COLUMBIA GARDENS, MINERS' UNION DAY, BUTTE, JUNE 13. MAYOR DUNCAN ON THE LEFT, VICE-PRESIDENT CURRY AND PRESIDENT DAN SULLIVAN ON THE RIGHT.

IT would be difficult to imagine a more inspiring spectacle than that presented by the working class of Butte June 13th, the thirty-third anniversary of the organization of Butte Miners' Union. The monster parade in the morning and the tense interest and enthusiastic reception of the revolutionary addresses at the open air meeting at Columbia Gardens in the afternoon, indicated such a working class solidarity as would gladden the hearts of the least hopeful of those whose eyes are turned toward the coming revolution.

SIX THOUSAND MINERS IN LINE.

The parade formed on North Main street, in the neighborhood of miners'

union hall, the first division starting at 9:45 o'clock. More than an hour and a half was required for the parade to pass a given point. It is estimated ten thousand workers were in line, more than six thousand of whom were members of Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M.

HAYWOOD AND DUNCAN LEAD PARADE.

"Big Bill" Haywood, former secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, and the man who spent nearly two years in a dungeon at Boise, Idaho, a victim of the wrath of the mine owners' association, and who was later acquitted of the charge of murdering Ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, was the honor guest. Lewis J. Duncan, Socialist

mayor of Butte, occupied a carriage following the one in which Haywood rode.

Probably no other man in America has been the subject for so much capitalistic abuse and persecution as Haywood. For this reason, if for no other, it must have been gratifying to the big miner to lead the greatest labor demonstration Butte has ever known. Haywood was especially moved by the great outpouring of miners, more than six thousand of whom paid tribute to his fidelity to their interests.

CAPITALISTIC POLITICIANS NOT IN FRONT.

Although the announced line of march provided a place for the county officials following the speakers of the day, Sheriff O'Rourke and County Attorney Thos. Walker, took their places at the head of the parade when it was forming. Big Joe Shannon, a miner, and one of the marshals of the day, was cheered by the workers when he dragged the capitalistic politicians out of first place and ordered them back to the places assigned to them.

It is probable that the working people of this country will be given an opportunity of viewing Butte's greatest labor parade, as motion pictures were taken at a number of places along the line of march.

MEN WHO MADE BUTTE.

Two tally-hos carried a score or more of Butte's oldest miners. These grizzled veterans of the war of industry have for more than a quarter of a century contributed largely to the fortunes of so-called "copper kings," many of whom have never seen the mines of Butte. These disabled and aged workers would have been deprived of the privilege of participating in their union's demonstration had not the union itself provided means for their conveyance.

Officers of the Montana Federation of Labor, the Silver Bow (county) Trades and Labor Council, and of all local unions, of W. F. of M. and international affiliations alike, marched in the parade.

A check was kept against the members of the miners' union marching. At the end of the march, coupons were distributed to all miners, such coupons returnable to the secretary of the union, who thereupon credited the member with parading. Although six thousand of these coupons were printed, not enough

were on hand to accommodate all who called for them.

WOMEN THERE, TOO.

A pretty feature of the parade was the participation of the women's protective union, the members riding in carriages.

It is not possible within the space of this account to detail the splendid showing of each separate union. Mention must be made, however, of the teamsters. These men, mounted on handsome and well groomed horses, to the number of nearly two hundred, were a center of attraction along the line of march.

Two mules that were brought up from the depths of the mines for the day were given a prominent place in the procession.

THE SPEECHES.

Haywood and Mayor Duncan were the speakers at the gardens. The Socialist mayor was entirely at home before a working class audience, as he has been fighting the battles of the workers more or less successfully for many years in Butte.

When Haywood stepped to the front of the platform in response to an introduction by President Dan Sullivan, of the miners' union, he was accorded a rousing reception. The former secretary of the federation was in fine fettle, and the approval of the miners was manifested throughout by the tense interest with which they listened, and the frequent outbursts of applause.

BUTTE ALL RIGHT.

Labor's demonstration on Miners' Union Day, coming as it did so soon after the working class victory at the city election, indicates the growing class consciousness of the working people of the "greatest mining camp on earth." In the face of the vilest and most bitter opposition to the Socialist administration from capitalist interests, it is a fine thing to note that the workers possess the intelligence and class consciousness to line up solidly against their enemies. Whether or not the Socialists win the next election in this district is in reality second in importance to unifying the working class economically and politically. Every indication at this time points to the consummation of that hitherto apparently impossible task.

PICK AND SHOVEL POINTERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



IT is better to be a traitor to a country than to be a traitor to your own class. A battlefield is the Foolkiller's paradise.

Workingmen fighting for capitalists are their victims.

A live soldier is a hobo. A dead soldier is a hero. More monuments!

An armory is a school where the young Idea is taught to shoot to kill.

A militiaman is a scab on the regular soldiers.

The regular army is an institution for making widows, orphans and pensions.

Capitalists have no country, no flag, no patriotism, no honor and no God but Gold! Their emblem is the dollar mark. Their ensign the black flag of commercial piracy. Their symbol the skull and crossbones of little children, and their password is Graft.

Society is in three layers. There are the dregs on the bottom, deputies, detectives, soldiers and strike-breakers; the working class—the great pay streak in the center; and the parasites—the scum on top.

The policeman is a pimple, the soldier a boil on the body politic, both the result of a diseased system. They can be readily eradicated by a strong dose of that medicine called Socialism.

The Socialist party is not a political party in the same sense as other existing parties. The success of Socialism would abolish practically every office existing under the present form of government. Councils, legislatures and congresses would not be composed principally of lawyers, as they are now, whose highest ambition seems to be to enact laws with loop-holes in them for the Rich. But the Congresses of the Workers would be composed of men and women representing the different branches of Industry and their work would be directed to improving the conditions of labor, to minimize the expenditure of labor-power and to increase production.



GIRL STRIKER SPEAKING

ONE BOSS LESS THE MINERSVILLE STRIKE

BY

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE particular employer engaged in this conflict is typical. Over twelve years ago he came to Minersville and opened a factory. Since that time a chain of factories have been installed throughout the anthracite regions and the farming belt that lies South of Pottsville, absorbing all the unused labor of women and girls, who previously engaged in domestic tasks at home, until, through marriage, they established homes of their own.

Dependent for a living upon brothers, fathers and husbands, the factory gate seemed the door of opportunity to them. Life had been a stepping from their father's threshold to their husband's, a sheltered, healthy, but often monotonous and uneventful existence. Many of the younger generation were educated in the public schools and felt the lure of the big cities; others were not satisfied with the domestic life, and so the factory spelled a varied experi-

ence, a wider life and independence. They welcomed it eagerly and were engulfed in its hungry maw.

When Coombs came to Minersville he was poor and unknown. He was financed by a man named Phillips, a Jewish oculist and rabbi, who likewise commenced his career poor. But running expenses of shirt and underwear factories are less in Pennsylvania towns than in New York or Philadelphia, and girls are cheaper. In the large cities girls are supposed to secure at least a living wage, as most of them are dependent solely upon their earnings. Often they do not, and lives of shame and horror are the result. But the majority attempt to secure it, and a pretence is made by the employers to pay it. Not so here. Wages are simply fit for *spending money* and do not nearly equal living expenses. The girls still live at home. They have lost the illusion of being self-supporting, and make no pretense of being. They are as dependent on

their families as ever they were, and the outrageous condition prevails of miners and farmers raising and caring for daughters to turn them over to the factory owners as instruments of production, practically free of charge.

They lend their children to Coombs and Phillips, and receive them back physical wrecks, hollow-eyed, flat-chested, nervous from overwork. Young girls are taken from schools at a tender age and crushed in the industrial prisons that disfigure the hills and valleys. The vitality of future generations is sapped through the grinding toil these future mothers must endure. From every point of view—financially, physically and morally—these factories have been a blight and a curse to every region they invade.

girl operators courageously refused to work for the eight cents, and deserted the factory. They formulated their demands for the ten-cent scale, and included a recognition of their personal rights, which had been ruthlessly trampled upon. More is involved in this strike than a question of wages.

I have been informed by one of the forewomen that Coombs was accustomed to use the vilest of profanity to drive the girls to greater efforts, and would grab their scarfs, even tearing them to shreds. In one case he shook a girl so severely that she went into hysterics.

For twelve weeks these operators have been out. Soon they realized that as long as the cutters, binders, pressers and teamsters remained at work, Coombs could the more easily replace them, and as a result of



WHERE THE WOULD-BE BOSS LIVES

At first, Coombs employed the girl operators at twelve cents per dozen pieces, but they made too much at this rate, and were reduced to ten cents, and finally to eight. Working day and night on piece work, one girl was able to earn twenty-four dollars in two weeks at the ten-cent rate, and Mr. Coombs quotes this astounding amount as an instance of the good wages the girls earned, but he conveniently forgot the little girls of fifteen and sixteen years, who earned as low as \$1.50 and \$2.00 per week, and all the others graded between this and \$9 earned by the forewoman. Ignorant of unionism and completely unorganized, the

a great open-air mass meeting, addressed by Con F. Foley, of Pottsville, and myself, in which the entire population enthusiastically participated, a general tie-up was effected. The factory is closed from cellar to roof.

Coombs became desperate. He threatened to move his factory to Brooklyn, where he claims a site has already been purchased, but the girls realize that he is bound to this region by economic ties which cannot easily be severed. He rents houses and owns a splendid residence in Minersville, and controls factories for Phillips in Tremont, Valley View, Mahoney City, Track-

ville and other places. Here he is a pillar of society, hobnobs with judges, and has his own automobile. Whereas, his importance would sink into insignificance in a great industrial center.

We are making efforts not only to tie up all of his other plants, but every factory and mill in this region, where wages are inadequate and women are shamelessly exploited. Our attempts in Tremont illustrate our difficulties and Mr. Coombs' methods. While we were addressing the girls from one factory Mr. Coombs rushed past in his machine and into his factory, where he detained the girls for about five minutes. His intimation that if they listened to the agitators they need not report for work further had effect, for when he dismissed them, they marched convict-like, arm in arm, past the meeting, and could not be induced to listen.

These girls had their wages raised to nine cents to head off a strike. Thus, they are profiting by the struggle of the girls in



A GROUP OF STRIKERS AND COMRADES.

Minersville, while virtually scabbing on them. Far from being discouraged, however, we feel that Coombs has shown his fear, and we intend to arouse these girls to a realization of the situation.

This strike, the first of its kind in the anthracite region, has been invaluable, as it has served to set ablaze the smouldering rebellion of other women workers. It was followed by a strike in the silk mill of Shamokin, and a partial strike in the silk mill of Pottsville.

We are hopeful that it is the beginning of a real union movement among the women. Craft unionism has ignorantly segregated the workers until the women, neglected and unorganized, were left to the mercy of the capitalist wolves. Miners worry only for miners, brewery workers for themselves, and so on through the list. But the employers are alert and class conscious. The boss of the Fox factory in Tremont told the girls if they attempted to influence the Coombs girls, they would be discharged.



THE SWEAT SHOP IS CLOSED.

Committees of business men played their usual role of urging the girls to compromise for nine cents, but the girls, on the advice of the local comrades, refused the offer. As for the craft unionists, the girls could have been sold out and defeated, and no aid or advice extended to them, had not the Socialists taken up their cause. Coombs approached Foley "to fix up things," but was confronted by a committee of his own girls, with whom he refused to deal.

But the girls have not missed the "labor leaders," for they have been visited by both Big Bill Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. Debs stopped on his way through to Shamokin, sacrificing his personal comfort and rest between dates. He spoke on the street corner, from an old wagon, surrounded by dust-begrimed miners, striking girls and little children, and his ringing voice speaking words of cheer and revolutionary spirit, sounded throughout the little town. Two

cossacks paced back and forth; they were called in to drive the girls from the picket line, and arrogantly sought trouble at the meeting.

Comrade Debs, like a gallant old war-horse, entered the fray and poured forth his denunciation of Coombs and his kind in words of burning fire. Everybody heard his message of industrial unionism to the toilers.

We have talked industrial unionism to the girls throughout the progress of the strike, and have advanced the I. W. W. as the union in which they belong. The girls are embracing the ideas of Socialism, and the strike cannot be a failure. Successful, they will organize for better things. Defeated, the spirit that can never die will have been infused into their beings.

As did Debs and the other comrades before leaving, we must give three cheers for the striking girls of Minersville.



COMRADE DEBS SPEAKING

TO OUR EMPLOYEES:

After a period of twelve years uninterrupted operation at our factory in Minersville and during which time the best of good feeling between the employees and the management prevailed, we now find ourselves confronted with a condition which necessitates our closing down indefinitely.

Why?

Because one person gloating with vanity has managed to terrorize a portion of our employees. He has used force and to attempt to continue work would be to

endanger the lives of our employees and outside persons which we have no desire to do.

The management begs to notify the 200 or more faithful employees who were anxious and willing to work and who were prevented by intimidation and threats; to seek work elsewhere, as our factory will remain closed until Con Foley withdraws from the issue.

THE COOMBE GARMENT CO.,
Minersville, Pa.

ALL THE ROADS LEAD TO SOCIALISM

BY

JOHN A. RANDOLPH

SOcialism is a form of industrial society soon to be realized. When it prevails the workers themselves, through their industrial government, will own the land, raw materials, machinery and means of transportation. Through this industrial government they will make the laws for the operation of these industries. Thus the workers will have under their complete control the conditions of their labor. All of the product will go to the workers.

ALL THE ROADS OF CIVILIZATION LEAD TO SOCIALISM.

The invention of machines and the applications of science to industry are rapidly making Socialism necessary to the very life of the worker. The only solution to the problem of unemployment is less hours of work, more leisure and a greater income to each individual worker. The only solution of the problem of poverty is for the workers to take back the wealth produced by them and thus furnish themselves with food, clothing and shelter. The more machines which are put to work, and the larger and more complicated they become, the nearer we get to Socialism.

These conditions, of course, are forcing the working class to understand Socialism and fight for it. But the harder we study and the harder we fight the sooner we will get it. We can even imagine a working class so broken by poverty, so sunken in ignorance, so cowardly from weakness of body, mind and spirit, that it would never make the fight necessary to defeat the capitalists and their parasitic supporters. These latter are the only natural enemies of Socialism. They will fight against it to the bitter end.

BUT THE WORKERS ARE BECOMING AROUSED. THEY ARE LEARNING. THEY ARE FIGHTING. THEY ARE ORGANIZING INTO THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

This line of march is the great highway to Socialism. But many byways lead into this main road. The manual workers are not the only ones to fight the enemies of the working class and of progress.

The scholar, burning the midnight oil, gets deep into the study of the history and government of society. He examines causes. Taking nothing for granted he lets the facts alone speak and tell their story. He finds that all governments have been the governments of ruling classes. One form of government follows another as the interests and the powers of different groups of masters have permitted them to enslave their fellow men. He finds that the government and laws of today were born yesterday and will die tomorrow. What is coming in their place, he asks? The answer, he finds, is "Socialism." Through the byway of pure science, of an honest search for the truth, the scholar joins the march on the great highway to Socialism.

The charity worker goes among the very poor to clothe the naked, feed the hungry and repair the injuries of ignorance and disease. She labors long and well and brings some degree of comfort to many. But when she aids one, ten more stand with outstretched arms. She reforms the thief and murderer only to find that when he wishes to earn an honest living he cannot find employment. She cures the sick child and sees it sent to the factory, where it displaces its parents. All honest charity workers who have the intelligence to understand the life about them, become Socialists after a few months or at most a few years of experience. Along the byway of charity and kindly deeds they come to march as soldiers against the enemies of civilization.

The member of the old fashioned labor union goes on strike with his union for better conditions of labor and higher wages. He and his fellows are fighting a great

trust. A few hundred have gone on strike; many thousands continue to work for the trust. The strike is lost. "Let us have one union," says the union man. The cry is taken up by others. Soon some bold member of the union calls out, "ONE UNION AND LET THE UNION OWN THE MACHINES." Now if we have one union and the union owns and governs the machines we shall have Socialism. So the old fashioned union men, long misled and many times defeated, break their way at last to higher, clearer ground and join the hosts of Socialism.

The physician goes his daily rounds and finds every class of humanity afflicted by disease. The children of the poor die by thousands. The children of the rich are over-indulged. There are diseases which result from poverty and diseases which result from luxury. There are diseases caused by idleness and diseases caused by overwork. Hundreds of thousands a year suffer from accidents in industries, from unnecessary fires, unnecessary turmoil. He finds the whole race ill and hunts for the cause. The causes are profit seeking and profit taking, overwork and unemployment, starvation and gluttony. The physician is young, active minded and honest. He resolves that henceforth, while doing what he can for the afflicted individual, he will do more for afflicted society and thus for himself. So he takes his place in the ranks of the working class.

The wife in her home finds that it is far from being a heaven. She is entirely dependent upon another for support. The whole of life for herself and her children is made dependent upon another. Much of her labor, the making of cloth and of clothing, the preparation of food, these have been taken to the factory. If she follow this labor to the factory, in order to perform her portion of the useful service of the world, she will not be able to main-

tain the home. She finds herself, anxious and willing to be strong and independent minded through labor and service, forced to live upon what she discovers to be the charity of another. As a mother she fears for the future of her children. If doomed to labor in poverty for others they will suffer all the ills of slavery. If riches and mastership be their portion, their lives are only too likely to be blighted by idleness, profligacy and by poverty of the mind. The wife of the husband of every class, the mother of the children of every class—these, when they come to understand the world in which they live, gather from the dishonored and broken homes of the present to march with the workers toward Socialism.

The patriot, his country's fame besmirched and its government degraded, hastens along the way that leads to the newer and better government of the world. The philosopher, the poet, the artist—these have learned that the pursuit of knowledge and the arts is rendered impossible by a social system given over to knavery and intrigue, to dirt and vulgarity.

Lastly comes one stunted in mind and body, hobbling on a crutch, his face disfigured by fire and wounds, his lips muttering idly against life in general. His heart is sorrowful or perchance now quite unmoved through long suffering. Yet it is animated by one mighty hope which has taken possession of what remains of this long-debilitated creature. It is the average worker. He, having little faith, remained long without the ranks. His byway has been rough and narrow but it led unswervingly to the main highway. His toiling comrades long ago understood and started in the right direction. This straggling wight waited until the hard conditions of life no longer permitted him to rest. He has been driven by whips to join the column.

ALL THE ROADS LEAD TO SOCIALISM.





THE BARBER MANSION

Fifty Rooms, Marble Floors and Mantels, Carved English Walnut Woodwork, Frescoed Ceilings, Silk Damask Walls. Cost, \$250,000.00.

THE BARBER FARM AT BARBERTON

BY

FRANK BOHN

THE first question put to the visitor at Barberton, Ohio, on his arrival at that busy factory town, is, "Have you seen the Barber farm?" If you haven't you are sure to set about seeing it presently. You walk out along a straight, smooth country road and get to a hill which gives prominence to the fine mansion of stone and pressed brick at its top.

THE HOUSE.

"This, then, is the residence of O. C. Barber, the great Match King?"

"O, no; this is the dwelling of the superintendent of the farm. The King's palace is on the next hill."

En route to the next hill, passing over an artistic bridge and macademized roads, one sees on every hand evidences of profound change. Quaint old farm houses sadly needing paint and a new chimney appear

mournful indeed when compared to the beautiful new brick cattle barns. An old well into which four generations of Ohio farmers plunged the "Old Oaken Bucket" is no longer called upon to perform its humble service. A gasoline engine pounding noisily by the roadside draws water from a well ten times as deep. Then we come upon "the house." From the highest spot upon which it is possible to place it, the mansion frowns upon 2,500 acres, 200 laborers, and upon the fast disappearing landmarks of the many small farms which have been consolidated to please the fancy and fatten the purse of the "Match King."

"What will Socialism do with the farmer?" asked an old fashioned Ohio Republican who came with us. We turned our backs upon him and inspected the power plant in the rear of the house.



THE POWER PLANT

OHIO.

Glance at a map of the United States and you will notice that Ohio was one of the first of those western states which offered freedom to the eastern wage-worker and debt cursed farmer. Here the soil was deep and rich and the winters not so severe as in New York or New England. On they came by the thousands and then by the tens of thousands. The United States government charged \$1.25 an acre for public land, but much of the Virginia military lands were sold for sixty-five cents an acre. And, don't let it be known too widely nor among the very respectable, there were immoral people in those days who refused to pay anything at all for this good land. They simply "squatted" on a piece and held it. "Direct actionists" they might be called. Hamilton or Adams would have ousted them or jailed them for debt. But then came Jefferson and the squatters did not have to organize in order to "take and hold" possession. Political and social radicals of every description came. They sometimes left debts behind and even people with bullet holes in them.

THE FOUNDATION OF FREEDOM.

Free soil grew free men. The argument of Henry George was not without point in Ohio a hundred years ago. The tools of production—the crude plow, the scythe, the flail for thrashing—these were as easily obtained by the incoming wage-workers as were a log cabin and a good opinion of themselves. A century ago the only considerable place on the earth's surface where every man by the mere fact of being a man had a right to vote was the old Northwest Territory. It lay between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes. Here, before the

Civil War, were the "free American citizens" who still live in Fourth of July orations and in the imaginations of the deaf, dumb and blind.

Joshua R. Giddings and Tom Corwin passed up and down sweating with anger against chattel slavery and giving stormy vent to their feelings. Old John Brown came and lived here, finding men and money for his emancipation expeditions. Almost within sight of Barberton, James A. Garfield, the last farmer President, trudged up and down behind a team of mules on the Ohio canal, in the forties. Then came railroads and factories and, incidentally, the Civil War. The Ohio farmers shouldered their muskets almost en masse. Some of them came back and found that the South had not been the only field of smoke, of conflict and of change. The city of Cleveland grew from 42,000 inhabitants in 1860 to 95,000 in 1870.

THE GREAT CHANGE.

Let us again glance at the map. We see that between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes we have a marvelous grouping of industrial factors. These two water courses were in fact the old roads to the West. Along them passed the stream of homeseekers. Today if a line be drawn around Buffalo and Pittsburg on the east and St. Louis and Milwaukee on the west, you will have roughly a hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles enclosed. This area included the nation's greatest coal areas and is the seat of the iron and steel industry. It contains eight of our sixteen greatest cities. Sixty years ago it was nine-tenths farm. Today it is four-fifths work shop. Some day the story of the industrial revolution in the Middle West will be told. And what a story it will be! The main thread will be the history of the American iron and steel industry in the nineteenth century. Here we can hardly touch upon it.

The mighty cities of this region are not cities at all, in the European sense. They are teeming hives of industry, black from smoke, sweating from labor, pouring out wealth beyond comprehension, but almost totally devoid of civilized interests. Here we have capitalism unrestrained and unashamed, roaring in our ears the fact that the flood tide of profit-making shall recognize no limits. Twenty minutes on a train

into Cleveland or Cincinnati or Pittsburg and the change is one of the most marvelous possible to human experience. For one passes from the best of the old time freedom to the worst of modern slavery.

No population which toiled with its hands in any other period of the world's history nor in any other place ever lived in such good houses, had such universally abundant and excellent food, nor enjoyed so much general peace and prosperity as the old-time Western farmer. Some modern land reformers talk about "three acres and liberty." The old Ohio or Illinois farmer had to have three acres for his family to sit down upon at the Sunday school picnic. He wanted at least 160 acres of black land well stocked and with tools for its cultivation.

Economic changes generally take place imperceptibly, hence they have been so little understood. Industrial evolution in the United States has come with a speed that leaves no one doubting that there has been a change. In all the world there is nothing quite so peaceful as an Ohio or Indiana farmhouse alone amid two hundred acres of fields and green woods. And the whole dominion of modern capitalism may be searched in vain for scenes so entirely the opposite of this as may be observed on every hand in the great metal working cities of the Middle West.

Yet these changes, however revolutionary as regards the life of the whole Nation, did not at first uproot the small farmer. The removal of the processes of metal working, furniture making and cloth making to the cities decreased the country population, but it gave to those who remained much greater leisure. Thus it decreased the hardships of farm life. With a rapid growth of population in all capitalist countries and the improvement of the means of transportation, the price of farm products rose. For the time being the small farmer seemed to strengthen his hold upon his economic status. These conditions, entirely temporary in their nature, misled some very keen students of American life. Professor Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, in his "Socialism and Social Reform," finds the existence of the small farmer a fact that makes the general acceptance of Socialism in America impossible. Elbert Hubbard feels grateful that we have with us in America

this strong body of individualists who will stem the tides of the social revolution. The error of both of these elderly country gentlemen is that they totally neglect to observe the final effects of the machine process and applied science upon agriculture. The first effect of the machine in any industry is to overthrow, quickly, terribly and without hope of salvation, the status of the workers. But with the position of the small capitalist the machine process always plays for a time like a cat with a mouse. The small capitalist adopts the machine and chuckles when he thinks of his rapidly increasing profits. Most of them soon know better. The industrial reorganization made necessary by the machine clears out all but the most fortunate and the richest. Finally the trust completes the dissolution.

On the Middle Western farm, with its considerable area, its nearness to markets, its available local capital, and its fairly intelligent management, the small producer has remained long intrenched. And within team hauling distance of the large cities he will continue to remain for some time to come. Yet the machine process in agriculture grows rapidly more complicated and requires an ever greater amount of capital.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The key note of capitalized farming is "scientific management." The manager supervises a corps of specialists. Quite likely he has been carefully trained in one of those great state agricultural schools of the Middle West, where agriculture is treated exactly as scientifically as mechanical engineering or mining. The manager is assisted by soil specialists, stock specialists, a civil engineer, a master mechanic, a veterinary and a force of clerks.

THE BARBER FARM.

The old fashioned barn was a shed-like structure in which a dozen cows and horses shivered through the winter. In the summer the cattle were ordinarily turned out to pasture. The cattle barns on the Barber farm are built as substantially and of as good material as a middle class New York apartment house on Central Park West. They have cement floors, brick walls and tiled roofs. The windows are screened to keep out flies. The stalls are kept in a marvelous state of cleanliness. In one barn, facing each other in



VIEW OF ONE OF THE CATTLE BARNS

two rows, stand 160 Guernsey cows. Up and down between the rows pass the feeders. The meal consists of four courses, each carefully measured. Each cow bears a label. Its milk is weighed and registered. The men who attend the cattle perform no other work on the farm. There is a division of labor everywhere as in a factory. Should one of the cattle become ill or even indisposed the farm veterinary prescribes for the case. There are probably very few working people in America so well cared for.

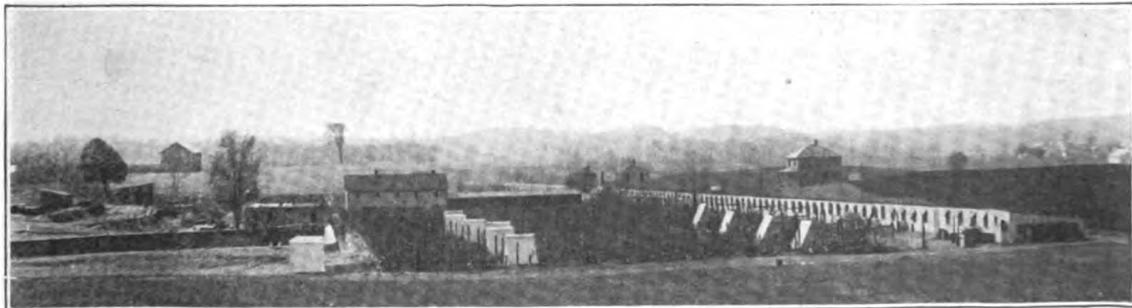
"Horses, oxen, have a home,
When their daily work is done,
Household dogs when wild winds roars
Find a place within warm doors.
"Asses, swine have litter spread
And with fitting food are fed.
All things have a home but one;
Thou, O working-man, hast none."

Apart from the main herd are placed the calves. They lie on clean straw and are fed according to the most scientific code. No foul milk, no cruelties, no careless handling, no hard labor for them. Perfection in breeding and care shines forth from their calm, clear eyes and is indicated by every motion of their bodies. When, after a happy and useful life, death comes, it will come without warning and instantaneously. After all, starvation and

disease, slavery and sorrow are not everywhere. Some lives are happy, despite the carping of the most extreme Socialist.

One of the most disagreeable features of the old time farm was the pig sty. It was the proverbial seat of disorder and uncleanness. On the Barber farm this is entirely changed. Breeding pigs are kept in individual sties.

In no department of modern industry has science created a greater revolution than in poultry and egg production. One of the most curious transformations is the lock-out of the old fashioned "setting hen." During countless ages of revolution birds have hatched their young by sitting upon the eggs. Some reptiles, sea turtles for instance, lay their eggs in the sand and the sun warms and hatches them. But it may be surmised that ever since the whole family of birds developed from their reptile ancestors, they have brought their young into the world by warming their eggs close to their own bodies. This may now be called an "inherent trait." But human economic progress doesn't much care for "inherent traits." Every spring the hen claims a natural, primordial and indefeasible right to sit upon her eggs. But her case is thrown out of court. This much, however, must be said for the hens. They never tried to



POULTRY YARDS, 1,200 FEET LONG—10,000 FOWLS



SIXTEEN PLOW, THIRTY-FIVE HORSEPOWER ENGINE

smash the incubator nor bust the cold storage trust.

Modern methods have greatly cheapened the production of eggs. These methods include artificial heating of the chicken houses, variety in the selection of foods, chicken "runs" for air and exercise and the development of breeds which lay eggs throughout the year. The industry demands expert knowledge and attention.

SOIL CULTIVATION.

On the Barber farm is a traction engine which draws eight plows. It thus dispenses with sixteen horses and seven men. It can plow a deeper furrow than is ordinarily done in the old way. It turns over 20 acres of soil per day. This is a machine which it is simply impossible to use to advantage on a farm of even two hundred or three hundred acres.



STEAM SHOVEL

The soil is carefully analyzed in order to discover its elements, with a view to proper fertilization and the growth of particular crops. The worst feature of the old system of agriculture was the ruin of the soil. American farmers have been the most careless conservationists in the world. This has resulted of course from the great abundance of new soil which could always be brought under cultivation.

Fifty years ago a farmer would wear out his land, leave it and proceed farther west. Land was cheap, labor was dear. The robbery of our agricultural soils has become a recognized national problem. Abundant information for the solution of this problem is now in the possession of the agricultural schools and experiment stations. But only large production will ever make effective use of this available knowledge.



DITCH DIGGING MACHINE

THE NEW SERFDOM.

On this new, modern capitalist farm, one looks in vain for a sight which distinguished the estate of the medieval feudal lord—the ville. It was the duty of the lord, under the old regime, to secure the status and guarantee the livelihood of his serfs. The serf had a right to live on a certain portion of land, the product of which was his and his only. He kept his cow on the common pasture and his

lord's woodland furnished his fuel. In case of drouth, storm, pestilence or invasion he could call upon his master for help. These were not the offerings of charity; they were the great fundamental rights of the workers under the feudal law. On the Barber farm the serf completes his day's work, gets his wages and goes to Barberton. Barberton is not only the agricultural village of the



ONE OF THE WORKING GANGS



GREENHOUSES

farm serfs. It is, in fact, only incidentally that. Primarily it is the seat of Mr. Barber's great match factories. They have lately become the property of the match trust. The disease, the low wages and the burdensome toil of the slaves of the match factories is too well known to be again described here. Smoky and dusty Barberton is composed chiefly of rows of small box-like houses for these slaves. Here also dwell the better paid of the agricultural serfs. But many of the Hungarians and

Slavs engaged in construction work on the farm live as they do in the iron and steel districts of Pennsylvania, herded together in temporary shacks, or, if married, they live with their wives and children in filthy hovels.

THE MANSION.

The country mansion we have briefly mentioned. It is stated that the head waiter of the last King Edward VII is to officiate when Mr. Barber takes up his residence there. Of course a small army of lackeys



CRUSHING STONE FOR THE MACADAMIZED ROADS

will assist in the process of making this new rich vulgarian feel that he is quite an aristocrat. He will come in an expensive automobile over miles of his own roads to his palace. His lackeys will kowtow and laugh in their sleeves. We can imagine old acquaintances of his boyhood favoring him with cringing subservience. But the change has come too quickly not to arouse comment everywhere. "On what is this man fed?" the townspeople ask. "Why did he get \$25,000,000 and we 'phossy jaw'?" The Socialist party local at Barberton is strong and growing. On a street car a worker, wholly unsolicited, turned to the writer and urged industrial unionism as the only possible method of organization for the workers of Barberton. The serfdom of both the match factory and the farm have come upon these workers in their own generation. It will end before this generation has passed into history.

THE OLD HOME OF FREEDOM.

From the south wing of the Barber palace one looks down the valley to one of the old-fashioned farm houses and gardens which are still undisturbed. It was built perhaps seventy-five years ago. There is a small porch to the east where the family sat together on the long summer evenings. Fifty years ago the New York Tribune was probably lying on the little table in the sitting room and the sons of the house were going out in answer to the first call of Lincoln. The extremes of their individualism, in theory and in practice, were

tempered only by their more than religious devotion to the state and nation whose fundamental laws protected that individual freedom. It was the liberty springing from the use of the individual plow, of the scythe wielded by HIS hand, and of the hoe which HE used in HIS corn field. The house of this man must stand apart from the houses of other men and shield HIS wife and HIS children. In defense of HIS individual holdings of property, which protected HIS family and HIMSELF from cold and hunger and from insecurity for the future, he was perfectly willing to die. More than this, he gladly gave up his life in the defense of the system of law which he understood to be the foundation of his right to his farm, his cattle, his family and his political and social life. From such farms came Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant and W. T. Sherman. Down to the time of the Spanish-American War it divided first with the Southern slaveocracy and later with the rapidly growing capitalist class the government of the nation. Its downfall has been complete and final. The last voice from the farm was heard sounding the rebellious phrases of 1896. But when William Jennings Bryan went to New York City he came away wearing the label of Richard Croker and Tammany Hall. The cellar of the little house on the Barber farm has been surrendered to the rats and the attic to the owls. When freedom returns to the soil the workers will live in the great new house on the hill.



ONE OF THE OLD HOMES OF FREEDOM
There Are About Thirty of Such on the Farm.

THE CRISIS IN MEXICO

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

NOW that Diaz is overthrown and his administration is a thing of the past, what of the Mexican revolution and the future? Will the substitution of Madero or some other landed aristocrat and bourgeois political reformer placate the people and end the revolution? Let us hope not, and yet it takes but very little in the way of concession to satisfy the ignorant and oppressed masses.

The mere overthrow of Diaz of itself means little to the Mexican people. Their condition will remain substantially the same under the new regime, and yet this change of administration with its attendant circumstances marks an epoch in the history of the Mexican nation. Certain political reforms will be instituted as concessions to the people and while economic conditions will remain substantially as they have been the people have been inspired by the revolutionary movement and the concessions made to them will but stimulate their ardor in the struggle to overthrow not merely their political dictators but their economic exploiters, and they will never cease their agitation until they have achieved their emancipation.

The real crisis in Mexico, as it seems to me, is now at hand. What the result of the approaching election may be or what the successor of Diaz may or may not do in the way of political reform are of little consequence compared to what the revolutionists will do in this crisis. Will they be able to keep their forces intact and unite in carrying on the fight along lines leading most directly to their emancipation? Most earnestly do I hope so and yet it is almost too much to expect. Already there are signs of dissension among the revolutionists themselves which threaten grave results to their movement.

As one who realizes in some measure the gravity of the situation our comrades are facing in Mexico and the vital concern of the entire working class of America in that situation, and as one whose whole heart has been with the Mexican revolutionary

movement since its inception, I feel moved to declare what I believe to be the only safe course for our Mexican comrades to pursue to reach the end they have in view. It is with no desire to obtrude myself and in no spirit of dictation that I now speak, but solely from a desire to do my duty toward our Mexican comrades as I understand that duty.

First of all, the masses of Mexican workers and producers, like those of other countries, are ignorant, superstitious, unorganized and all but helpless in their slavish subjugation. In their present demoralized state economic emancipation is simply out of the question. They must first be reached and aroused, educated and organized, and until this work is accomplished to at least some extent all hope of successful revolution is doomed to disappointment.

It is well enough for the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party to declare that this is an "economic revolution," but do the masses so understand it, and are they consciously aiming at such an end? And until they are in some degree class conscious and fitted by training and discipline for economic mastery, is not the success of such a revolution utterly out of the question?

If I read aright the manifesto recently issued by the Mexican Liberal party all political action is tabooed. "Direct action," so-called, is relied upon for results. Reading between the lines I can see nothing but anarchism in this program and if that is what the leaders mean they should frankly say so that there may be no misunderstanding as to their attitude and program. Of course they have the right to take any position they may think proper, the same right that I have to disagree with them, and frankly, if I correctly understand their position it is not calculated to promote but rather to put off the revolutionary end they have in view.

The anarchistic attitude the leaders seem to have assumed and the "direct action" they contemplate, if persisted in, will eventuate, in my opinion, in a series of Hay-

market sacrifices and the useless shedding of their noblest blood.

The battle-cry of the Mexican Liberal party is, "Land and Liberty," and its leaders declare that "the taking away of the land from the hands of the rich must be accomplished during the present insurrection." If the land can be taken from the rich in this insurrection so can also the mills, factories, mines, railroads, and the machinery of production, and the question is, what would the masses in their present ignorant and unorganized state do with them after having obtained them? It would simply add calamity to their calamities, granting that this impossible feat were capable of achievement.

It seems to me that the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party, whose honesty is unquestioned and whose ability and attainments are of a high order, underestimate the magnitude and malignity of the power they are dealing with. They propose to take the lands from the rich, dispossess them at one swoop, when they are scarcely organized, while the rich control all the armies and navies of the world. The present insurrection has accomplished much but it cannot be expected to accomplish everything, least of all economic revolution over night.

When the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party undertake to transfer the lands from the rich to the poor, that hour they attack the armed forces of capitalism, which means the United States as well as Mexico. The lands in Mexico belong in large part to American capitalists and they will fight for them to the last ditch and with all the powerful resources at their command.

Let not the Mexican revolutionists depend too much on the "International Committee of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta" which they propose organizing "in all the principal cities of the United States and Europe." That some effective co-operation may thus be secured is entirely probable, but our Mexican comrades who saw their own leaders thrown into American prisons with scarcely a protest except among the Socialists are apt to be disappointed if they rely to any great extent upon the enslaved working classes of other countries whose energies are all absorbed in their own struggle for existence.

The right course for the Mexican revo-

lutionists to pursue in this crisis, in my opinion, is to lay the foundation for economic and political organization of the dispossessed and enslaved masses, throughout the republic. This may seem to be too painfully slow in such an extreme exigency, but it will prove in the end to be not only the most direct road but the only road out of the wilderness.

The historic process must be taken into account by our Mexican comrades. There is no short cut to economic freedom. Power is necessary to achieve it, the power that springs from right education and organization, and this power in the present struggle is both economic and political, and to refuse to develop and exercise either is folly that is certain to end in disaster.

When the Mexican revolutionary leaders renounce all political action as unclean and demoralizing and when they express their abhorrence of all class-conscious political activity as simply vicious illusion "dreamed of in the opium den of politics," they align themselves with the anarchists and virtually repudiate and renounce the international Socialist movement.

If this is not their attitude I must confess I do not understand it; if it is their attitude, their dream of establishing anarchist-communism in Mexico at this stage of its industrial and social development will be rudely dispelled before many days.

The workers of all other countries are turning to the international socialist movement and developing their economic and political power to carry out its program of emancipation and that is what they will have to do in Mexico. Other countries have had their insurrections and revolutions, their dreams and hopes of sudden emancipation, but they have all had to settle down at last to the education and organization of the masses as the only possible means of attaining that end.

The overthrow of Diaz will mean at least, I take it, the right to organize the working class and this is the work that should be taken in hand with all the energy that can be brought to bear upon it.

Here is virgin soil for industrial unionism and all the workers should be organized as speedily as possible within one great industrial organization and at the same time united politically within the Socialist party.

This is the most direct action I know and I have had experience enough to be satisfied at least in my own mind that what is now so urgently advocated by some as direct action is the most indirect and fruitless action that could possibly be taken.

If the leaders of the Mexican revolution will in this crisis align themselves with the

international working class movement, accept its principles, adopt its program, and then proceed with all their energy to educate and organize, economically and politically, the masses of Mexican peons and wage slaves they will mark the most important era in Mexican history and blaze the way direct to emancipation.



COMRADE DE LARA SPEAKING AT A RECENT SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA MEETING IN MEXICO.

WHICH CLASS IS YOUR CLASS

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

YOU belong to one of the classes in society. It is very important that you understand clearly which class is your class. Each class has great interests distinct and separate from the interests of the other class. Each class tries to advance its interests, and does so at the expense of the other class. Therefore, you find in every institution in society class divisions and class conflicts. Wherever you look, in church, school, fraternal society, social club, Y. M. C. A., athletic organization, college, court and legislature; there you will find class lines drawn and class feelings displayed.

Whoever you are, in whatever station in life you may be fixed, you are a member of one or the other of the classes and your actions are, almost always, determined by the interest of the class to which you belong.

Since the foregoing is true, it will be worth our while to inquire into this matter of the class division of society in which we live. It may aid you in arriving at a better understanding of the conditions which have grown out of it.

There are two great classes—the powerful, idle, pleasure loving, wasteful, aristocratic, well-organized, wealth-owning class; and the weak, industrious, burden-bearing, saving, humble, poorly-organized, poverty-stricken working class. **TO WHICH DO YOU BELONG?** The first class is well known as the **CAPITALIST CLASS**; the second is called the **WORKING CLASS**. The **CAPITALIST CLASS** owns—it just owns; that is all. It owns governments—with their armies, courts, jails and policemen. It owns mills, mines, factories, railroads, lands and banks. It owns churches, schools, colleges, newspapers. And because it owns all these things its members enjoy life. They have wealth in abundance. Their surroundings are pleasant and beautiful. They have splendid homes, filled with beautiful things; books and pictures and music; rare works of art rescued from the ruins of

old time cities; they have costly clothes, sumptuous foods, all the time there is to devote to the satisfaction of their cultivated tastes for the best things the world has to give. And in return for all these good things, they do **NOTHING**—absolutely nothing. They are of far less value than the drone of the bee-hive. They spend their time in pursuit of pleasure. They roam over the earth in search of diversion. They commit every kind of insane act in their endeavor to while away time and get rid of the money they do not earn. And no matter what they do or where they go; whether they spend their winters in Florida catching tarpon, or their summers in Paris swapping wives, industry goes on and wealth piles up in their coffers.

They preserve their power through organization. They organize governments and place kings on thrones and presidents in office. They elevate corporation lawyers to the judicial bench. They make and unmake nations with their armies—as was done in Panama, and is now being done in Mexico. They cast the innocent into prison—as they have done in the McNamaras' case—and send the guilty to the United States Senate as they did with Lorimer. By its ownership of churches, the Capitalist Class teaches the Workers to be submissive and to endure their hard lot on earth, promising them a good time after they die. This is cheaper than paying the workers good wages on earth. The schools, colleges and newspapers back up the teaching of the Church, and hold up to the children of the working class the hope that they may become rich also. And these idle owners are made into heroes and their deeds glorified. And all the time they do nothing but own—just **OWN**.

The mills, mines, factories, railroads, banks and all other institutions owned by the Capitalist Class are operated by **HIRED HANDS**. From the lowest paid worker to the high salaried officer—all are **HIRED HANDS**. Therefore, the world could do without the mere owners. Owners are not

needed in any of the multitude of duties necessary to the production of the wealth which finally goes into their hands. Do you belong to this class?

There is also the **WORKING CLASS**—the class that does all the necessary work of the world. This class is poor because it gets low wages. Its members are sad and sorrowful and heavy-laden with the burdens the Owners place upon them. They live in small, cheap, unsanitary houses; eat cheap food; wear shoddy clothes; seek the lowest kinds of pleasure because they are the cheapest; know but little of the real joys of life; fear idleness, because it means loss of wages and, therefore, suffering; travel only when in search of a new job; suffer from persecution at the hands of the police; are abused by the newspapers, deceived by the politicians, lectured by the teachers and cursed by the preachers, if they try to help themselves through organization. They are held in contempt by the **OWNERS**. They are laughed and jeered at by the hirelings of the masters. If they endure their wrongs silently they are called "ignorant cattle," unfit for anything but hard toil. If they organize and go forth in their strength to right their wrongs, they are beaten back by police or soldiers—men of their own class who are paid to defend the **OWNERS**. If they seek to make their power felt through political action and demand control over the courts through the "Recall," the Roots, Cannons, Baileys, Olivers, and Penroses—unjailed criminals, all of them—arise and call out: "We must not listen to the clamor of the mob."

Their children must go to the mills while yet the mother's milk is wet upon their baby lips. Their daughters are often forced into lives of prostitution in order to live. In the mills, mines and on the railroads they are slaughtered by thousands every year. Their lives are one long round of want and worry and woe; their old age a nightmare which grows more hideous as the years speed by. Yet this class produces all the wealth which the world possesses. This class is the one necessary class. This class is only a weak, subject class because it is an unorganized class. When this class learns the lesson which the success of the Capitalist Class teaches, it will organize, politically and industrially and sweep into power. Do you belong to this class?

If you have followed this far, it is quite possible that you belong to the Working Class. Now, then, reflect upon what you have read. Does it not describe your own condition in life? Does it not outline the state of society as it appears to you? Have you not again and again complained to yourself and your neighbors that they who work have but little, while those who only **OWN** roll in unearned wealth? How often have you become indignant over the injustices of life? Perhaps you began as a child worker in a mill or factory. You remember how you felt when the doors of the great, gloomy mill shut you in. Perhaps it was spring and you had never been imprisoned before. Out of doors the earth was waking up. The birds were singing. Flowers bursting into life filled the air with perfume. The returning sun beamed a bright welcome to all young things. But you were a prisoner. All the beauty, all the joy, all the awakening life was not for you any more. You were the child of a working man and because of that you had been sentenced to a life of poorly paid toil. And then, perhaps, while you grieved over the loss of childish joys, other children, more fortunate than you, children born to parents who **OWNED**, passed by or played joyfully in your sight. Do you remember how terribly you felt? How despairingly you turned to your hated work? Somehow, though you could not understand it, it seemed unjust that you should be shut up in a big prison while other children were free. And you were right. It was a terrible injustice. It was the injustice that must always exist while there is a condition that permits one class to **OWN** and compels the other class to endure a life of poorly paid labor.

Now you are grown to manhood. Like millions of other workmen, perhaps you have married. You have a wife and children. You love them. You want them to have a better time, better prospects than you had. But your wages are small and expenses are large. The time is nearing when the **OWNERS** will stretch out greedy hands for your little children. You know what it means. They will be taken away from school. They will be hurried away to the mill. The childish joys will be denied them. They will pine for freedom. They will grow pale from their imprisonment. Yet

they must endure it. It is their fate. They are the children of a working man who does not OWN anything. They were born into the working class. They must follow in the path marked out by the wearied footsteps of generations of workingmen. And there is no help for it while there remains a Class which idles and Owns and RULES because it OWNS. And again you rage helplessly against the injustice of the society in which you live.

Perhaps you have been a man who, while knowing that you were a member of the working class, believed that somehow, sometime, you would get a chance to get out of the class in which you were born and trained. You have been taught in school, in church, in the newspaper that every person has an equal chance to rise out of the working class. You have believed that somewhere in this "land of equal opportunity" there was a chance for you. It may be that you have kept your thoughts directed toward the hope of escape from the working class. Do you not see that this is a nice little bit of fiction which the OWNERS teach you so that you will be a patient worker? It is like the "pot of gold" at the end of the rainbow. You seek for it and it is always just beyond. Forget it. There is not one chance out of one thousand that you will ever leave the working class, else why do the millions remain? Yet this is one of the very best methods the OWNERS have devised to keep us in slavery. And every year the hope becomes dimmer. With the advance of machinery, even the job is in danger. For a working man to think that he can save money, go into business and in time become rich and escape from the working class, from this time onward is moonshine. The great trusts are devouring the little fellows and casting them down into the working class, there to compete with you for a job. You will be fortunate, indeed, if you can hold what you have. What chance will your children have? Can you answer? Can you hope for them a future even as good as your past has been? You know you cannot. If things go on as they are, your children must become serfs. The little freedom which you possess will be taken away from them. The OWNERS grow richer and richer and more heartless daily. Their governments, their judges, their police per-

secute the workers more bitterly and more unjustly every year. The workers are being driven to desperation. They are preparing to REVOLT against the OWNERS. They are organizing to abolish the OWNING CLASS. If we can get rid of the OWNING CLASS, we ourselves will OWN, and all the power which the OWNING CLASS now possesses will be in our hands. We do all the useful work in society. Why should we not get greater rewards? We produce all the wealth. Why should we not get our full share of that wealth? Can you find the answer?

We do not get our share because we do not OWN the tools with which we work, nor the wealth we produce with those tools. That is the answer. The OWNING CLASS because they own the governments and courts, as well as the tools we use, can and do take almost all the wealth away from us. They leave us only enough to keep us alive and enable us to produce children so their children may have slaves to work for them. And we must change all this. We must leave our children better prepared to live than our fathers left us. How to do this every working man should know. We SOCIALISTS can tell you.

We have studied the method by which the present OWNING CLASS rose to power. We say to you that the working class can overthrow the OWNING CLASS by the same method. The present OWNING CLASS was not always in power. Once the class which now rules was a subject class just like we are now. Kings and Barons and Lords reigned and ruled. They robbed the Merchant Class, just as the Merchant Class, or the Capitalist Class, as we call it, robs us today. But the Merchant Class decided to rebel as we are now deciding. The Merchant Class organized into UNIONS and after a time their UNIONS became so strong that they were able to get most of the industries into their possession. Then they formed POLITICAL PARTIES and backed by the UNIONS, the POLITICAL PARTIES took possession of the governments, and the control of society passed from the Kings, Barons and Lords into the hands of the MERCHANT CLASS. And this is a great lesson for us to learn. The Kings, Barons and Lords did no useful work. They simply OWNED. The MERCHANT CLASS did the impor-

tant work. They got tired of giving most of the wealth to the OWNERS. So they organized to get rid of the OWNERS. They seized the governments and made servants of the class which had been their rulers. Now, the present OWNING CLASS has become a useless class. It is like the old time Kings, Barons and Lords. We are the only useful, necessary class. We are tired of supporting a lot of idlers. We want to get rid of them and become the OWNERS OF THE WEALTH WE PRODUCE.

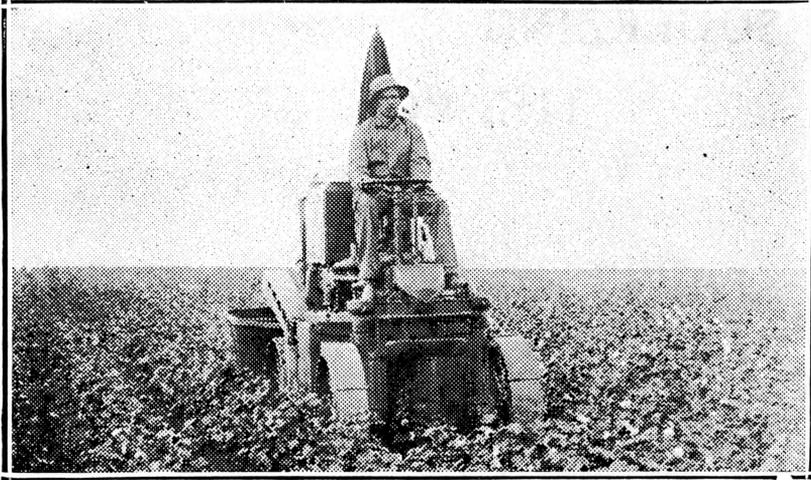
So now that you have decided which class you belong to, learn the method by which your class can become the WEALTH OWNING CLASS, as well as WEALTH PRODUCING CLASS. Join a UNION first of all. If there is no union in your town, try to organize one. Write to The Review, and they will tell you how. When we get the workers organized into unions that take in every person in each industry, and when all these UNIONS are in touch with each other, and when all organized workers learn to ACT together and STRIKE together, we will have a mighty power at our command. After you have joined an INDUSTRIAL UNION, then join the SOCIALIST PARTY. With the INDUSTRIAL UNION you will have possession of industries. With the POLITICAL PARTY you can get possession of government. This will give you control of SOCIETY. Then the WORKING CLASS WILL BE THE OWNING CLASS also. Then the WORKING CLASS will get all the wealth it produces.

We will be generous to the present idle class. We will give them a share in all the work produced if they are willing to help us do the work of production. Then there will be no more class divisions in society, because all will be WORKERS and all will be OWNERS.

This is the way by which we workers can remove the injustices from which we suffer. This is the way by which we can make certain that our children shall have a hopeful future. Beside this there is no other way by which you can make your condition better. If you ever get anything better than what you now have, it must be through the organized efforts of men like yourself. The OWNING CLASS has no interest in helping you. You must help yourself. See what you have to gain—freedom and peace and security for yourself and family; your full share of the wealth you produce; a future for your children and yourself. This is worth fighting for.

Then listen to us: Join a UNION. Join the SOCIALIST PARTY. With the UNION you can lower your hours and raise your wages; with the SOCIALIST PARTY you can control the COURTS, ARMIES AND POLICE, and prevent them from interfering with you while you are organizing. Then when you are strong enough, you can overthrow the present OWNERS and the WORKING CLASS, your class, will manage society for the benefit of all people who are willing to do their share of the work. Think it over. Then act.





The Cotton Picker at Work at Allen, Texas.

THE COTTON PICKING MACHINE

By ERNEST F. LIDYSON

“WHY, Sam, you’ve lost your job,” was the unexpected answer of the cotton planter to a Texan negro who came to ask for work. Poor Sam ignored the fact that we are living in the century of industrial evolution and therefore did not know that a mechanical cotton picker had been invented to do his work.

Unbelievable as it sounds, a machine has been invented by Mr. Angus Campbell that will discriminate between ripe and unripe cotton bolls, finger over the delicate plant, take the lint and leave the rest unharmed. This contrivance of almost human discrimination has been made at last.

It is the production of twenty years’ work and perseverance.

The devices that perform the action of picking are in two drums which hang from the frame of the tractor, one on each side of the cotton plant as the machine straddles the row. An endless chain of upright cylinders of small diameter follow each other around the drum. From these cylinders the needles which do the picking project horizontally into the plant. When the machine starts, everything moves with a motion of its own. The drum carries the cylinders around, the cylinders poke the needles into the plant at the proper angle, and the fin-

gers twine and catch the cotton. Every motion is delicately adjusted. The fingers move fast enough to catch the fibre, but not fast enough to throw it off. The cylinders bring each finger into place at the proper time, so that there is never a space large enough for an open boll to pass through without touching a finger. The drum is moving backwards at the rate that the whole machine moves forward, so that the picking needles do not move horizontally through the plant, but merely turn in it.

As one machine does the work of at least twenty-five men, hand labor for this work will soon be dispensed with. It will enable the same man who plants and ploughs the cotton to pick it—and have a little time to spare as well.

Cotton is grown outside of the United States in Africa, Arabia, India and China, so that even in the most backward countries with the lowest wages, hand labor cannot long stand the competition of machines.

Men will probably be driven into the newly erected cotton mills to compete for jobs. This will teach the workers to wake up and take possession of the tools they use, in order that they may own their own products. Every modern machine is another milepost on the road to Socialism.

SQUEEZING THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES

BY

ONE OF THEM

WITH a blare of trumpets we read recently that the Post Office Department had wiped out the deficit, and all credit was conceded to Frank H. Hitchcock, the present postmaster general.

Now WHO PAID the DEFICIT?

Some few years ago Congress passed a bill making the wages of carriers in first-class cities \$1,200 a year after five years' service, making a \$200 yearly increase. But we did not get it all at once as the officials construed the bill to read that \$100 be allowed with the fiscal year beginning after the passage of the act and the other \$100 the year following. We do not know yet whether we will get the increase or not so hedged about with regulations is it.

To go back a few years. A candidate for a job as letter carrier who successfully passes the civil service examination is put upon the eligible list to wait his turn for appointment and when appointed becomes a substitute at NO SALARY whatever, just taking his chances on making something. At one time all substitutes were paid, quarterly, the enormous sum of \$1.00 a year, but this has been wiped out by the economizers, which saves \$3,000 or \$4,000 yearly.

After a substitution period of three or four years the carrier may be appointed a regular carrier at the munificent wage of \$600 per annum. At the end of one year his wage is increased to \$800 and after another year to \$1,000. He was reasonably sure of getting these increases, but note the difference under the Economizer.

Unless the substitute is now appointed

on the first day of the quarter, his wage increase will not begin until the following quarter. For instance: Suppose a carrier were appointed January 2d, or the second of July, October or April, under the old regime his wage increases would come one year from any one of these dates. But the Economy Plan forces him to wait until the beginning of the next quarter. This saves a considerable sum for the department.

In many ways they contrive to offset the wage increase, such as reducing wages of men \$200 for simple offenses, as happened to a carrier who stopped in a restaurant to buy a cup of coffee. As the requirements force the men to rise at 4 a. m. they naturally become hungry at 8:30 or so.

Roosevelt promulgated an order specifying that any carrier absenting himself from the service for 90 days resign or be dismissed. The writer knows several cases where carriers have slipped on the ice or snow, while in discharge of their duties, and broken an arm or leg or had some serious accident that necessitated their going to a hospital. Where their injuries were so serious that they could not be out inside of three months they were dismissed with no more consideration than the throwing away of an old glove.

I know many men, too, who have spent twenty-five or thirty years in the service, becoming ill and unable to report in three months, be dismissed and thrown onto the scrap heap. A man who has worked thirty or thirty-five years at one thing is too old to learn any other.

Were the carriers hired to kill their fel-

low men they would receive a pension in such a case, but we are only the Army of a Peaceful Occupation.

The Post Office Department has undergone a new speeding up process like other big businesses. This serves as an excuse for letting out the older men and putting in younger ones, who may not only be able to work faster, but who GET A MUCH LOWER WAGE. The older carrier will probably be receiving \$1,200 a year, while the new young man gets only \$600.

Carriers are now docked for any days they may be absent, no matter what the cause may be.

Previous to the abolition of Sunday work if a man scheduled to work Sunday was ill, his partner might take his place and save the day's pay for him. But the Economists order the partner to work and dock the other man anyway, thereby getting back a full day's pay.

The man who is absent Saturday and Monday is docked THREE days' pay whether scheduled to work on Sunday or not.

The Economy Plans fairly shine during the vacation season, for usually the men remaining have to perform all the work of their absent comrades. And much money is saved—all at the expense of the poor wage slave.

With fifty millions for the poor railroads, and a few more for the pneumatic tube service, it is no wonder they can't pay the substitutes anything. It is only natural that they order us to be saving with the TWINE we use.

The Department SAYS it wants to make the service attractive, but in some locations it now has to ADVERTISE FOR—MEN.

But this is not all. They would steal our very skins if it would save a nickel to the Department, but they are determined we shall not tell anybody about it. Here is the edict of William, The Fat:

"All officers and employees of the United States of every description serving in or under any of the executive departments and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby FORBIDDEN, either directly or indirectly, individually or through association, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or to attempt to influence in their own interest any legislation whatever, either before Congress or its com-

mittees, or in any way in which they serve, on penalty of instant dismissal from the government service."

What do you think about that, you postal employees? Talk about the Land of the Free and the Dear Old Flag and Our Country! You dare not even BEG FOR a RAISE! How long are you going to permit such a thing? Be sure it will stop the minute we have sense enough to stand together and DEMAND a sure and living wage.

We have the Carriers' Association with a membership of over 20,000 men, sending a representative to beg the postmaster general to mitigate some of the evils he is inflicting, when

BY UNITING WITH THE WORKERS IN OTHER LINES OF INDUSTRY WE COULD HAVE ANYTHING WE WANTED.

We have imagined that we were provided for, that the hardships of the working class were not our own. But we have held ourselves aloof from the other toilers far too long. Now we are fast learning that we shall have to join forces with the workers in the various industries.

We find that we cannot hope for anything from the old political parties, and we are beginning to turn to the only party of the working class, and to study its aims and purposes.

In the office where I work there were only two socialists a few years ago. Now, there are twenty, and more coming every month.

Now, you Carriers, you are all dissatisfied. You have been imposed upon by your Government, just as other wage workers are exploited by their bosses. Why not take your organization and reorganize it along industrial lines; take in the office clerks, railway-mail clerks, telephone operators, telegraphers and ALL MEN AND WOMEN connected with the Department to form ONE BIG UNION, and then join the rest of our fellow workers to wrest control of the industries from those who have stolen it, and return them to the rightful owners—the workers, who have built and operated them.

Taft says it is all right for us to ORGANIZE. But he does not want us to ask for anything.

Fifty charters have been granted to the

office and railway mail clerks from the A. F. of L., but this only means that we are being DIVIDED instead of being UNITED. The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization that will help you to form ONE BIG UNION.

Socialists do not propose to pit a young man of twenty-five against a man of sixty-five, and expect the old man to keep the pace of the young one.

We must have control of all the industries and then we can choose our superintendents and chief clerks from among ourselves, and if they don't fill the bill, we can bounce them, and put in those who will.

Now get some literature on Socialism and on Industrial Unionism. Read it; study it, and pass it along to your fellow carrier and everlastingly agitate and organize.

Take out a red card in the Socialist Party organization and help pay for some of our excellent propaganda. Help us to elect our own men to office, who will protect us when we want to organize and to fight.

There is nothing else will help you or me. We have got to fight. The old parties and the old unions cannot and will not help us. We shall have to stand together on purely working class lines and make a Victory for ourselves.

HOW PARIS BECAME THE CITY OF LIGHT

BY

ARISTIDE PRATELLE

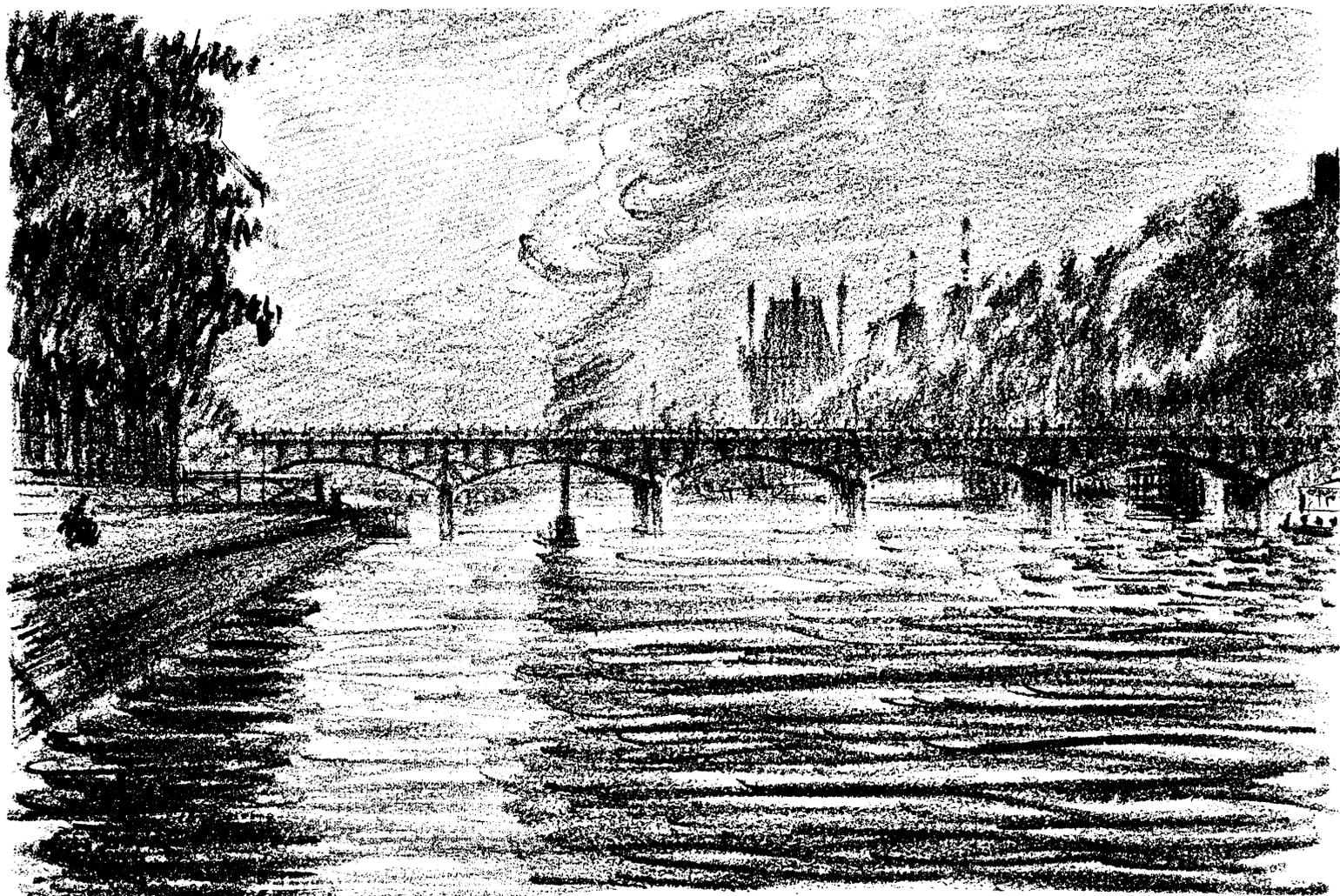
THIS lovely, winding, mild-tempered little Seine has the unique privilege of reflecting in its waters the monuments of the most famous city in the world. Enveloped by an exquisite hazy atmosphere, that streamlet which so many times has been painted or sketched by our artists, and whose banks continue to be ever-varying sources of wonder and emotion, has not always been the tiny, gentle, ravishing little thing which is the delight of the Parisian people.

There was a time, more than a million of years ago, when the North Pole of our planet, descending gradually towards Europe, caused a general flattening of the areas and sinking of the lands in all the regions where it happened to pass. During that far remote period, the region of Paris, together with several other flat lands in France, was sunk under shallow seas. Each winter these waters were covered by a thick mantle of ice, which in summer was submitted to tremendous pressure or collisions. These powerful ice cakes or jams, on moving during the ice-run, ploughed the lands under sea and left parallel furrows running from southeast to northwest. This erosion of the lands seems

to have taken place with considerable energy around Paris, shaping the contours of the lake through which, in further periods, the Seine was about to run.

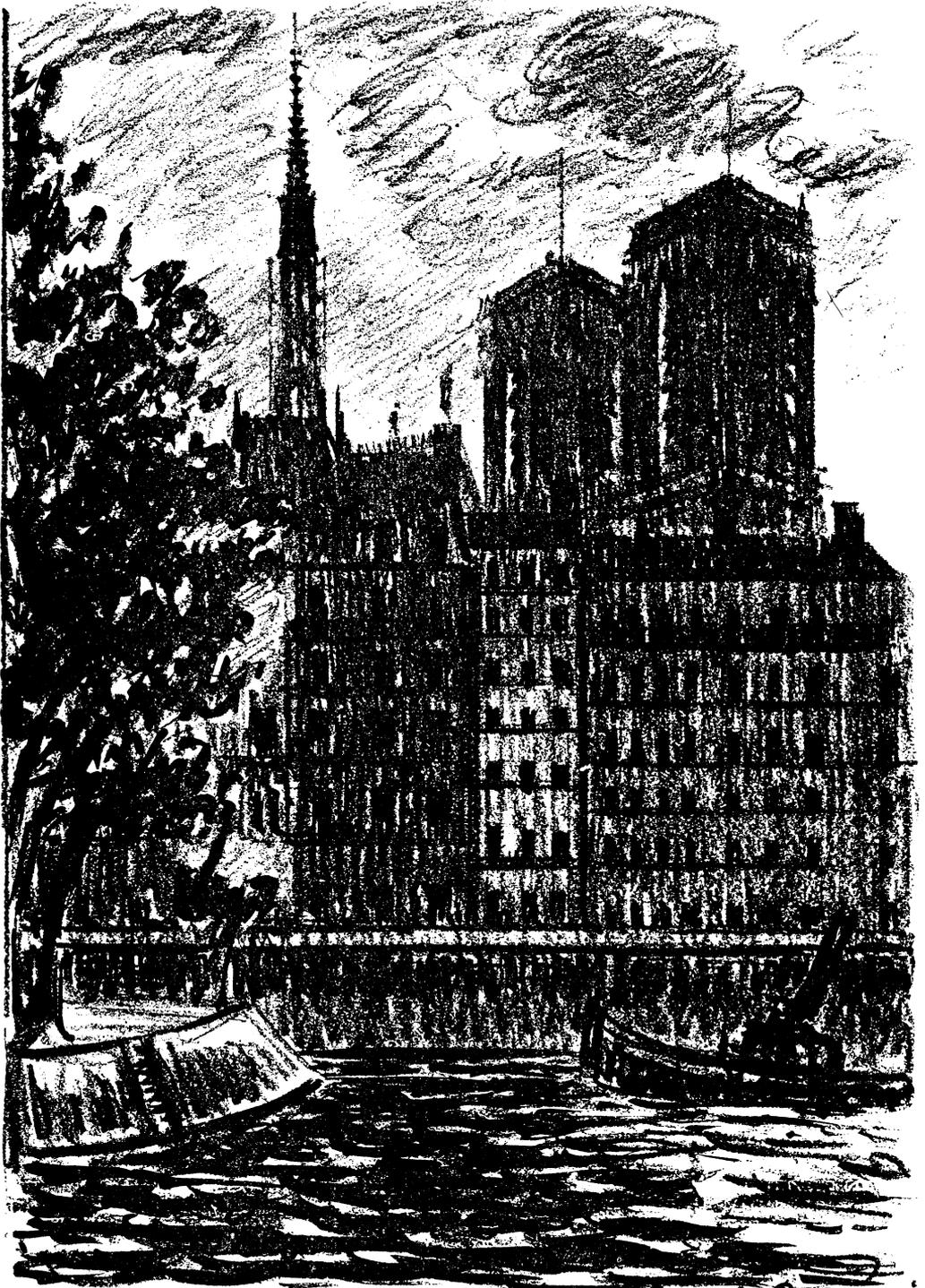
Little by little the North Pole retreated from France and went on its way towards America. Little by little the lands in Western Europe emerged again from the ocean. Little by little the climate grew warmer, the plants and animals which had migrated to milder climates began to appear again all over the territory. At the last stage of the ice era the northwest of France, emerging from the surf, was largely composed of flat islands between an intricate network of streams and lagoons. Then Paris was only a lake forty-five miles in width from west to east. From that period to the present day the layers of the Parisian ground have been left undisturbed, since no volcanic or Plutonian forces have troubled their horizontality.

At a later period yet, the Seine grew narrower and narrower, and dug rapidly a deeper bed for its waters. In the deposits of the Parisian lake the geologists have found remains of fossil pachyderms together with man implements of the Paleolithic age. There, for a very long time, a primi-



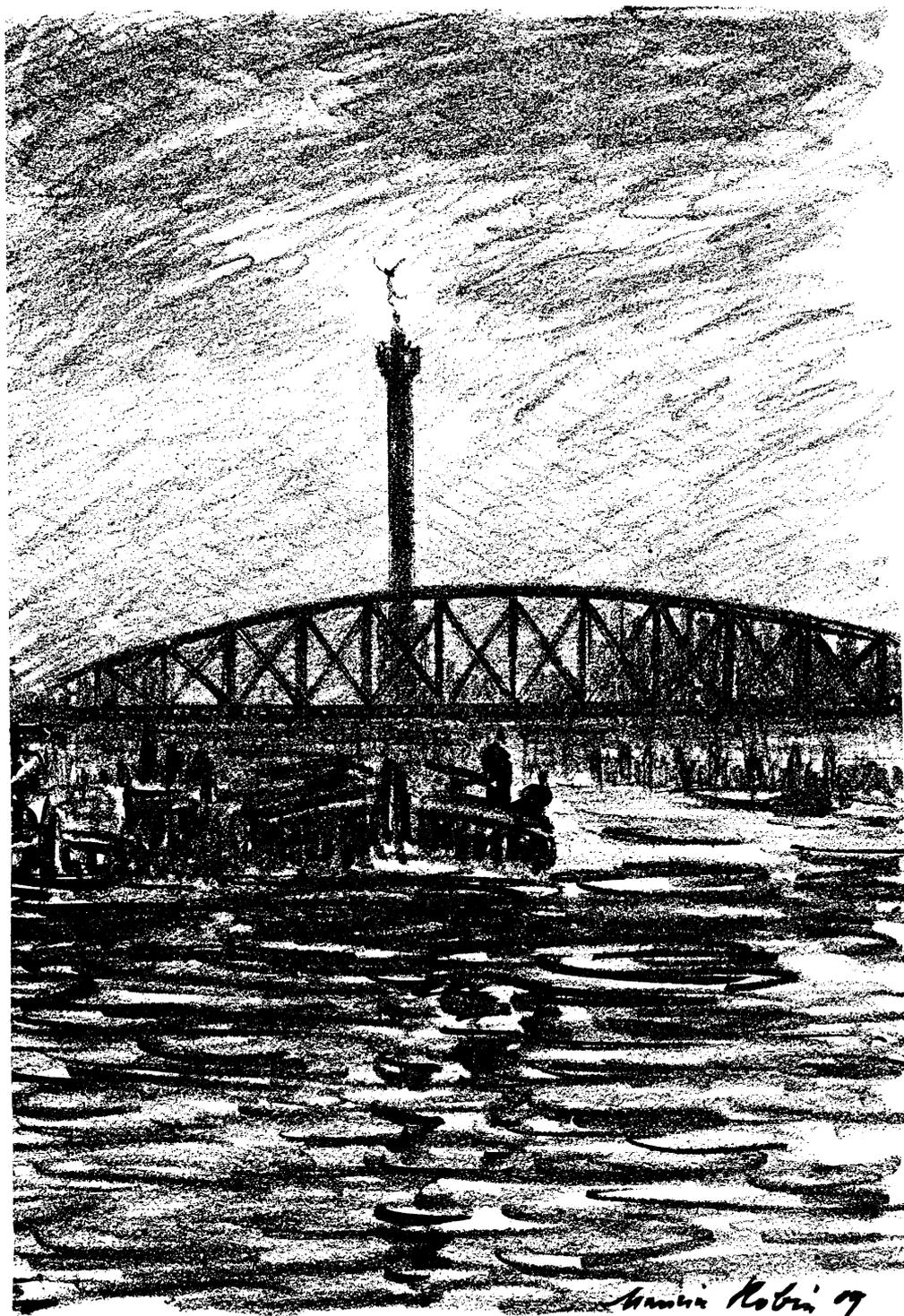
Aristide Pratile

THE BRIDGE OF ARTS



Wanda Robie '09

NOTRE-DAME



Amos Robin '9

THE BASTILE

tive race, living on the islands of the Parisian lake, broke flints to make implements of the most primitive type. Around them, and at the same time, other populations, scattered here and there, made far more perfect weapons which enabled them to hunt and destroy wild beasts. Later yet, the mountains of Europe, on rising and growing colder, were invaded by ice-fields which, pouring abundant waters over the plains underneath, compelled the fauna and even man to move away and seek for higher places. Having now only a limited area upon which to live and move, these populations destroyed all the big animal species around them and thus found themselves deprived soon of their food supply. In order to survive, the hunter of later times became a shepherd. Little by little the scenery of the present day began to appear. The capital position of the Parisian islands on a solid, stable foundation of chalk and clay, at the meeting point of several rivers, midway between the mountain ranges of the east and the Atlantic ocean in the west, and in the very center of various ways which the emigrations followed, all these conditions were essentially favorable to the birth and growth of a powerful, durable, typical civilization.

At the dawn of history, when France was inhabited by the Celtic tribes, what is now a large, towering metropolis was but a very humble cluster of huts built with branches of trees. In the seven small islands which were surrounded by the Seine, Lutecia was protected by earthen dams from the floods of its river. The Parisii lived upon the wild beasts killed by them in the woods surrounding the rising city. It has been said that these people were rude, gallant fighters, always eager to defend their liberty. At any rate their straightforwardness and generosity has never been altered through the centuries by mixtures with other bloods. They were tall, white skinned, blue eyed, red haired. They bore a passion for all kinds of implements. They were brave and daring. Naked to the waist, they only feared that one day the heavens might fall upon their heads.

It was necessary to know exactly as possible the true origin of Paris and the Parisian region in order to understand how it is that this prodigious town has enjoyed so great a success among all other towns,

and in order to explain satisfactorily the cause of the progressive role it has played during two thousand years. We all know that in the course of the last century the Parisian people have, more than ever, been faithful to this role. Nevertheless, though for a very long time all the peoples have listened to her voice to hear the hymn of liberty, they have looked in the direction of Paris to see the lighthouse of Progress shining over the darkness of humanity, it is now obvious that Paris has no longer a monopoly of enlightenment among the cities of the world. Lately many other great cities all over the planet—Moscow, Barcelona, Berlin, Lisbon, Constantinople, Teheran, Philadelphia, Chicago, and many awakening peoples have, in their turn, shown the good example. Owing to the universal spreading of science and modern thought, owing to the birth of new wants, new desires, new aspirations, new sentiments in the hearts and heads of our brothers of all countries, the so-called backward peoples of yesterday show a strong tendency to rise to the level of the so-called pioneers of civilization.

On the other hand, we may ask ourselves if Paris is still the same town it has been in the past; if, in the present day, its inhabitants go on as pioneers of civilization and chivalrous defenders of liberty? Alas, when we observe them in their every day life, we may feel disappointed in our hopes. No doubt, among other causes, the crushing overwork imposed by wage slavery, the terrific invasion of the cheap, low grade pleasures for the common people, over all the constant sale of intellectual intoxicants of the worst kinds in the daily press—all these various causes have largely contributed to the rapid degradation of the Parisian type. Nevertheless I remain fully convinced that the population of Paris has yet a lot of surprises in store for the universe. From the Parisian temper we may expect again some of these sudden outbursts of solidarity and revolt such as those it has so commonly shown in the past.

In awaiting these happy days when the sun of Freedom will alter radically the aspect of the old capital, we feel that we must set the good example—the example of self-sacrifice, the example of hope and courage, of solidarity and strength for the wonderful days that are coming.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Lesson VIII.—Shorter Hours of Labor

IN LESSON VII we discussed a general increase in wages, and how and why they would benefit the working class.

We discovered that a general increase in wages would ultimately result in a fall in the average rate of profit, but would not affect prices in general.

But now that we have seen the desirability of higher wages, how may we secure them?

It is true that the working class, as a CLASS, has never been sufficiently well organized to demand a universally higher price for its labor power—a larger portion of the value of its product from the capitalist class.

It is equally true that when they shall have become sufficiently organized and class conscious to do so, they will not stop with asking higher wages, but will abolish the whole wage system itself.

But Capital makes continual war upon the workers. It reduces wages to the bare cost of living and lowers the standard of living whenever and wherever possible. It prolongs the hours of labor as far as the physical endurance of the workers will allow. And the workers find themselves forced constantly to fight in order to hold the little they already have. So that, on every side, we see groups of workers in conflict with their employers, fighting to maintain working conditions, or to improve them where they become unendurable.

It is obvious that men or women working from ten to sixteen hours daily will have little strength or leisure to study, or activity in revolutionary work. It is also patent that wages are bound to be higher where men toil eight hours a day than where they work sixteen hours. It requires two shifts of men, working eight hours daily, to run a machine that one man runs sixteen hours.

It is not only necessary, but it is a highly

desirable matter that we continue to resist and to advance and attack in our daily struggles with the capitalists. For it is through present defeats and victories that we learn our strength and our weaknesses. We learn to fight BY FIGHTING. New tactics are often evolved in struggles that seem to be total failures. And class solidarity becomes a living thing, a resistless weapon, when we are fighting and acting more and more as a class.

Even group struggles—the isolated wars waged by craft unions against their employers—bear fruitful lessons in class solidarity. For craft wars are becoming more uniformly failures, and show the vital need for a wider and ever broader organization of the workers of the world.

But craft union struggles have not always failed in that which they set out to accomplish, although victories are becoming increasingly difficult and impossible with the advance of productive machinery that abolishes the need of skilled laborers. Skilled workers have often been able to form skilled labor monopolies, or unions, where their particular skill has been in demand, and have forced their employers to give them shorter hours, higher wages or better working conditions. But these victories have been due to a monopoly of a particular kind of skill, and not at all to any class consciousness on the part of the workers.

Just at present workers all over the world in the countries where gold is the recognized standard of value are demanding, and generally securing, higher wages. This is owing to the decreasing value of gold, which exchanges for fewer commodities than formerly, and which has consequently caused a rise in prices, and an increase in the cost of living.

These workers are gaining higher wages from the employing capitalists because it

costs more to "keep" them, just as the man owning a horse has to pay a bigger bill when the price of "feed" goes up, if he wants to keep the horse. They are not gaining higher wages through *class conscious* efforts, although every struggle is a breeder of class consciousness, even though it be only in a negative way.

Modern machinery is eliminating the need of skilled labor and unskilled labor with ever increasing speed. Skilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unskilled and unskilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. And gradually all workers are being more and more forced to compete with each other for jobs upon a common level. Nothing can stop the progress of the automatic machine, the most wonderful invention of man through all ages—the machine that will one day free mankind from ceaseless anxiety and degrading toil!

But struggle we must—today and tomorrow. And the fight will grow keener with the passing years.

Men and women are being hurled into the ranks of the unemployed by thousands and by hundreds of thousands. We must reduce the number of jobless workers.

We must organize along industrial lines to shorten the hours of labor. If an eight hour day were inaugurated, it would mean the additional employment of millions of men and women in America tomorrow. It would insure us leisure for study and recreation—for work in the Army of the Revolution, and it would mean higher wages in America generally. For the fewer men there are competing for jobs, the higher the wage they are able to demand.

To repeat: Modern machinery is throwing more and more men and women into the Army of the Unemployed. Shorter hours will employ more men and women, and will maintain and even increase wages, to say nothing of the tremendous development of the fighting spirit, the solidarity and class consciousness of the workers.

Flood the nations with your ballots, workingmen and women of the world. Elect your shop mates, your companions of the mines, your mill hand friends, to every possible office. Put yourselves or your co-workers into every governmental position as fast as possible to render YOUR court decisions, to hold in readiness YOUR

army; to control YOUR arsenals and to protect you with YOUR constabulary, to make YOUR laws and to serve YOUR interests and the interests of your fellow workers, whenever and wherever and HOWEVER possible.

AND ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY. With YOUR government at your backs, ready to ward off Capitalism, ready at all times to throw itself into battle for you, you can gather the workers of the world into your industrial organization and sign the death warrant of Wage Slavery!

QUESTIONS:

Which is the most benefit to the working class, a rise in wages or shorter hours? What is the greatest hindrance to the workers securing higher wages? Or better conditions of any kind?

What would be the effect of a general shortening of the hours of labor in one nation? Do shorter hours tend to increase or to decrease wages? Why?

If the general workday were suddenly to be lengthened three hours a day, what would be the effect upon unemployment? Would this tend to reduce or to increase wages? Explain why shorter hours tend to increase wages.

When you seek a job you meet your boss as the seller of a commodity. What is that commodity? What determines the price (or wages) you will get for your labor power? What determines the value of this commodity?

What determines the price of any commodity? What determines the value of a commodity? Do supply and demand affect the VALUE of a commodity? Do they affect the PRICE of a commodity?

Suppose it takes ten men twenty hours to make 100 pairs of shoes in one factory and ten men one hundred hours to make 100 pairs of shoes in another factory. What would determine the value of a pair of shoes? The labor contained in the shoes produced in the first mentioned factory or in the second factory? Or the AVERAGE labor time necessary to produce a pair of shoes?

The working class generally receives the value of its labor power. But it does not receive the value of its PRODUCT. Explain the difference between these two.

Where do the profits come from? What

is surplus value? Who appropriates it? Can an employer of labor pay his workmen the value of their labor power and sell their product at its value, and still make a profit? Would it ever be possible for him to pay the laborers MORE than the value of their labor power and to sell their products at LESS than their value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

Are the workers any better off where the cost of living is low than where the cost of living is high? Are they able to save any more in the countries of low prices? Do low prices benefit the working class? Do we find wages high or low where the cost of living is high? Where the cost of

living is low? Does a low cost of living benefit the capitalists? Why?

Do your butcher and your baker and your landlord exploit you? Suppose all three classes of men were suddenly able to double prices in America, would you pay the additional bills or WOULD THE EMPLOYING CAPITALISTS pay them? Would wages rise? Suppose wages did NOT rise, would you then be getting the value of your labor power? If you failed to get higher wages would this mean that the landlord and butcher and baker exploit you, or would it mean that you had to have more wages, if you were to continue to receive the value of your labor power?

What is the great aim of Socialism?

WHAT TWELVE MEN PRODUCE

By THOMAS F. KENNEDY

IF YOU enter or leave the city of Pittsburgh over the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie or the Pan Handle railroads you can get a car window view of one of the great power plants of the world. It is owned by the Philadelphia Company and stands on Brunots Island, in the Ohio river, about two miles from the "Point."

The building is not at all imposing, and a view from train or trolley would never lead one to suspect that 27,500 horse power of electrical energy is constantly pouring out of it. Least of all would one suspect that twelve men, five at the boilers and seven at the engines and dynamos, furnish all the labor required to produce all this power.

The plant runs twenty-four hours every day in the year, furnishing the power to run the street cars by day and the cars and some of the light at night.

One group of boilers is equipped with Murphy automatic stokers and the other with Roney stokers. These stokers feed the coal to the furnaces in a steady, even stream, producing more perfect combustion than the most careful hand firing. The ashes drop into pits under the furnaces and are removed without the intervention of human hands, except to push a button or move a controller handle. From the time the coal leaves the barges in the river until it is dumped as ashes on the low parts of

the island there is little of that slavish drudgery so familiar to the old time firemen. Shovels and wheelbarrows, so conspicuous in the equipment of the old time boiler house, are unknown here. "Cleaning the fires," that is, getting the "clikers" out of the furnace, is still done by hand, but with drop grates is not as hard as when the "clikers" had to be pulled out of the front door. Men must still enter the boilers at intervals and even when they are dead cold, that is an extremely disagreeable task, as any fireman knows.

Automatic oiling devices oil all machines with a certainty and regularity impossible by hand. The volume and intensity of the numerous currents leaving the plant are registered automatically. Should a feed wire or cable get broken automatic circuit breakers instantly respond and cause the current to break harmlessly in large tank like vessels of oil.

Excepting the superintendent and chief engineer on each turn, all the men employed to run the plant work the same hours under the same conditions, and there is very little difference in the wages. It requires more knowledge and there is some increase of responsibility as compared with an old style plant, but the slavish, backbreaking drudgery has been lessened, and I do not hesitate to assert that the few workers left are, on the whole, better off.

AS OTHERS SEE US

BY

A. CRAWFORD

**This Comrade, Editor of the "Voice of Labor," Johannesburg, South Africa,
Writes as Follows in a Late Number of "Revolt," San Francisco**

I HAVE been ten days in America. Nine days ago I was certain that the movement in the West was not up to my expectations. American literature, propaganda sheets, speakers and leaders led me to expect a party of revolution. I have an impression already formed in my mind that said literature, press and utterances, however much their authors may belong to the Socialist party, are no reflex of the party. I hope I may have reason to change my view before I leave the East.

"Boost" is the shibboleth of American Commercialism. It should find no expression in a Socialist party or its press. But it *does*, and the world of Socialism is misled as to the strength and value of American Socialism.

What the movement lacks is PURPOSE. The opposing factions in the San Francisco local have each a purpose of its own. The one wants "votes," the other wants "Revolution." But the PARTY has no purpose. It has a big membership.

But big as its membership is, it is not big enough for those who want votes, and those who are striving for the Revolution are like unto a rescue party in a gased mine. Their work is difficult and precarious owing to the risk of being smothered. The only danger a revolutionary party has lies in having a membership of compromisers—too much membership.

The cry of the revolutionary is "No compromise." "Education for Revolution" is his motto and the test of value. Education for votes is waste effort. Suppose the Socialist party captures San Francisco. What then? Suppose it captures the State. What can it do?

Absolutely nothing without a mandate from the people to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution.

Municipalization is not abolishing private property. nor is nationalization.

In Johannesburg we have no Socialists in the city council. During my three years' membership of that council I did not influence the municipalization policy of the Johannesburg capitalists. They have municipal street cars, municipal water, municipal light and gas, municipal markets, municipal slaughter houses, municipal stock yards, municipal parks and farms, municipal shops and houses, etc. This is up to date Capitalism. See how it works!

Cheaper street cars transport the wage slaves to the distant suburbs where land and rent are cheaper. Cheaper water, light and gas enable the shopkeeper to add a smaller margin to the cost price of his imported goods. Markets, slaughter houses, etc., cheapen the price of meat, fruit and vegetables. Cheaper living all 'round means cheaper wages, for "cost of living" and "wages" are synonymous terms.

The Industrial Capitalists can find means of disposing of profits which come from municipal concerns. Under Capitalism no Socialist party can find a means of spending profits from municipal enterprises from which the Capitalists will gain no advantage.

Besides, her municipal businesses are run on the cheap, for a whole community acts individually as voluntary administrators and detectives to see that not a cent is unwisely spent.

And knowing that municipalization is rank Capitalism, the ruling Capitalists slyly and with apparent reluctance permit Socialists to educate the people to that sentiment, knowing that a Socialist administration will not have a mandate to do more, and, this much being of a Capitalist character, it can do nothing for the unemployed, and in the end becomes discredited.

The same can be said of nationalism as is said of municipalization. South Africa has *one* State Railway, *one* State Telephone and Telegraph Service, State mines, State farms, State hospitals and a State Land

Bank. None of these is run directly for profit. The Capitalists inserted a clause in the Constitution when union of the colonies of Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony and Orange Free State was arranged, to the effect that all South African railways be run at cost. The profits are, of course, declared in gold mine dividends.

The advanced condition of Africa, municipally and naturally, is due to the higher development of Capitalism there than elsewhere in the world.

South Africa has a gold mining trust, a diamond mining trust, a coal mining trust, an electric power supply trust, a dynamite trust, a meat trust, and several large land trusts, besides the municipal and state trusts already referred to.

When America started its Capitalist development, England's Capitalism was fifty or more years' old. America started level with England and with the vigor of youth outstripped the mother country as a young girl might outrun her grandmother. America is now the grandmother and Africa the vigorous youngster.

Over twenty-five years ago there was no Johannesburg and no goldfields. Today Johannesburg is an up-to-date city with an area of eighty square miles and a population exceeding a quarter of a million. Today the goldfields around Johannesburg produce about \$175,000,000 worth of gold annually, nearly forty per cent of the entire world's output. I could tell many other astonishing things about South Africa, but space forbids.

One other fact, however, I might mention. Our "Labor party" absorbs all the opportunists and reactionaries and keeps the Socialist movement pure. To my mind it's a pity there is not a "Labor party" in America.

Overindulgence in politics by a Socialist Party will lead to a reaction and opposite extreme. Already the I. W. W. is attacking Socialists. This it should not do, because a political attitude has always disrupted an economic organization and an anti-political attitude is no

different from a pro-political attitude. Both are equally dangerous and disintegrating. The I. W. W. is in some places allowing itself to be driven. It must not forget that two wrongs don't make a right.

I have also noticed an anarchist revival in San Francisco. This renascent spirit is a reflex of Socialist opportunism and will find congenial food in the inevitable folly of a premature Socialist power. Only the best balanced minds will be able to withstand the attraction and fascination of the anarchist propaganda.

There may be many of my readers who will think me impertinent in thus criticising the movement. Let me say to them that the Socialist Cause is worldwide, and I never did sit on the fence when a fight was on. South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Canada are all countries which I have recently investigated. Capitalist conditions are alike in all these countries in Western America. These four British colonies have parties all more revolutionary than the American Socialist Party as I know it in the West. But all these colonies draw their inspiration from American Socialist literature. Debs is the most popular speaker; Jack London the most popular novelist; the "International Socialist Review," the most popular magazine, and the "fighting Appeal to Reason," the most popular weekly in the British colonies. I would like to see one Universal Socialist Party to harmonize all these.

Debs' article in last week's "Revolt" should be printed in great big letters and placed beneath the Red Flag in the most prominent part of every Socialist headquarters and meeting place in this country and every other country.

"DEATH TO COMPROMISE IS LIFE TO THE REVOLUTION!"

Let the revolution and nothing less be our purpose. Education, and nothing else our means to attain our purpose—education for revolution. Let Socialists go to Congress on nothing other than a Socialist vote, and Viva la "Revolt"!

IS THE I. W. W. TO GROW ?

BY

FRANK BOHN

FROM every source comes information of the present tremendous on-sweep of industrial unionism. The causes of this have been often enough explained. The facts are clear. The working class of America desires ONE BIG UNION. AND ONE BIG UNION will shortly develop. The conditions are ripe. A great host of workers who know exactly what they want are organizing. Thousands apply the principles of industrial unionism in spontaneous strikes, but fail to keep up an organization after the fight. Others join the I. W. W. Still others are developing separate unions, such as the Brotherhood of Machinists, which now takes in all metal workers and numerous other similar organizations. Arguments against industrial unionism are now seldom heard among Socialists.

The time has come for a careful examination of the condition of the I. W. W. Is it or is it not worth anything to the American working class? Has it a future or has it only a past?

The great hopes of its founders and its marvelous growth during the first fifteen months of its existence we shall not here describe. Enough to say that both were well founded.

During the past three years the I. W. W. has fought a number of hard battles in which the correct principles of industrial unionism were exemplified in actual battle with the employers. Also, during the past two years the I. W. W. organizations in many places have degenerated into small cliques of theorizers. These habitually destroy their organization and at the same time deeply injure the cause of industrial unionism. They make it their main purpose in life to attack the Socialist party. Conceiving themselves to be gifted with the power to set the whole Socialist movement right, they are usually found, not in the shops organizing and educating the workers, but in the Socialist party headquarters or meetings, expounding theory

and sneering at the ignorance of the "politicians," meanwhile describing how they were "once upon a time just as ignorant," etc., etc.

Where this goes on the I. W. W. usually has from two to seven members, and soon becomes bitterly hated by everybody else. It dies when the clique tire of talking about themselves. The general headquarters of the I. W. W. finds that in all such towns it must wait two or three years before any of its organizers will again get a hearing.

THE GENESIS OF ANTI-POLITICS IN THE I. W. W.

This anti-political faction has developed from several sources. One element came logically by its position. It includes members of the I. W. W. from the mining towns, lumber camps and grading gangs of the West. Many of these men are not in one place long enough to secure the right to vote. Others have experienced the brutality of capitalist oppression and have lost the patience to build their movement by the slow process of organization and education. They imagine that somehow political action will take a long time, while industrial "direct" action will finish up the fight in a hurry.

We are not here arguing the comparative merits of industrial and political action. That argument has been settled by the facts. Experienced organizers and workers in the movement have dropped it. Only professional "rag chewers" are found devoting any great degree of attention to it.

A second element is composed of the real philosophical anarchists. These have an organization and movement of their own which engages their attention. Having a point of view and a philosophy they can be reasoned with. Busy with their propaganda, they have been least of all responsible for the present sad state of affairs in the I. W. W.

The people we mean are those who make of anti-politics a fetish. They see in the

Socialist party a number who are opposed to the I. W. W. "Therefore," say these fanatics, "as some of the Socialist party members are against us, that is sure proof that all of them are against us. The greatest enemy of the working class are these advocates of unsound doctrine—of political action. Let us destroy them. That will emancipate the working class."

The experience of the five years just past has proven conclusively that the best way for the members of the Socialist party to develop anti-politics in the I. W. W. is to attack it. Likewise the desertion of the party by I. W. W. members, and their opposition to it, has greatly strengthened the position of the reformist and compromising wing of the party. Each of these groups has helped nurse the other along.

Occasionally one finds a person of experience and intelligence engaged in disrupting the Socialist party, but at least three out of every four are young, erratic and uninformed as regards the Socialist and labor movement. The writer lately came upon one of these. He may have been twenty-one years of age, but it seemed unlikely. His first statement was, "the Socialist party is composed of snakes." Argument in such and similar cases is, of course, impossible.

THE ANTI-POLITICS FANATIC.

The fanatic is a person who sees or thinks he sees but one thing. Whether the thing he thinks he sees is there or not is of secondary importance. The anti-politics fanatics in the I. W. W. see the Socialist party and nothing else. What they think they see in the Socialist party is usually expressed by a vocabulary of vituperation which it is unnecessary to repeat here. In hating the Socialist party they forget why they hate it. They forget industrial unionism. They forget the class struggle. They forget who and what is the enemy.

If a fanatic of any kind has been in the habit of reading books, he ceases that practice as soon as his fanaticism develops. At best he reads only such books and papers as deal with and advocate his own twisted and crooked view of the world. The worst feature about the fanatic is his degenerating influence upon himself.

A peculiar type of mind in the Socialist movement furnishes the fanatics of all kinds. There is an infallible mark by which such may be known early. AS SOON AS

A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OR A MEMBER OF A LABOR UNION CARES MORE FOR THE SUCCESS OF SOME FACTION OR CLIQUE WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION OR MOVEMENT THAN FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE, HE IS ON THE STRAIGHT HIGHWAY TO FANATICISM. By and by he will oppose his own comrades harder than he opposed the enemies of the working class. Then comes the final stage. He begins to oppose ONLY those of his own class or organization who do not fall in with his hobby. In this state he is bitter and morose and soon becomes silent and entirely inactive. This turn of mind, of course, is both the cause and effect of fanaticism.

Years ago this type was corralled by the S. L. P. With the decay of that organization they have largely fastened themselves upon the I. W. W. They have persuaded the public almost everywhere to believe that their position is that of the I. W. W. Of course there is nothing in the preamble nor in the constitution nor yet in the acts of the general executive board of the I. W. W. to form the slightest foundation for this claim.

ORGANIZING A "MIXED" LOCAL.

Mixed locals or propaganda locals in the I. W. W. have always been an unmitigated nuisance. They are not shop organizations. At first they include active members in the cause who wish to organize the working class into industrial unions. These quickly desert. The fanatics usually leave no room in such organizations for any but themselves. Soon they are found gathered about a spittoon deciding how the social revolution will finally take place, what is going to be done with the political state, how the officers of the co-operative commonwealth will be elected, and how they themselves will then be recognized as the only people who were always absolutely right.

Mixed locals have not been favored by the constitution of the I. W. W. nor by its general officers and executive board. But in one form or another they have continued. They are organized in the following way: An I. W. W. volunteer "organizer" gets to town and hunts up the Socialist party headquarters. The Socialist party local has, let us say, one hundred members

and 1,000 voters. The anti-politics "organizer" gets busy. In a party the size of a continent, with 600,000 voters, 85,000 dues-paying members and 250 periodicals, material for his purposes of course is not wanting. Here the Socialist party is run, says this I. W. W. "organizer," by lawyers, "sky-pilots" and petty business men. In another place it has not studied Marx and does not understand economics, history and allied sciences. Elsewhere are found members of the Socialist party who oppose the I. W. W. All this, continues the "organizer," is natural. "Politics" is the cause of the whole trouble. If all the members of the Socialist party would leave the party and join the I. W. W. they would at once be metamorphosed into apostles of proletarian righteousness and could then build the industrial republic within the shell of the present world within six months. The "organizer" does not desire to have in the I. W. W. Republicans, Democrats, Socialists or anybody else who will not accept as gospel the theoretical vagaries developed by the anti-politics sect. By the time the "organizer" has kept this up for two months, twenty or thirty of the younger members of the party, and a half a dozen veterans who are weary of the reform talk among many Socialists, are ready to desert the party and organize a mixed local of the I. W. W. Its evolution, or degeneration, we have described above.

Thus both the Socialist party and the I. W. W. are disrupted, deadened and sometimes completely destroyed in the localities where the fanatics operate. When one visits such a place later it is found that the remaining Socialist party membership hates the I. W. W. and is suspicious of the whole propaganda of industrial unionism, while the I. W. W. is either non-existent or is misrepresented by the aforementioned spittoon philosophers. Of course the Socialist party as a whole is big enough and strong enough to escape without much injury. But the I. W. W. has not escaped. It has suffered from this crowd until the question which is the subject of this article stares us in the face.

Absolutely nothing has ever been gained

by these silly attacks on the Socialist party. Much has been lost. While members have been so engaged they have missed fine opportunities to educate and organize real unions.

Socialists are much like other people. They are not won by sarcastic and bitter attacks. We must not expect that the whole Socialist party will join or advocate the I. W. W. Only the wage-workers are wanted, and many of these, if they are in a position to do only propaganda work, had better do it without joining the I. W. W. When workers in their industry begin to organize generally, then there will be time for them to join. But these stupid and disrupting attacks on the Socialist party are forcing all of its members and thousands of others away from the I. W. W. If members of the I. W. W. cannot see their way clear to join the Socialist party, let them leave it alone and cease from doing it injury.

The anti-politics agitation is not a movement. It cannot develop an organization of its own. It is not industrial unionism. It cannot be revolutionary because it is not positive. It is purely negative and it ends in nothing.

Is this chair-warming sect now the leading element in the I. W. W.? Is it in a majority? If it is, the I. W. W. is not dying. It is dead.

If it is not the main element in the I. W. W., then that portion of the membership who wish to organize the workers industrially must first deal with it, as it is becoming known everywhere as the I. W. W.

But let the members of the Socialist party, the vast majority of whom are industrial unionists, not hesitate even for a moment. Spread the propaganda of revolutionary unionism. In the writings of Debs, Haywood and Wm. E. Trautmann we have a solid and vital literature. To yield the industrial union field to anti-political fanatics would be just as fatal as to surrender the political field of the class struggle to Hearst, LaFollette, the California Labor Party and the other opponents of revolutionary unionism.

WALL STREET AND THE TRUST DECISIONS

BY
JOHN D.

THE Standard Oil and the Morgan capitalists, owners of the United States, have been "walking on egg shells without breaking them," ever since the United States Supreme Court handed down the decisions in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases.

Immediately upon receipt of the court's decree, your correspondent interviewed the dominant capitalists as to the effect it would have on the corporations affected.

John D. Rockefeller was not in town, and in his absence an official of the trust said:

"We view the decisions in the light of an emancipation proclamation for the industries of the country. Besides, all legislation now counts for naught. The court's decree is the biggest possible victory for industrial freedom."

* * *

J. Pierpont Morgan cabled from London to his New York office the following:

"I consider the decision concerning Standard Oil entirely satisfactory; moreover I expected it. The recent turn of the market for stocks shows that it is correct."

* * *

Jacob H. Schiff, who is in Berlin, dining with the German Kaiser, sent over a cable message, in which he said:

"I believe that the general effect of the Supreme Court decisions will be most favorable to the corporations of the country. It will give them an easier road to travel, and nothing under the sun can keep us back in our march of industrial progress."

* * *

George J. Gould, active head of the family, said:

"Business men know where they stand, whereas before these decisions were rendered they were slightly nervous. *I am for the United States Supreme Court every time.* For more than 100 years it has been at work, and it has *never made a mistake.* This decision is the forerunner, in my opinion, of one of the greatest business booms in history."

Henry Clews is of the opinion that:

"After nearly a quarter of a century the key to the Sherman Anti-Trust law is at last found in the decision of the Supreme Court rendered in the Tobacco case. As in the Standard Oil suit, the justices have shown great courage and wisdom, thereby proving that they are anything but fossilized, as charged by a former incumbent of the White House. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that hereafter there will be nothing but *good trusts* in the eyes of the law."

* * *

Frank Jay Gould also talked to Wall Street newspaper men of the decisions. In part, he said:

"The decisions will prove to be the most important for the business interests of the country, since it gives them a solid industrial foundation to rest upon." In closing, he added: "It's great."

* * *

The editor of Financial America, which is very friendly to the controlling interests of Wall Street, said editorially:

"In the provisions laid down by Chief Justice White, in regard to the supervision of the reorganization of the Standard Oil Co. and the American Tobacco Co., big business is decidedly the gainer."

* * *

Jules S. Bache & Co., the Stock Exchange house that addressed a personal appeal to the court two days before the Standard Oil decree was handed down, says:

"The country has been swung to its axis once more by the notable common sense opinions of the Supreme Court, and since the court's decree, the law has become a powerful modern weapon, etc."

* * *

Morgan says he "expected it." So did every other financier on the inside of industry in this country. They knew that Charles Evans Hughes was on the bench, and fully realized what that meant to them. Hughes has been a very useful man for the Rockefellers ever since he taught a Bible class in J. D.'s Fifth Avenue church.

Subsequently he became counsel to the investigation committee that stirred up the insurance scandal a few years ago, and Wall Street thanked him time and again, because he did not "muck-rake" the industrial companies.

Then as Governor of New York for the Rockefeller-Morgan group, he vetoed the two-cent mileage law, which would have cut into the earnings of the New York Central road. He was Governor when A. Barton Hepburn, now President of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, then president of the Chase National Bank, controlled by Morgan and "Jim" Hill, demanded the appointment of CLARK WILLIAMS. Williams "tipped off" the Morgan crowd, as to where the stock of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., which was a dangerous competitor of the United States Steel Corporation, was deposited. Williams located the stock in the vaults of the Trust Company of America, and then Perkins got busy and had the polluted New York Times print a statement that the Trust Company was in bad shape and in danger of failing. Out of this episode grew the terrible panic of 1907. Hughes as Governor was, in a great measure, responsible for the deluge that followed. But we shall continue this part of our story in a subsequent article.

Then he was anxious to hand it to the Socialist Party, while he was the chief executive of New York. He stated that it was his opinion and suggested that it was *good LAW*, that the *Courts could* and should pass on the legality of the doings of the conventions of minority political parties. In other words, if the Socialist Party won, the court could take the stand that the convention that nominated the successful candidates acted in an illegal manner, and was therefore void. This endeared him greatly to Wall Street, because of the approaching radical wave in the political field. When Hughes went on the Supreme Bench, every newsboy in Wall Street knew that Rockefeller had put him there. Bets were made that the "dry bones" would be shaken up, and that everything that the Standard Oil wanted it would get, and that speedily.

Regarding the earnings and resources of the corporations affected by the decisions, they are enormous. The Standard Oil Company is in the front rank of companies

whose accumulated surpluses are large. The company has a capital of close to \$100,000,000; a surplus of \$429,000,000, and is also credited with owning about \$300,000,000 worth of free oil, that is, oil above the ground.

The Standard Oil Company occupies a premier position over its big rival, the United States Steel Corporation, which has \$508,000,000 stock outstanding and only a surplus of about \$164,000,000.

Its net earnings for the past ten years have averaged \$80,000,000 on less than \$100,000,000 capital, and it has paid out about \$40,000,000 yearly in dividends. John D. Rockefeller's holdings, together with those of his brother William, are equal to a controlling interest in the property. Since 1882 the company has made profits of \$1,209,442,064, and disbursed in dividends during that period about \$750,000,000.

The company now has a surplus that cannot be *equalled by any other corporation*.

It has been very daring ever since its inception. Other concerns have always kept their true assets concealed in order to ward off federal or state legislation. But the Standard Oil group of capitalists long ago realized that their industry was greatly superior to anything else in this, or any other country. That is why they are now so confident at No. 26 Broadway, where the Prince of Industry makes his headquarters.

The American Tobacco Company is also well fortified against all encroachments, legal or political. It has a capital of \$180,000,000 and a surplus of close on to \$62,000,000. Besides that, Thomas Fortune Ryan, one of its directors, is a financier whose resources, until a year or so ago, were tremendous, but ill health has practically driven him into retirement since January, 1910. This company has also the benefit of the legal mind of Senator Elihu Root, whom Wall Street says is so crooked that he would "steal a mouse from a blind kitten."

Wall Street understands exactly that there is just as much property in the control of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Companies as there was before the Supreme Court spoke, and says over and over again, that the shareholders of both corporations will not lose a tooth-pick, when the reorganizations are put through.

EDITORIAL

The Situation in Mexico. Diaz is down and out; Madero has been admitted to a share in the government, and the peons are still working for their masters. A presidential election has been announced, and there seems to be a general disposition to await its outcome before taking any further steps of importance. In Lower California, however, some of our Socialist comrades, organized under the name of the Mexican Liberal Party, are still in arms. Their hope, according to their organ, "Regeneracion," of Los Angeles, is "not to start an independent revolution, but to help along a vast national upheaval." Much as we admire their courage, we agree with the opinion of Comrade Debs, expressed on another page of this issue of the REVIEW, that nothing is to be gained and much to be lost by attempting to fight single-handed against the forces of the old Mexican bureaucracy and those of Madero, especially in view of the practical certainty that these will, if necessary, be re-inforced by the army of the United States. To oppose this powerful alliance we have today only a little band of gallant, generous, inexperienced, hot-blooded enthusiasts and an inert mass of unorganized slaves, mostly unable to read and write, and totally devoid of the ability to construct either a great fighting machine or a great machine of production. One thing has been almost gained by the overthrow of Diaz, namely freedom of speech, press and organization. On this issue Diaz was dislodged, and if our revolutionary comrades will recognize the new government on condition of being allowed a free hand to educate and organize the slaves, they will be on the high road toward all they have dreamed. If, on the other hand, they persist in a hopeless and ill-timed fight against overwhelming odds, they will not only destroy themselves; they will also give the ruling classes just the excuse they want to set up a military despotism as relentless as that of Diaz and ten times as strong. Have patience, comrades! The capitalists have their necessary work to do in developing the natural resources of Mexico and organizing its industry along modern lines. We have our work to do meanwhile in de-

veloping a revolutionary proletariat out of the children of the peons. It might be delightful to leap from the "Barbarous Mexico" of 1910 into the Mexican Co-operative Commonwealth of 1911, but miracles do not happen. And after all, Evolution is greater than all the miracles that were ever dreamed. Let us work with the blind irresistible forces of progress; the day of the workers is almost here.

Socialist Unity in America. The great organized revolutionary force in the United States is the Socialist Party of America. By this we mean not the million men who have at one time or another voted the Socialist ticket, but the hundred thousand members who have signed the party pledge recognizing the principle of the class struggle. No other Socialist organization approaches this one in strength; through no other can anything like the same results be accomplished with the same expenditure of effort. This party has two main functions. Of these, the less important, although the more conspicuous is to nominate, and if possible elect, Socialists to office. We have already elected some of these; we shall elect many more; but they have accomplished little in their official capacity for the working class, and in the nature of things they can accomplish little. The really vital work which the Socialist Party has done, can do and will do is the education and organization of a body of clear-headed revolutionists who understand the structure of capitalist society, who are determined to destroy it, and who can and will plan intelligently and work unitedly to that end. There is only one other organization in this country established on national lines with the same end in view that is of sufficient importance to be worth discussing here, namely the Industrial Workers of the World. In this issue of the REVIEW we publish an article by Frank Bohn, an active member and former organizer of the I. W. W., pointing out certain changes in tactics that are essential to the growth and usefulness of that organization. We believe that his warning will be heeded by a majority of the membership, indeed signs are not wanting that many of the strongest members of the I. W. W. have

already reached the same conclusions for themselves and are acting on them. It is perfectly true that many Socialist Party Locals have drifted into the control of members who have no conception of the real function of the party, and think only of vote-catching, and it is not to be wondered at that some of the members who do understand Socialism have drifted out of such locals into the I. W. W., and have there become bitter critics of the party. But all this means waste of valuable strength, and it is time to stop it. Every revolutionist is needed inside the Socialist Party; that is where he can do his best work. If YOUR Local is now dominated by the middle class of reformers, don't leave it; work tirelessly to teach Socialism to the newer members and to bring more wage-workers into the party. Study and teach industrial unionism and the new union methods as they are applied in France and Italy. And when you want to apply them, don't leave your old union if you belong to one, but explain the new tactics to the men who work side by side with you. The capitalists and the new machines are crushing out the craft unions; the need of reorganization will soon be apparent to all. Now, meanwhile, is the time to educate your shop-mates in the principles of economics, showing them that their own interests are bound up with the interests of all wage-workers, and in the new tactics based, not on the lie of a community of interest between employer and employed, but on the supreme fact of the CLASS STRUGGLE.

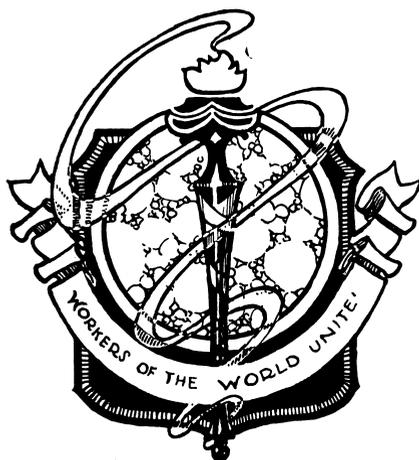
Stop Wasting Time. The Socialist Party has just voted to amend the national constitution so as to provide that all party officials be elected annually and that none shall be allowed to serve for more than one term. Now comes the central committee of Local New York with a motion that a new referendum be taken, and that the limit upon the re-election of officers be repealed. There is no reason whatever for supposing that the party members have changed their minds on this matter. New York State, in which two members of the present National Executive Committee reside, voted no on the referendum, which nevertheless carried. This attempt to reopen the question looks like a desperate effort on the part of the old members of the N. E. C. to retain their hold on the party organiza-

tion. We decline to discuss at this time the academic question of whether it is, as a general thing, better that the party have the privilege of re-electing its officers. The important point is that a majority of the membership are, for various reasons, desirous of dispensing with the services of several national officers. Under our present system of election by plurality it is hard to concentrate the opposition upon a few candidates, while many new members, ignorant of the issues involved, will vote for the old officials simply because their names are familiar. This referendum, in case it receives the necessary number of seconds, should be voted down, and one election should be held under the constitution as it has been amended. Then there will be ample time to consider an amendment allowing the re-election of officers.

Second the Motion. Local Philadelphia, with 950 members in good standing, has officially proposed the amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Party suggested in the editorial department of the April Review, providing that the State Committees shall pay to the National Committee each month two cents per member instead of five cents, and that the percentage of national dues set aside to pay the cost of conventions and congresses be changed from ten to twenty-five per cent. Other locals, including Local Kings County, New York, with 1,182 members, have made substantially the same motion, but as Local Philadelphia has stated the proposition in the best form, the Review suggests that all locals favoring the change second this motion. The reasons for the change have already been explained, but we repeat for the benefit of new readers. When the National dues were fixed at 60c per member per year, the number of members was only about 10,000, giving a total income of but \$6,000. Moreover, nearly half the states were unorganized and national organizers were an absolute necessity. Now, things are changed. The National Secretary estimates the probable membership by the end of 1911 at 100,000, which will give an income of \$60,000 under the constitution as it stands and \$24,000 if the amendments carry. All but four of the states are organized, and a large part of the

money paid in for dues is used to send speakers into organized states, a work that can be done much better by the state committees, or to pay salaries to officials not urgently needed. Meanwhile, nearly every state secretary is hard pressed for the money needed to carry on his work, and the addition of 36 cents per member per year to the income of the state offices would double their efficiency. It should never be forgotten that the greatest strength of the Socialist Party is in its volunteer workers, who earn their own living and give their leisure hours to the cause. The state and local organizations can utilize this vast force and make

every dollar go three times as far as when it is expended through a central bureau with its paid officials. Moreover, the only possible way to combine democratic control with efficient work is to decentralize, keeping as much of the responsibility as possible in the hands of the members meeting in their locals and branches. Only in this way can we prevent a clique of "leaders" from grasping the party machinery and using it for their own ends, regardless of the interests of the wage-workers or the ultimate aims of the Socialist movement. We hope that the motion of Local Philadelphia will be seconded and passed without delay.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE New Insurance Laws. The working class press of Europe is filled with talk of insurance. In Germany the old and well tried insurance measure is being revised; in England a new one has been introduced into Parliament; in France one passed last year is about to go into effect. So everywhere people are talking of the provisions of these various laws and of the desirability of insurance in general. Socialists have taken an important part in the discussion, and their efforts to settle upon a logical Socialist attitude toward this insurance matter has led to some interesting differences of opinion.

A mere reading of the various measures passed or proposed is liable to make one either laugh or weep. You read how a boy of thirteen or fourteen is to begin paying two or three cents a day; his employer is to contribute a like sum; and the government is to help out. Then after all three parties to the agreement have kept on contributing for upwards of fifty years and all their contributions have been kept account of week by week and put out at interest, finally the boy may live to be sixty or seventy years old. If he is so fortunate as to be without resources he then has a claim on the insurance fund to the extent of a dollar and a quarter or a dollar and a half a week. This is insurance, workingmen's insurance. Nobody has calculated, so far as I know, just how much it costs to keep track of all the pennies contributed while the insured is waiting to turn the corner of sixty or seventy and put out his hand for the dollar and a quarter. When you think of the wealth produced by this typical worker, and remember that after all only a mite of what he has given the world is returned after all this elaborate machinery has been in operation for fifty years—then it is that you laugh or weep, according to your temperament.

But this is taking a purely theoretical point of view. There are several other

ways of looking at the matter. It is true, as the insurance enthusiasts so often affirm, that uncertainty of livelihood is the most tragic thing in the life of the working class. Not to know from day to day whether you will have bread the next is the awful fate of the great majority of the world's workers. And most of the insurance laws under discussion do remove the awful threat of starvation. They provide some slight support in time of illness. Some of them even cover unemployment. It can be said in favor of these laws, then, that they remove the terror of immediate starvation.

One other thing is claimed for them. They are a formal acknowledgment of social responsibility. The moment a more or less inclusive insurance measure is passed society recognizes the fact that it is responsible for the life and comfort of all who have done their part to make the world what it is. This consciousness of social responsibility, it is to be taken for granted, will develop until the threat of poverty is finally removed from the civilized world.

But Socialists are bound, of course, to consider any proposition in relation to a possible social revolution. Will insurance laws such as those under discussion hinder or help the conquest of industrial society by the working class? After all this is the main question. Our political governments are controlled by the capitalist class, and their energies are devoted to maintaining the rule of that class. A pension and insurance law such as that going into effect in France, for example, gives this capitalist government added resources and power. It tends, therefore, to prolong its rule and hence that of the capitalist class. On the other hand, it tends to place and keep the workers in a state of benevolent feudalism. They are removed from danger of actual want, but from youth to old age they are in the hands of the government. They are registered, every move is recorded.

The insurance system makes possible an official blacklist the like of which was never known before.

The only way in which this degeneration into a state of feudalism can be prevented is for the workers to take the administration of insurance funds into their own hands. An insurance measure administered by the workers in their own interest can be made a powerful means of education. This has been abundantly proved by the experiences of the German unions. The governments involved understand this feature of the situation perfectly and seem to be resolved to keep the control of insurance funds in their own hands.

All of these various arguments and points of view have been brought to account in the discussions being waged in England, Germany and France. The positions taken by the Socialists in these different countries depends partly on the nature of the law proposed and partly on national temperament.

In **England** Lloyd-George has laid before Parliament a characteristic measure. All male workers are to contribute 4 pence a week, the employer is to contribute 3 pence, and the government, 2 pence. Female workers are to contribute 3 pence. This general scheme is to be varied somewhat according to the wages paid. For example, if an employe receives less than 2 shillings, 6 pence a day he pays a penny less than the regular sum, and his employer pays a penny more. The accounting is to be done by means of a system of dues stamps. Practically all working people, even those whose employment is irregular, are to be included under the operation of the law. Small business people may also be insured, at a special rate. The period during which dues are to be paid extends from the sixteenth to the sixty-fifth year. The chief claims on the insurance fund are those resulting from sickness, including childbirth, unemployment, old age. In general, the sick and old age benefit is to be ten shillings a week for male workers, for female somewhat less. In many cases there is to be free medical attendance. The unemployment insurance is an experiment and therefore is to be tried out in only a few selected industries, including shipbuild-

ing, building trades, machine work, etc. In these industries special dues are to be collected 2½ pence a week from both employer and employe, and a smaller sum from the government. The benefits to be dispensed vary according to occupation. Machinists are to receive 6 shillings a week and builders 7 shillings.

The control of the insurance funds is mainly in the hands of the government, but the "friendly societies" and labor unions are to have part in it. The unions, to be sure, are not to have funds actually in their hands, for, as Lloyd-George maintains, all funds in union hands are to be regarded as a war chest to be used in the struggle against employers. But the "friendly societies," which correspond to our sick and death benefit societies, are to have the actual administration of funds collected from, and to be paid to, their own members. The control of insurance funds rests, to a slight degree, then, in the hands of the workers.

Most of the members of the Labor Party greet this new measure as a great advance in the direction of social justice. It has done much to restore Lloyd-George to the place in the public mind which he held some months ago before faith in him began to waver. The Socialist Democratic Party recognizes certain good features in the proposal, but consistently points out its weakness in matters both of principle and detail. Justice says of Lloyd-George's schemes: "Briefly, they are not merely not Socialism, they are anti-Socialist in their design and intention, and are characteristic of the difference between social reform and Socialism—or, rather, between the social reform which makes for Socialism and that which makes against it."

In **Germany** a new insurance law has been introduced into the Reichstag by a government commission. In certain respects, it seems to be an improvement over the old law. It proposes, for example, to include some 20,000,000 persons within the scope of its operations, whereas the old law reached only some 12,000,000. But the main change provided for is a change in administration of the law. Under the old law the administration of the insurance funds is in the hands of commissions made up of representatives

of the unions and of the employers' association. The representation is so divided that a large part of the responsibility rests with members of the working class. German Socialists and unionists maintain that this system has worked very well. It has given the working class a chance to develop its administrative ability and has proved to all that cared to learn that the working class can run its own affairs. It is evident that the new law has been designed especially to put an end to the control by the working class. As was said at the great insurance convention held recently at Berlin, the new law proposes to make the workers pay two-thirds of the dues and to give the employers two-thirds of the power.

The Socialists are making a bitter fight against the new measure, but it will doubtless be carried by the reactionary bloc. If the control of administration is the vital matter in connection with industrial insurance this will mean a severe set-back for the German working class. It may bring about a great change of attitude toward improvement by law.

But, as usual, it is in France that principles stand out most clearly and lines are drawn most sharply. The French insurance and pension law was passed on April 5, 1910; it is to go into effect on July 3. After the latter date practically all working people are to be compelled to pay dues toward their own insurance. Certain classes of salaried persons and small business people may insure themselves if they so desire. The dues for employes are to be as follows: Males, over 18, 9 francs a year; females, over 18, 6 francs a year; children, from 13 to 18, 4 francs a year. The employer contributes a sum equal to that collected from the employe. The contribution of the government varies from 60 to 100 francs for each person insured. In the main, this law is an old age pension measure. There are to be payments to the widows of the insured, and there is the beginning of assistance in cases of birth. But the chief part of the funds collected is to be used for old age pensions. These pensions are to begin normally at the age of 65, and are to run from 100 to 400 francs a year. The control of the funds involved is to rest entirely in the hands of the government.

The Socialist Party of France passed

officially upon this measure in the annual convention held at Nimes in February. It accepted the law with reservations. It said: This law is poor and inadequate, but it is something; we direct our deputies to vote for it and work for it; and as soon as it is passed they are to set to work to see that it is improved. This resolution was carried by a vote of 193 to 156. Among its opponents were Paul Lafargue, Gustave Herve, and many other well known revolutionists. These of the minority maintained that the state is the enemy of the working class, and hence the working class is bound to do all it can to weaken the state. Hence, this law must be opposed as a matter of principle. Its virtues in detail have nothing to do with the matter. During the past few weeks this view has been vigorously represented by a goodly number of writers in L'Humanite, and especially by La Bataille, the new syndicalist weekly at Paris. So effective has been the campaign against the law that thus far only some five per cent of the workers of France have registered in order to be in line to receive the benefits of the law. Registration and payment of dues are obligatory, but if the majority do not register and do not pay, what is to be done about it?

REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

(Published Weekly, \$1.00 a Year, Six Months for 50 Cents)

ARTICLES by William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Ed Moore, Jack London, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Austin Lewis, William McDevitt, Anna Strunsky Walling, Charles Edward Russell and many other writers of note. The editorials by Cloudeley Johns already have attracted widespread attention, and should be read by every one interested in the real development of the proletarian revolution. Address all communications to

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LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, and The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet, by George Bernard Shaw. Brentano's, Fifth Ave., New York. \$1.50.

If you have not read the new volume of three plays by Shaw, you have a great joy in store for you. Get this book and lend it to your conservative friends. It will make them think if nothing else will. The prefaces are, as usual, even better than the plays themselves and sparkle with satire, fun and solid common sense.

The Doctor's Dilemma is the best thing we have ever read upon the medical profession and will shatter many of our old superstitions and faiths in physicians and surgeons. Doctors, says Mr. Shaw, are no better and no worse than other people. But "I cannot knock my shins severely without forcing on some surgeon the difficult question, 'Could I not make a better use of a pocketful of guineas than this man is making of his leg? Could he not write as well—or even better—on one leg than on two? And the guineas would make all the difference in the world to me just now. My wife—my pretty ones—the leg may mortify—it is always safer to operate—he will be well in a fortnight—artificial legs are now so well made that they are really better than natural ones—evolution is toward motors and leglessness, etc., etc.'" The old economic interest and economic need that lures the professional man along the road to graft and bleeding is bared for us in a new field.

Getting Married, a play about the sex relations, will delight the heart of every Socialist, and The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet is an exquisite comedy upon respectability. The most thoroughly enjoyable and stimulating book that has come to our desk this year.

Love's Pilgrimage, by Upton Sinclair. Mitchell Kennerly, New York and London. Price \$1.35 net.

Our hero is a firm believer in the Great Man Theory and himself as The Great Man. He neglects his wife throughout

their whole married life and entertains grave ethical doubts about the sexual relations. One of those egotistical prudes who find evil in the most intimate and beautiful of all relations, he renders his wife and himself miserable by his continual wabblings about between what he believes to be the Low and the High. Filled with bitterness because the world refuses to support him while he produces his "masterpieces," he wholly fails to realize that than the man who produces bread and butter and builds houses and the woman who bears children there is none greater. He wails through something like four hundred pages of his dreary pilgrimage. His wife, Corydon, knowing that he looked upon her as the Low side of Life, showed neither spirit nor intelligence, but continued to live in the Degraded State.

The book is realistic to a marked degree. The story of the birth of Corydon's child stands out vividly among all the wearying and petty detail. But all in all it is a most immoral tale. Socialists believe love and marriage, paternity and maternity to be some of the greatest joys in the world, but they look ever towards that day when men and women shall live together for the joy in their common union, and not through economic necessity or sheer inertia.

Talks with a Boy Concerning Himself and Talks with a Girl Concerning Herself, by E. B. Lowry, M. D. Forbes & Co., Chicago. Price 50 cents.

Two excellent books explaining to boys and girls the facts concerning their physical natures, which should be given to every girl and boy approaching manhood and womanhood. The origin and development of life is explained with appropriate taste and scientific accuracy. Such books are greatly needed. Many young lives are ruined through the false modesty or ignorance of parents. Fathers and mothers should inform their children upon the all important matters of sex. These books will help you and will show the young folks the wonders of their own bodies.

NEWS AND VIEWS



COMRADE FRANK BOHN SPEAKING TO MASS MEETING OF FURNITURE WORKERS ON STRIKE AT GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

From Grand Rapids, Mich.—Comrade Middleton writes: "I find the Review excellent propoganda. Our librarian reports that she has requests from readers to take the Review home over night to read it. FRANK BOHN has started the battle cry here and his open air meetings were most effective. The strikers are becoming very much interested and Socialism will soon carry Grand Rapids. I enclose a photograph of Comrade Bohn addressing the strikers. Organizer Hovey was threatened with arrest for selling copies of the Review at one of the Bohn meetings, but he kept at it and the policeman failed to make the threat good. If we carry Grand Rapids in 1912, which looks very likely, Local Grand Rapids will have much to thank Frank Bohn and the Review. for."

Thirty-three from Flint, Mich.—"Please find enclosed check in payment for thirty-three Review subscriptions. Please start with May Review." From Comrade Wood, of Flint, Mich. Congratulations to Flint for electing a revolutionist for a mayor. It will not be long till that town is organized. And the comrades are pushing revolutionary literature to educate the new recruits into what Socialism really is. This is the work that makes for a permanent movement.

Like the Study Course.—Comrade Brown of Brooklyn writes: "Twenty-five members attended our first study class to take up Mrs. Marcy's lessons. They are the best thing I have seen yet. Congratulations on the good work"

Haywood at Virginia, Minn.—He was here and he has gone, but the memory of his lecture will linger with the people for years to come.

We had a very successful meeting even if the Lumber Trust (which has two big mills here) did issue orders to their employes that if they were seen at the Haywood lecture they would be discharged. And the United States Steel Trust went to the expense of putting on a prize fight and wrestling match and gave all their employes a free ticket and "advised" them to be present.

Yours for the revolution,
R. C. Sermon.

From Duluth.—Word comes from Duluth that our old friend, Tom Lewis, is stirring up great things there. Duluth always was a hot-bed of Socialism and now that Comrade Lewis is out organizing for the local the movement is bound to grow. For Tom is one of those comrades who believes the working class is ready and eager for the "straight dope." The way they flock to hear him speak and the way the organization grows everywhere he is, would seem to prove his point beyond all dispute. Tom writes us that he is getting down to his old gait and that we may soon look for some good book orders and Review bundle orders from the local. It is too bad Tom was not born twins.

Sell Like Hot Cakes.—Enclosed find order for \$2.50. Please send me 50 more copies of the Review. Sold the other 50 in one night.
John Dolge, Washington.

About Live Ones.—I wish you could accompany me to Warren, Ohio, to see their headquarters. A hall large enough to seat three hundred people, open day and evening, kept absolutely clean, the floor like the top of a dining table, walls and ceiling nicely papered, polished gas fixtures, room trimmed in red decorator's paper.

A committee room with a long table, writing desk, etc.

Another room for smoking, especially for the men.

Above all I wish you might take a peep in at the fourth and best room of all, the library, especially set aside for the women, but the gentlemen are not debarred. This room has a nice oak library table, fine oak bookcase, full of books, red brussels carpet on the floor and clean. Pictures of Debs and others on the walls.

The windows are covered with clean white lace curtains.

They have a beautiful piano, in fact nearly a complete orchestra. They have a singing class. They are just beginning to arrange for a Socialist Sunday School.

The comrades of Warren, Ohio, do not belong to that class who are always talking and never doing anything. They are so busy doing something that they have not much time for talking.

When non-Socialists come to their headquarters, they say: **WHY, I DID NOT THINK YOU HAD SUCH A NICE, CLEAN PLACE. WHY, I WILL HAVE TO BRING THE WIFE AND FAMILY UP THE NEXT TIME, FOR THEY ENJOY MUSIC AND SINGING SO MUCH AND WE WILL ALL BE GLAD TO HEAR WHAT YOU HAVE TO SAY.**

ACTIONS sometimes speak louder than words.

Murray Youtz, Cleveland, Ohio.

By a Tired Workman.—This evening I came home from work and found the Review on the table. I have read it nearly all and most of it was so good I shall read it again. How it warms the cockles of my heart to know that the best and only working class magazine is so loyally and clearly placing before the workers the gospel of industrialism and clear-cut working class economics. How skillfully and effectually Mrs. Marcy repeats in her lessons from month to month that most necessary lesson that the workers are robbed at the factory door and not by the small grocer. Now, I'll ring off, having given partial vent to my feelings.

Comrade Rolfe, Colorado.

Vote for Socialism if you have a vote, but don't lie down if you have none. Go after the goods at the point of production, where you are exploited; use **DIRECT ACTION** and the general strike! This is the only way left for you to fight, if you are voteless, but remember that it is a mighty good way.

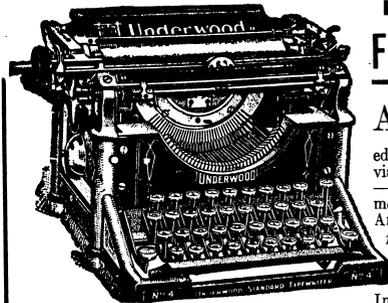
M. B. Butler,

Sweat Shop Workers Again Revolt.—This time it is at Cleveland, Ohio. About four thou-

sand have decided to breathe fresh air for a time. Clothing workers are among those who may well raise the cry, "It is better to die fighting than to die starving." The striking force include a host of women and children. Contributions of the strikers may be sent to the *Cleveland Citizen*. Permanent relief of the miserable sweat shops of the land will not be found until there is a general strike in the industry against home work and the sweating system throughout the country. Don't forget, home work could be easily abolished by law.

New Castle, Pa.—The Review is still the best thing in Socialist literature, in my judgment.
Steve Flanagan.

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Articles on Prices.—Many of those taking up Mrs. Marcy's Study Course have sent in articles on "Why Low Prices Will Not Benefit the Working Class." The one published by us in this issue was the best received before May 12th. Many other MSS. almost equally as good came afterward, among the very best being one by D. F. Sager, of Chicago, and H. O. Bowen, of Georgetown, La. We have greatly enjoyed the evidence received from our friends of their knowledge of the Marxian position in this matter.

Williamsport, Pa.—At the last meeting of the Williamsport Local of Socialists the announcement of the death of our comrade, C. S. Snyder, who for many years was a faithful and earnest worker in the Socialist movement, was received with sincere sorrow.

In the loss of Comrade Snyder the Socialist party will miss one of their most faithful workers, while the common brotherhood of humanity loses one who always stood for the true spirit of that principle.

Even though lying on a bed of suffering for nearly six years with a broken back, he was often found addressing papers of enlightenment on economic issues to others in order that they might see the good news of the Socialist propaganda.

Therefore, be it resolved, that this resolution be placed on the minutes of our meeting and also, a copy sent to the Williamsport's Next Step, The Appeal to Reason and to The International Socialist Review.—E. C. Fredecy, W. A. Stroup, C. B. Stuart.

Sam E. Heberling was elected president of the Switchmen's Union of North America at the convention, held at St. Paul, Minn., in May. Heberling is from Denver, Colo., a Socialist of long standing, formerly organizer of the U. B. R. E., an organization that was formed on the lines of the old A. R. U. The election of Heberling speaks well for the progressiveness of the Switchmen's Union. They have always been recognized as the most advanced body of men in the railway service.

Free Speech in Philadelphia.—During the beginning of the great strike described above, when but a few hundred of the Baldwin workers were out, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was secured by the I. W. W. of Philadelphia to help in bringing out the remainder. While speaking in the open air in the vicinity of the works she was arrested by the police. The well known young agitator was released on bond and when this copy of the REVIEW is in the hands of the reader the trial will undoubtedly have been held. The defense is being made by the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, the latter donating \$50 for that purpose. It will be of considerable interest to all workers in the cause, especially in the eastern states, to learn that Comrade Flynn has joined Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party. She is about to start on an organizing trip in New England for the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W.

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A "LIVE ONE"—COMRADE CHANUTE'S MENTAL DYNAMITE WAGON

Leon F. Chanute, Socialist Agitator.—This comrade has what he calls a Mental Dynamite Wagon, as shown in the engraving on this page, and he is making a successful tour of Louisiana, one of the last states most of us would have picked out as hopeful campaigning ground. He writes: "I have the 800 books all O. K. Tell the live comrades that when I get time I'm going to write a little book telling them how they can make \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year hustling for Socialism. I'm doing it right now. If there ever was a period in this country when the agitators had to get on their knees with a silver tray to present or offer the co-operative commonwealth to the wage-workers of this country, it is past so far as I am concerned. I am driving Socialism into them and making them pay for it. When one of these working mules pays for something to read he will read it and think something of it; when they get it for nothing they think it's no good. I'm getting wages out of the heathen while working for Socialism. You have my consent to print the pictures of the Mental Dynamite Wagon of the Proletarian Revolution."

A Propaganda Suggestion.—A traveling salesman who is an active Socialist and a good friend of the REVIEW writes suggesting a propaganda plan which involves scarcely any outlay of money, and which ought to bring good returns for the labor involved. He suggests preparing a letter to be placed in the mail boxes of hotels wherever the proprietors or clerks will permit it, to be delivered on Sunday morning when usually there is no mail. This plan would be especially good for Locals

which meet on Sunday, since the letter might include an invitation to the meeting. The letters might be printed but would be far more likely to be read if written or typewritten, and if addressed to individual names, which could be obtained from the hotel register. Every such letter ought to carry one Socialist leaflet and no more.

Two More Revolutionary Socialist Papers.—The Review hastens to welcome two new Socialist papers and to congratulate the comrades who are publishing them. "Justice" of Pittsburg and "Revolt" of San Francisco are both papers of a type which the American Socialist and labor movement needs in every large city. Hundreds of Socialist papers have come and gone during the past ten years. We do not think that most of the failures have been due to the fact that many Socialist papers have not been needed. Every large city needs and has needed a paper of its own. But most of the papers published in the past represented, unfortunately, the weak and vacillating character of the Socialist movement in its infancy. Many of them merely advocated popular bourgeois reforms and called this policy "Socialism." Quarrels would then break out over the tactics of the movement and the conduct of the paper. The result usually was that when the paper went down it dragged the movement along with it for a year or two.

But conditions have now changed. The tactics essential to the real progress of the revolutionary movement are becoming clearer to ever larger and larger numbers. The working class Socialists of America are fighting the enemy and the enemy is granting the political

reforms. The principles of Industrial Unionism, after six years of bitter conflict, now find almost no opposition in the Socialist ranks. A Socialist paper worth the confidence of the working class must be a paper which helps to mould and educate this sentiment. How well both "Justice" and "Revolt" are fitted to do this is evident from the first number of each. "Justice" describes and proves the utter rottenness of the typographical union in Pittsburgh. It declares that the other craft union organizations in that enslaved community are just as bad, and gives that as the reason for refusing to use the label of the typographical union. The fight of "Revolt" is to be just as hard. The chief enemy of the Socialist party in San Francisco is the labor fakers' political party. The first batch of leaders and office holders of this party, it will be remembered, were sent to jail for grafting. The second lot are now in office and the disease threatens to spread over the whole state of California. Of course, in the end this will only strengthen the Socialist party. But some of the weaker brethren, lacking both in knowledge and in faith, fail to see it. "Revolt" ably edited, advanced in its position and fearless in giving and taking blows, will not only help San Francisco and California. It will teach the movement of the whole country.

It is now some three years since the International Socialist Review set out to pioneer in the hard ways of revolutionary propoganda. All hail to its young and sturdy companions.

"Justice" is published at 419 Brushton ave-

nue, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; "Revolt" at 305 Grant avenue, San Francisco, California. Better send stamps for sample copies.

Philadelphia on Strike Against Morgan.—The great Baldwin Locomotive Works of Pennsylvania have been gobbled by J. P. Morgan. The 12,000 Baldwin slaves have gone on strike against Morgan. The two events came clip-clap. Morgan is the record union killer. The Baldwin Locomotive works is one of the prize slave pens and slaughter houses of the country. Morgan's management discharged 1,200 men, including all the most active union members. The kind of a strike the Baldwin men are likely to put up was indicated in the great Philadelphia street car strike last year. They were among the sturdiest supporters of the general strike. At present the works are tied up from the cellar to the garret. And it is about time for something to happen there. The immediate grievance of the men is as nothing to the regular dose they have been receiving. The works have run night and day and with but two shifts. One shift has worked thirteen hours five nights in the week. Another eleven hours for six days. Why do not the Baldwin men demand the 8-hour and appeal to the working class of the whole country? The whole Socialist Party with its press could do no better than make this a test case against the imperial power of J. P. Morgan. But when the men went on strike they first had to fight craft union officials. This makes several things plain to the wise ones.

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News from Tahiti.—"I wish you could all visit my palm leaf office and I would treat you to bananas and cocoanut cream. What a good visit we would have, picking tree strawberries (gwavas) nicking the tree melons and plunging into the swimming pools. Comrades have written asking me to allow them to tent for a while on my plantation. They asked so many questions I could not answer satisfactorily without overworking my Socialist pen and neglecting my banana palms. I hope to reach these comrades through the Review. If you come to Tahiti bring tent and outfit, a few of the most needed tools, camping clothes, coarse shoes and gloves. Be ready to be independent of anybody. Bring cash enough to go home on if necessary. While visiting me you can do an hour or so of work morning and evening and have six or seven of daylight and two of lamplight for resting, bathing, dozing, reading, singing, visiting, etc., in and for getting ready to teach Socialism. When I can find a company of five or more men—trusty, intelligent and capable—I will give a free title to such a company for about 50 acres of the best part of my plantation. I have too much responsibility and no time for completing my books. Two or three acres is all I need. That is all anybody but a capitalist needs."

E. W. Darling,
Papeete, Tahiti, Society Islands.

The I. W. W. in South Africa and Australasia.—One of the welcome visitors at the office of the Review during the past month was Comrade Crawford, editor of The Voice of Labor, of Johannesburg, South Africa. The Voice of Labor is the only Socialist paper in South Africa and is the official organ of both the Socialist party and the I. W. W. of that colony. Comrade Crawford reports inspiring progress in his home country. The Socialist party is large and active. The I. W. W. contains 1,500 members in the Johannesburg district alone. There they have lately won an important street car strike. The street car local now numbers 300 members, the strike having been successful. Industrial unionism is being practiced throughout South Africa and Australasia. The I. W. W. is the strongest working class organization in South Africa. Best of all the political and industrial organizations work in perfect harmony. It is with very great pleasure that we announce an important article from the pen of Comrade Crawford for the August number of the Review.



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EDUCATIONAL—Industrial College in operation—two buildings—seven teachers. Has real estate (240 acres) worth, potentially \$100,000. Also has interest in 30,000 acres of adjoining lands. Students earn living in College industries and on farm. Twenty-five preparatory industrial schools affiliated.

GENERAL—Five miles of railroad front—fifteen of navigable River Bay front. Two new railroads crossing tract due coming year. Chance to more than earn allotment securing new members. You get near town and share in rapid rise. In Ruskin Colony advance, near in, 500 per cent. Farther out only 50 per cent—one year. Conditions similar in Morris Park Extension, now open.

COMMENDATION—There is no ten acres within the tract on which an average family can not, with proper cultivation, make a good living; and a large proportion of it can be made sufficiently productive to enable a family to live well on two acres." (From A. J. Pettigrew, Manatee, Fla., former Socialist member of Florida Legislature, and recent nominee for Governor. For 30 years reporter for U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

"I consider the greater part of this tract ideal for gardening; and most of the remainder splendid for growing oranges and other citrus fruits." (From J. L. Fitts, West Tampa, Fla., National Organizer for the Socialist Party.) Address

RUSKIN COLLEGE, Ruskin, Florida

One of the Biggest Factors in the Socialist Movement is the co-operative publishing company managed by the Findlay Call, Findlay, Ohio. The manager, Comrade W. Harry Spears, has written us a description of this interesting institution. It now publishes weekly Socialist papers for nearly one hundred cities and towns in the middle west. These papers contain common matter which is selected by the editor-in-chief at Findlay. One, two or three pages is edited by a local editor, who sends his material to Findlay for insertion. Thus a town of 5,000, 25,000 or 100,000 inhabitants, which could not otherwise publish a local paper, is enabled to teach Socialism in the most practicable way. Local issues are discussed from a Socialist point of view. Striking workers are supported and their confidence and support gained. Local capitalism in the shop and in politics is exposed. Socialist propaganda is thus brought right home to the workers. From many cities come reports of excellent results secured by this method.

Industrial Unionism.—We are in receipt of the following letter pertaining to industrial unionism:

San Pedro, Cal., May 11, 1911.
Editor, International Socialist Review,
Chicago, Ill.

Comrade: The time is ripe to make it clear to the members of the Socialist Party that the burning and pressing question of industrial unionism can be no longer ignored. The great army of production must be organized on a new and strictly revolutionary basis. A revolutionary sentiment without a corresponding material foundation is of no avail. It is impossible to conceive of a bona fide revolution without the combination of these two elements. The working class army must be organized to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. It is up to the Socialist Party to equip itself with the necessary intelligence and then clearly point the finger of scorn and contempt at present industrial unionism. We must show it up as a dismal, disgusting failure. It has been organized for more than five years. I. W. W. members must admit that during all that time they are simply walking round the preamble and the departments in their constitution. Yes, they are still walking around it. It is a huge joke. They are doing business on craft-union lines, issuing charters to mixed locals, departments and fractions of departments, such as the Marine Branch of the Transportation Department. They never did issue a union charter. To illustrate, they have 13 departments which make a complete union. Now, mark you, they

are going to issue thirteen charters, one to each department instead of one for the whole to make a complete, bonafide compact union. If they understand industrial unionism why don't they get on the foundation and build up? Why don't they revise their constitution? Why don't they practice what they preach? Get down to bed rock. It has been said of late years that the I. W. W. was keeping the Socialist Party straight. The tables are turning on our friends. Things and men are coming our way. We must and are going to keep them straight or they are going down to defeat. The Socialist Party must rear a bonafide union on its (I. W. W.) ruins.

C. A. Bruce,
W. E. Johnson.

San Pedro Branch, Local Los Angeles, Socialist Party.

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Why Not Have Your Own Paper?

¶ There is no reason why almost any town, little or big, in the United States, should not own and easily manage and maintain a local Socialist paper. Such a paper could be made to pay usually from a money standpoint; certainly, nothing could pay better in propaganda work. When a little more stock is paid in the company will be incorporated and the management of affairs, election of officers, etc., will be subject to initiative, referendum and recall. Stock is held wholly by Socialists, most shareholders having each one share, several comrades taking shares in each town where papers are started. We have a complete printing plant, including up-to-date machinery, linotype, newspaper press, job presses, type, etc., do some job printing and linotype for the trade. Some \$4,000 has been invested so far and a further indebtedness on linotype and press to the extent of \$2,500, which we are paying off at the rate of \$100 per month. In time we shall have one of the most modern of newspaper plants in the United States.

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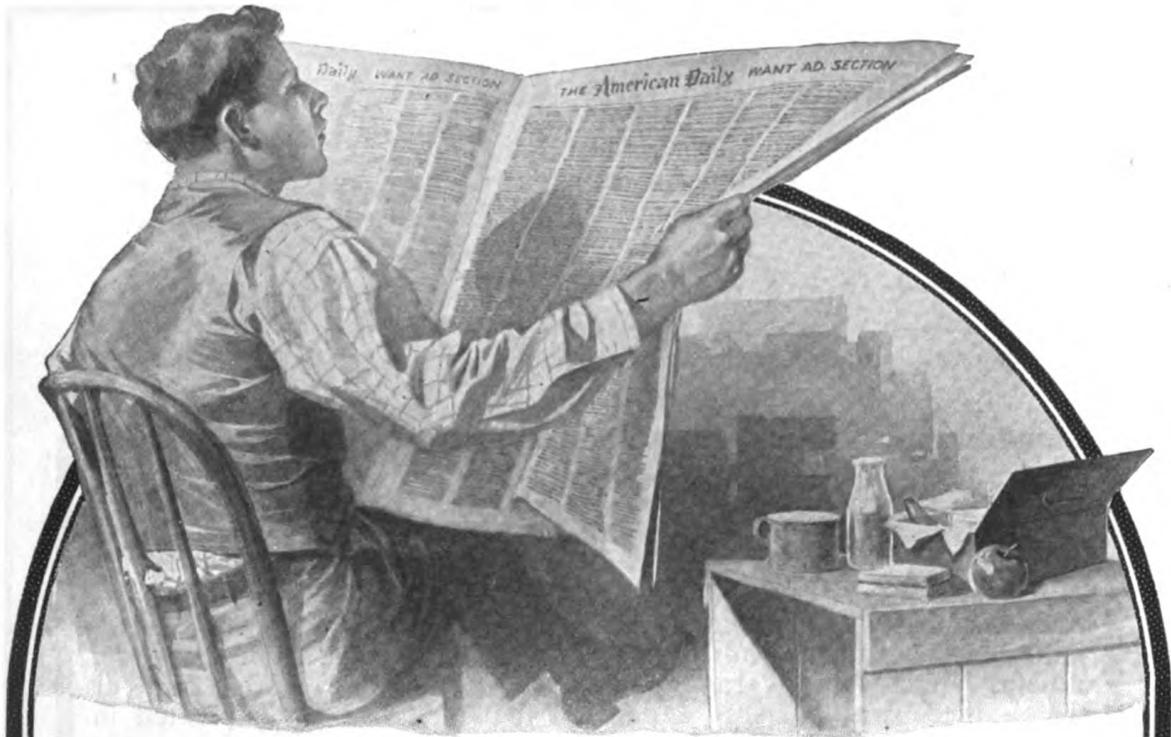
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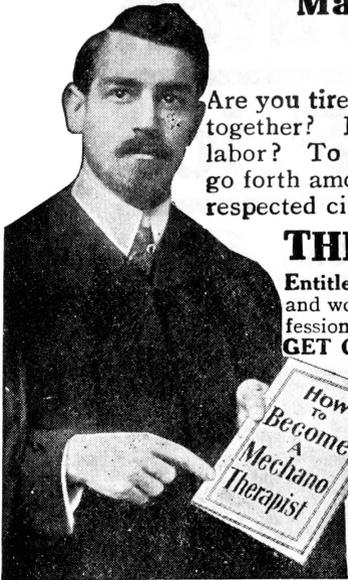
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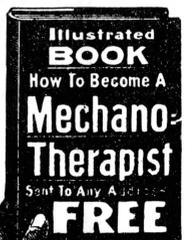
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