

JANUARY, 1914

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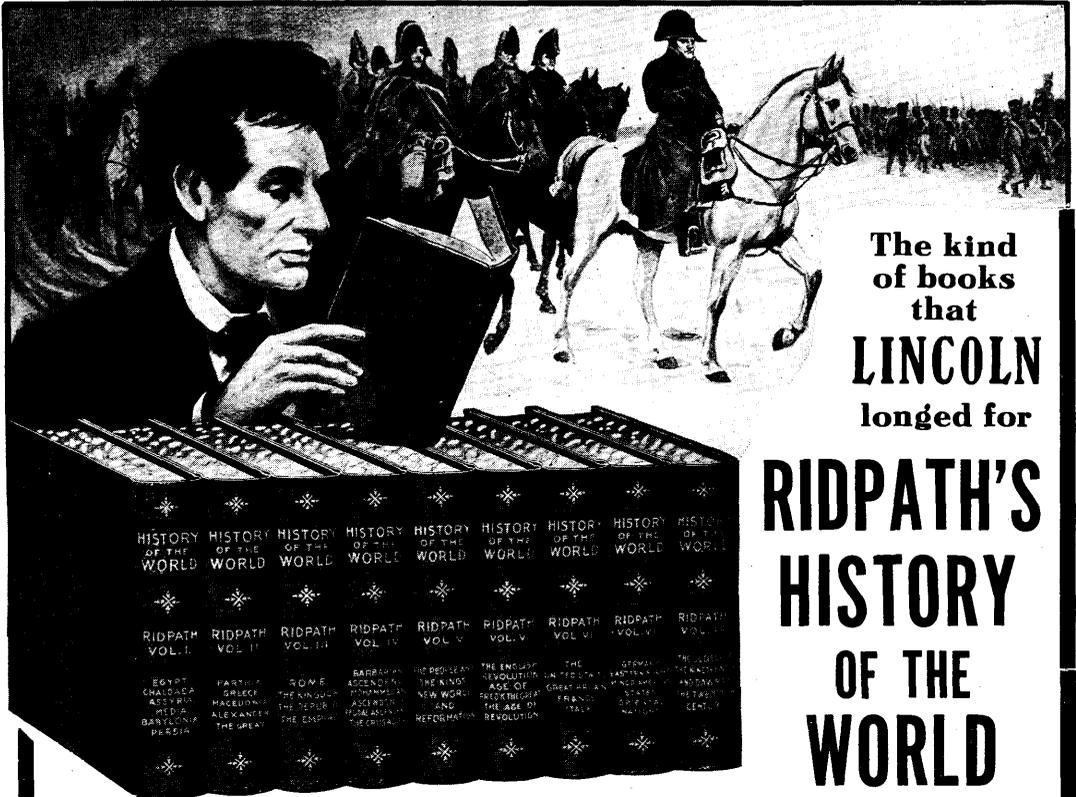
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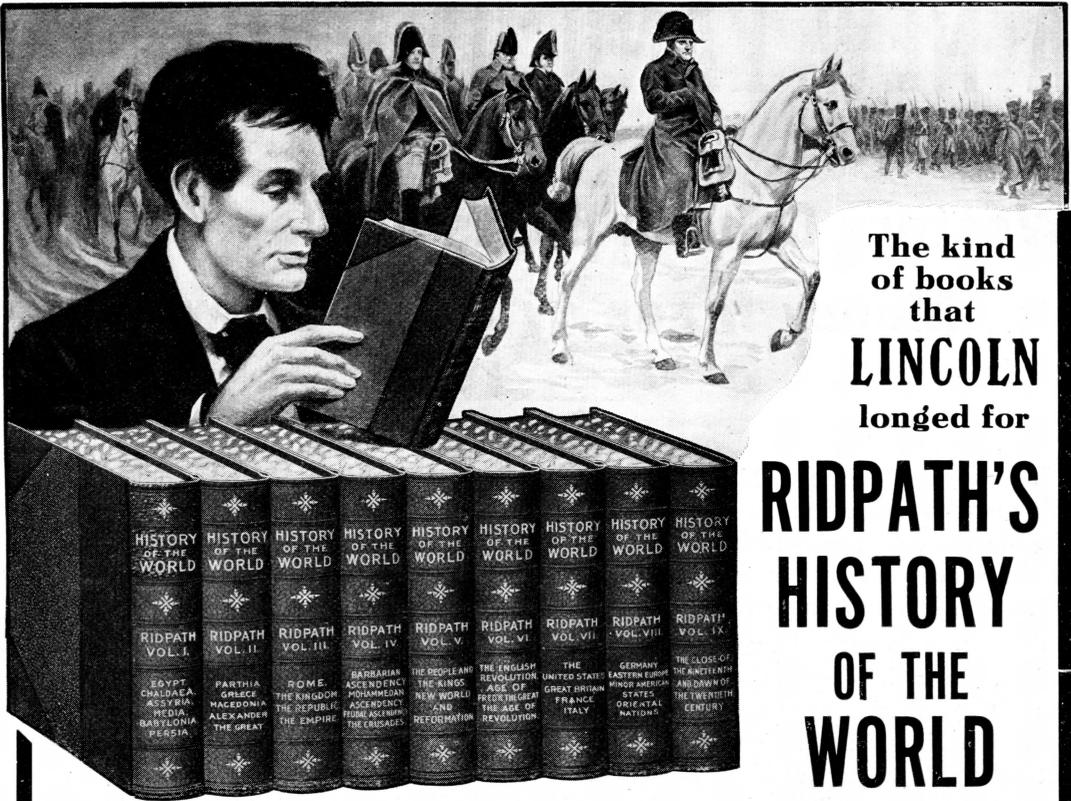
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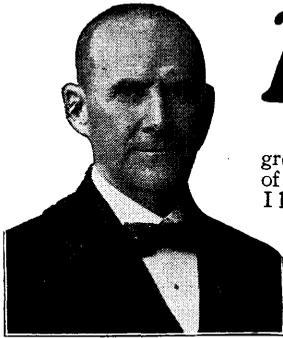
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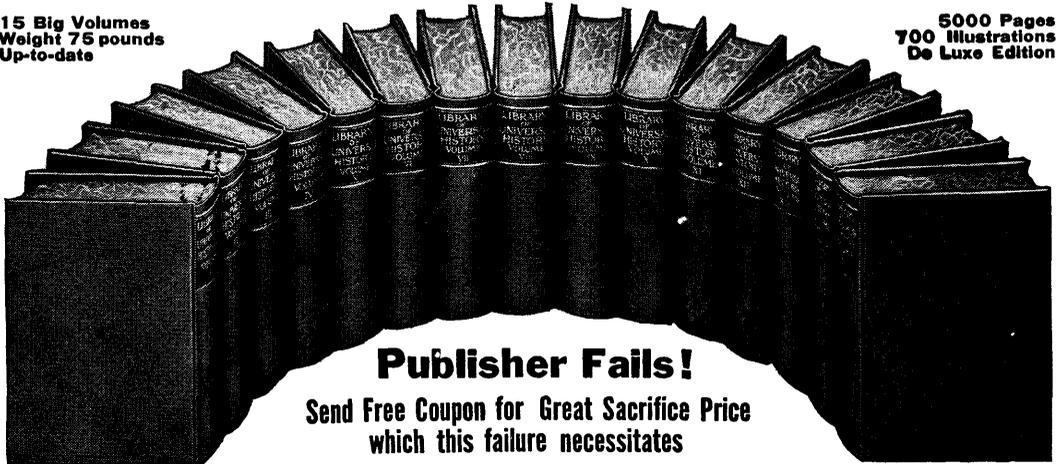
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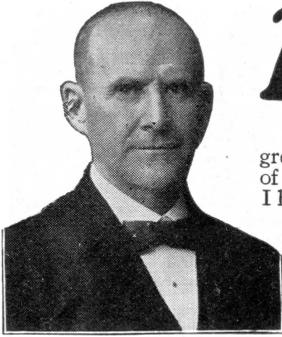
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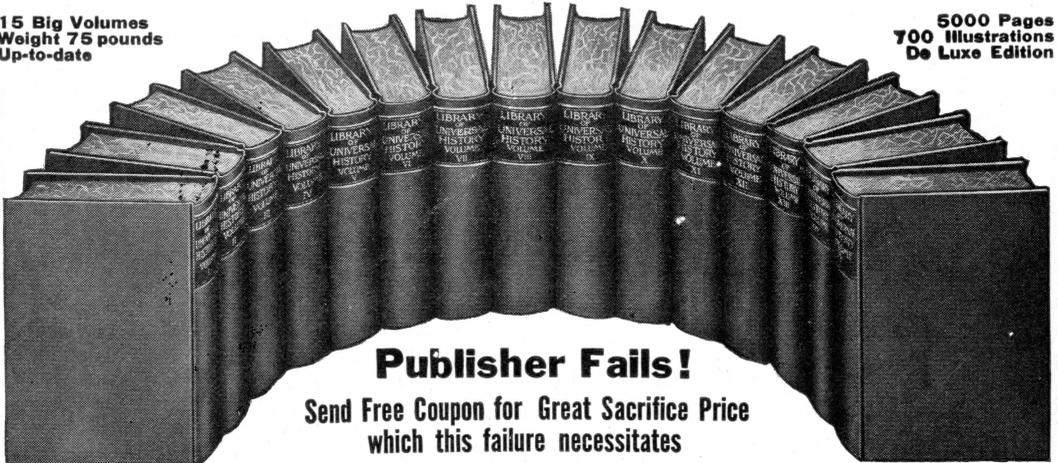
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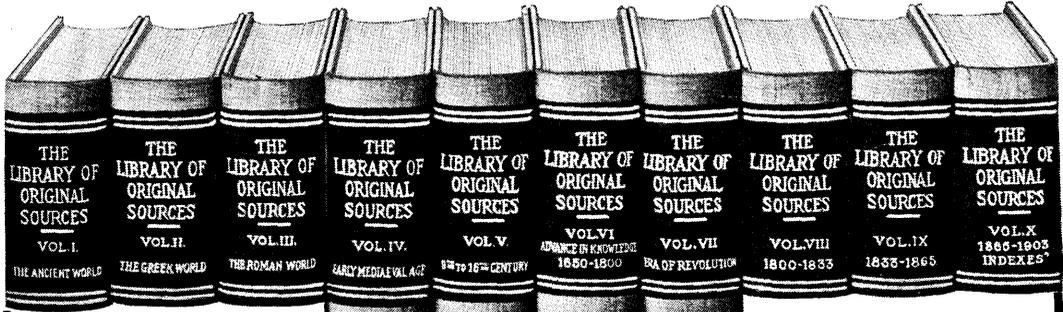
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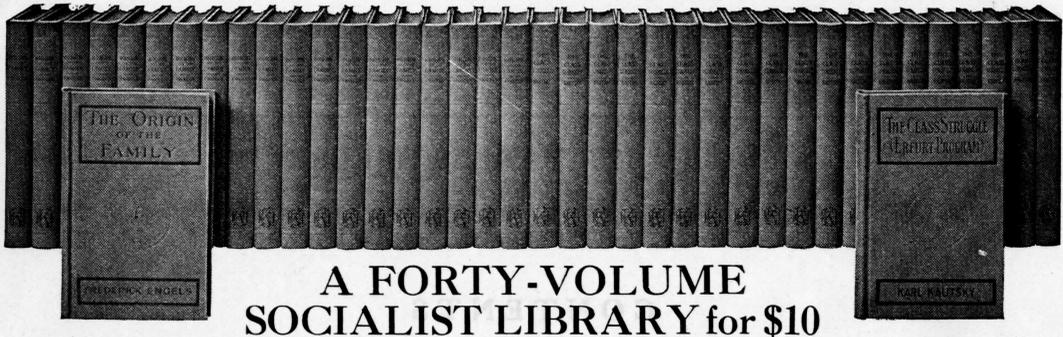
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SPYING ON STRIKE SYMPATHIZERS.

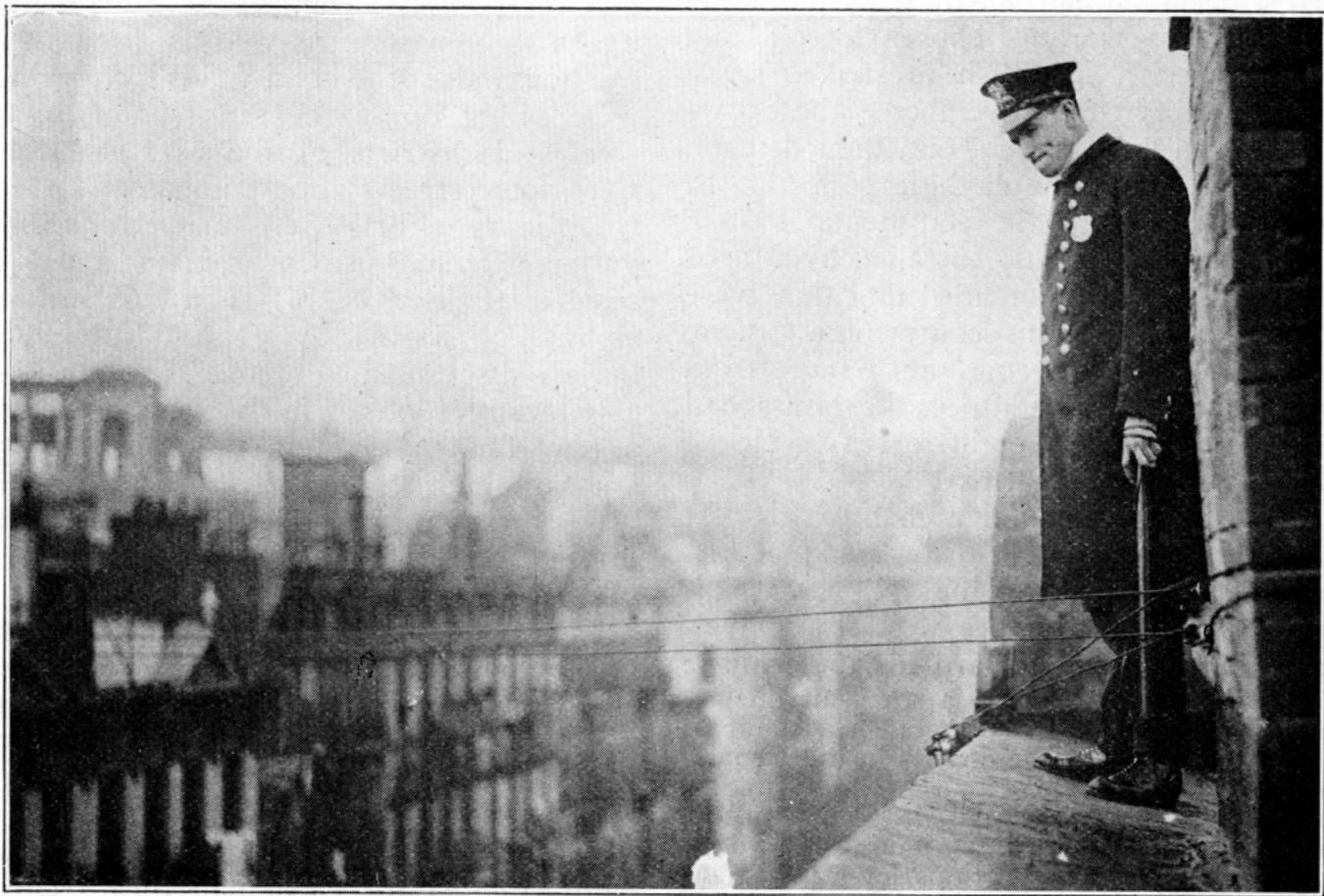
The Strike of the Scavengers

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

IF 4,000 Wall street brokers or 4,000 assorted employers suddenly left their offices or were carried off by a pestilence in New York, the life and activities of that city, after the first sensation, would go on much as usual. Society and industry would proceed with but little in-

terruption. But when 4,000 humble street cleaning employes suddenly quit work in the metropolis in the second week in November the entire administration of the second greatest city in the world was upset and for a time demoralized. High-salaried officials could do little but gnash their teeth



SPYING ON STRIKE SYMPATHIZERS.

and issue numerous orders which couldn't be carried out. Rich and powerful merchants shrieked and groaned at the sight of the piles of odoriferous garbage standing untouched in front of their palaces of profit. Comfortable and well-fed householders and property owners held their noses and begged the agitated city government to do something. Four million people were threatened with pestilence and disease, which inevitably would have been widespread had not these despised and usually silent workers chosen a cold and freezing period in which to strike.

On the night of November 8 these garbage wagon drivers went out, their demand being a return to the daylight collection of garbage instead of the continental system of night work recently installed by Mayor Gaynor. The men contended that they were imposed upon by this continental system, the work at night being much more of a strain, and that in addition the hours had been increased from eight to ten or eleven without any additional pay.

When the demand for a change was first made of Commissioner Edwards the garbage cleaners received the following bulldozing reply, duly expressive of the feelings of a politician toward his underlings:

I understand that there is some dissatisfaction on the part of the drivers on account of night work. I want the drivers in the Department of Street Cleaning to thoroughly understand that night work will go on as usual, and any absentees or men failing to go to work will be dismissed from the Department of Street Cleaning and never be allowed to return.

Stable foremen will suspend any men failing to go to work and will forward charges to the main office.

WILLIAM H. EDWARDS,
Commissioner.

This reply was backed up by the following communication from Mayor Gaynor to Edwards:

Sir: In regard to the threatened strike of the drivers and garbage collectors of your department, be so good as to notify them at once by general order to strike just as soon as they see fit. And see to it that not one of the strikers gets gack into the city employment again. We can get along without them. It will inconvenience the householders for a few days, but they will stand it patiently. Let the contract system be resorted to, if necessary.

The city pays the men of your department the highest wages for the shortest hours, and, in addition, a pension law was passed for

them last winter. If they think they can make the city conform to their dictation by striking they will find themselves grievously mistaken. The city's business has to be done as the charter prescribes, and no strike can force it to be done in any other way. The city is not in a position of a private employer and able to make any terms with its employes it sees fit.

W. J. GAYNOR, Mayor.

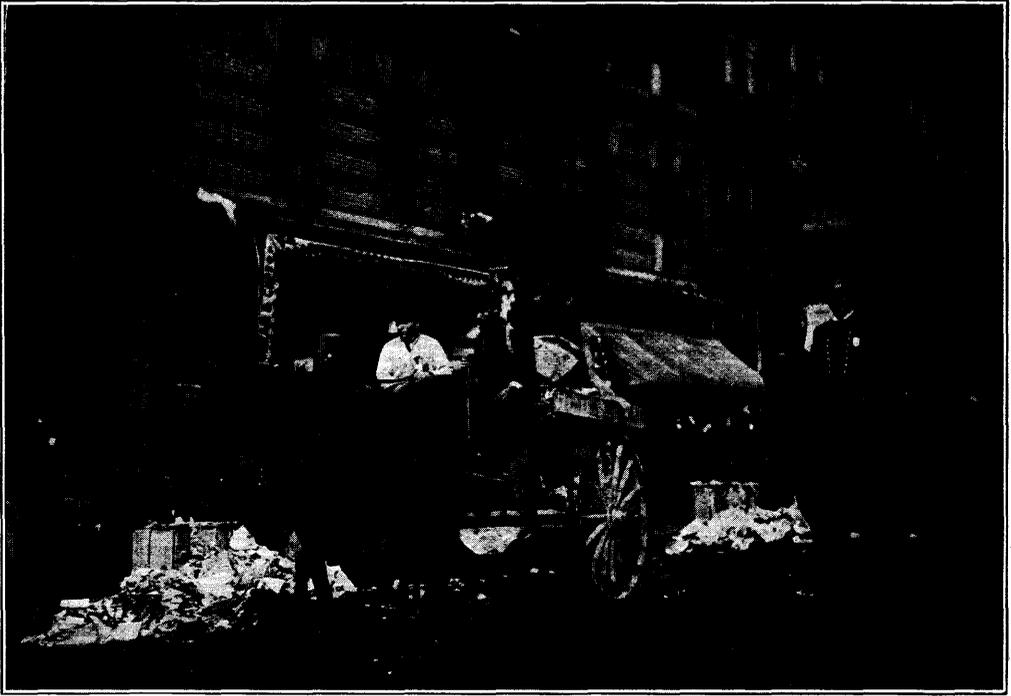
In the face of official opposition and stern determination as expressed by the foregoing communications, the men themselves stood firm, with at least the result that the political scientists have a practical lesson to help solve as well as discuss.

Thousands of wagon loads of garbage were piling up in the streets, and in the congested districts of the east side there were some streets almost impassable. Extraordinary efforts were made to remove garbage from business centers and elite residential districts. It is in this instance as in all others that the poor and uninfluential are discriminated against. The fashionable localities looked fairly clean, while just a few squares away in the tenement districts the fermenting piles of cast-off filth were breeding disease germs that would first attack the poor, but that might indeed ravage the city.

The city officials made every effort to break the strike, and although they resorted to the brutal tactics the employing and ruling classes are accustomed to use everywhere in like cases, they met with little success.

Detective agencies were enlisted and were paid \$5 for each man they secured, the strikebreaker receiving for his services \$3 per day. It requires at least three scabs to do the work of one husky garbage driver, in addition to the number of police required for guard duty. The change was an expensive experiment on the part of the city authorities.

There were many bitter popular demonstrations against the strikebreakers. One man was knocked senseless by a brick thrown from a near-by roof, and was then run over by a wagon that broke both of his legs. He died shortly after being taken to the hospital. A child was run over and killed by one of the mayor's scabs. Some policemen were injured, but this is not worthy of particular mention, as they are all still alive. Many arrests were made and strikers were cruelly beaten



GUARDING THE SCABS.

One of the chief lessons to be learned is the inefficiency of scab labor. This is obvious on every hand. While no particular skill is required in the collection of garbage and sweeping of streets, it requires a certain physical standard that is not reached by the casually employed, who do the work slowly, gingerly, spilling at least a third on the street in their clumsy efforts. This same inefficiency prevails in every shop strike, but there the bosses are able to furtively conceal their helplessness behind closed doors. The spirit of many a strike has been broken by apparent success which perhaps is as much of a failure as New York's strike-breaking department.

The importance of the least considered, even the scavenger in the machinery of modern living is another lesson to be learned. If this strike had occurred in the summer season the sweltering heat enveloping the piles of filth on the streets would have borne this home with deadly emphasis.

But the piles of garbage in the streets of America's greatest city grew higher and higher. Abominable enough in other parts of town, the stench in east side streets was

almost unendurable. So bad did the situation become that the Merchants' Association issued an appeal to "good citizens" to come out and take the strikers' places.

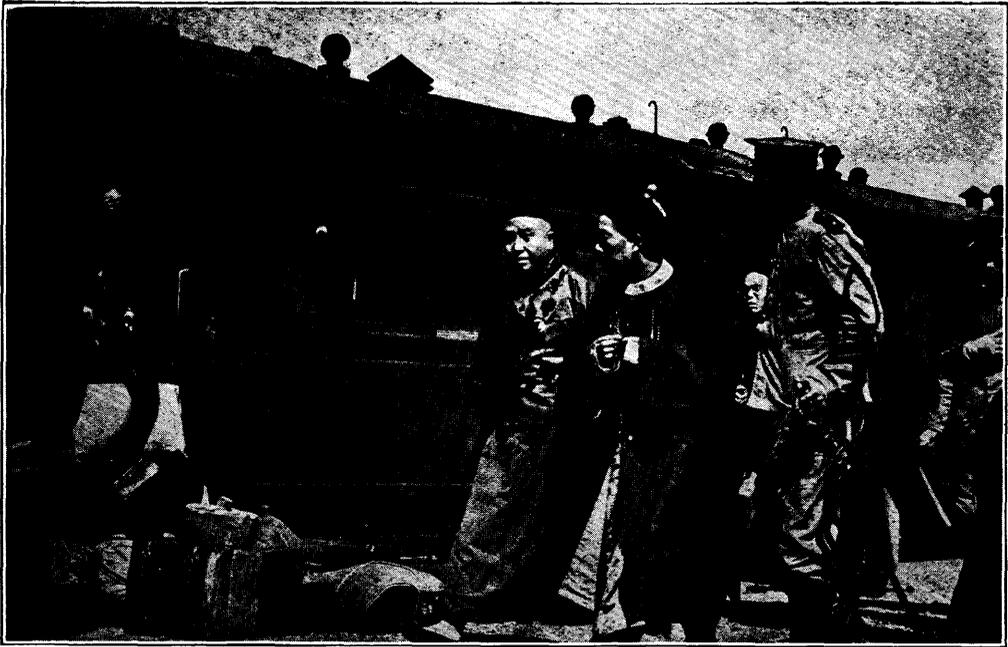
So frightened did the city officials become that they allowed the piles of garbage to be set afire, though this could not fail to do great damage to the streets and endanger lives and dwellings from flying sparks. Gaynor and Edwards declared they would never take the strikers back, but would turn over the street cleaning to private contractors. Such is the deal handed to the workers under capitalist "municipal operation."

The Socialist Party was quick to take a hand in the fight and held a big mass meeting in Cooper Union at which the treatment accorded the strikers was denounced.

The teamsters' and truck drivers' unions also pledged their "moral support," but they didn't give the strikers the kind of support they needed most. A general walk-out of all the teamsters in the city—"a stoppage of everything on wheels," as one speaker put it—would have ended the fear of pestilence and won the garbage collectors' strike for them in about one day. But that, though "threatened," never came.



GUARDING THE SCABS.



VICEROYS ESCAPING TO SAFETY.

The Chinese Rebellion

BY

TIOKA YAKAMA

THE wide world had long given up hope that China would ever awake to the marvels of science and modern production when the Celestial Empire was already wiping the sleep of centuries from her eyes.

Those whom Old China still calls the learned men of the nation are insisting to this day that old ways are best. They are still searching the musty past for the solution of present problems.

But the rebels of China represented the New Era. They have Necessity and Progress on their side, and whether it be that, rising from the last great massacre of their fellows, or fighting a year or so hence, victory is bound to be their portion.

Peking desires a trained police and a strengthened army and navy that will keep the Powers off and permit them to continue in the enjoyment of the exploitation and unequaled graft of the hundred million

hard-working Celestials. The Chinese Government is opposed to the westernization or modernization of the empire, with the exception of the promotion of railroads. Like the pioneer railroad kings of America, they care nothing for the building of these roads, but favor them only because of the remarkable opportunities they offer for official graft. They have not yet learned that the exploitation of wage workers is the most profitable graft in the world.

"Reform" is upon the tongues of the government officials as it is in the mouths of the rebel patriots. But the government "reforms" are such only as will open new sources of revenue to the officials. They have not yet thought of the possibilities of "legitimate" profit taking. The patriots of China, on the other hand, are fighting for industrial training, universal education, improved agriculture, freedom of the press, the expenditure of taxes for the benefit of



VICEROYS ESCAPING TO SAFETY.

the workers instead of in huge salaries to the idling government job holders and the responsibility of the government to representatives chosen by the people.

Were it not for its advocacy of the railroads, the government would be wholly reactionary, while on every side the rebels stand for more freedom in industrial and educational matters.

Prof. Ross, writing on China in a recent number of *The Independent*, says:

In a gorgeous native restaurant in Peking I sat at meat with five men, and four languages were needed for communication. The one white man was born in China, the son of a missionary. The rest were foreign-educated Chinese retained in government service as experts. One was a Berlin Ph. D., another a Cornell doctor of philosophy, a third came from the University of London and had spent two years in the British post-office. The fourth was an A. M. of the Antwerp School of Commerce, licentiate of the University of Paris and had served two years in the Banque de France. They had been in government service for from two to six months.

"How do you like it?" I asked.

They threw up their hands in despair. They were patriotic, eager to apply their hard-won knowledge to their country's need, but all had found that the Manchu blocks the way. "What is the use," said one, "of my studying the gathering of statistics in the various countries and reporting a plan for the coming imperial census, when my chief is an ignorant Manchu who will light his fire with it?" "How can I put any heart into working out a reform for the postoffice," said the London man, "after I realize that my recommendations are not even read?" "We now see," said another disgustedly, "that the government gives us posts and salaries in order to keep us educated men under surveillance here at Peking where we can't reach or influence the people. 'Reform' is all for show and the one absorbing thought of our rulers is to keep their graft."

The head of a provincial college, a ripe scholar, a Han-lin man, in fact, told me he could hardly endure his position. "How can I keep my self-respect," he broke out, "when constantly the Board of Education at Peking forces me to do foolish things?"

Here is an applicant thirty years old, who passes a brilliant entrance examination; but Peking won't let me admit him to my college because, forsooth, he is not 'a graduate of a middle school.'"

The Manchus are not a cultured people, mark you, and when they climbed into the saddle of empire about the time of Cromwell, they were on a level with the Afghans of today. They are to the Chinese what the Goths were to the Romans; and a Manchu directing the new education of China is as out of place as a Goth presiding over the schools of Athens in the fourth century. It is the brilliant Chinese, not the Manchus, who travel and study abroad. Yet when they return they are balked by the huge pervasive Manchu machine.

Sometimes high Manchu officials are totally illiterate, and I heard of one Manchu "literary chancellor" who could not even read the examination essays submitted for provincial honors. So he piled them on top of his bed canopy, poked them with his cane as he lay smoking, and the thirteen that slid off first were declared winners!

In the Board of War at Peking are six hundred employes; but fifty do all the work. The rest are Manchus who sit in a chair, suck the pipe and watch the clock.

One of the directors of the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway—a purely Chinese line—told me their chief trouble in building the road was the harrassing "inspections" which obliged them to bribe the officials in order to go on with the work. Moreover, Peking forced upon the company a large, unneeded foreign loan which would have been expended by government men without the stockholders knowing how much stuck to the fingers of the officials. So, instead of using the money for building the road, the company loaned it out in small amounts at a high interest and will repay it as soon as the terms of the loan permit.

Not long ago a queue-cutting movement starting at Hongkong spread among the people. But the stupid government, which had obliged its soldiers and its foreign representatives to cut their queues, recalled that in the old days the Manchu conquerors had forced the queue upon the Chinese as a badge of submission. Accordingly they construed the unauthorized

cutting of the queue as a kind of treason. They persecuted the short-haired; false queues came into style and the movement ceased; but imagine the disgust!

But even the Chinese Government is eager to learn new methods of warfare and desires a practical army and navy. Ever since the Russo-Japanese war she has sent her sons to Japanese military academies, for she realized that China must change her fighting tactics if she meant to hold her provinces. But her acceptance of anything modern depends solely on its practicability in keeping out the foreigner; in suppressing her people and in the opportunities offered for securing more money for official pie.

Over 10,000 young Chinese are sent yearly to Japanese universities. Many are educated in France and Germany and still more attend American schools and colleges. Hence the youth of China educated along modern lines returns home to swell the army of rebellion against the reactionary policies of the government.

You may travel to the farthest corner of the empire, but you cannot go far enough to escape the Standard Oil Company. Rude

huts may be seen in out-of-the-way villages with roofing of German manufacture, German clocks, and German lamps burning Standard Oil from America. The Chinese workers have nearly all been touched and captured by things Western. Many of these ally themselves with the coming and New Regime.

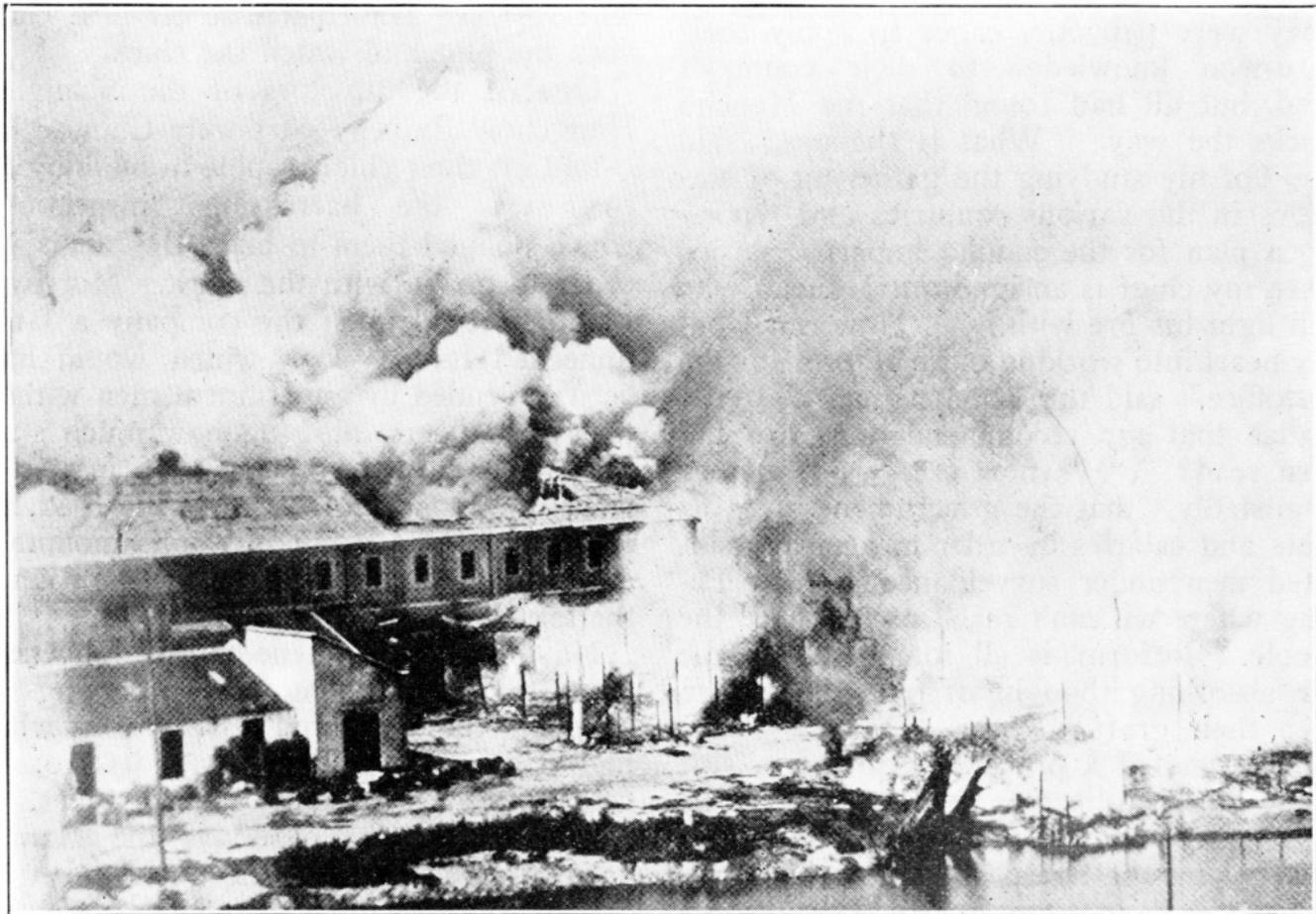
Big Business is growing slowly in China, owing to the obstacles constantly being put in its way by the old graft or Manchu administration; consequently every modern Celestial enterprise has thrown in its cause with the rebels.

Ultimately Big Business and Modern Industry will throw off the yoke of the Manchu and will establish a government that will give it freedom for full development, as they have done everywhere the world over.

More power and more strength to the Chinese rebels! More speed to the modernization of Celestial industry! For it is only modern industry that obliterates the classes of past ages and divides the world into two great irreconcilable classes—proletarian and capitalist. And the next step is Socialism.



REBELS FIRING A TOWN.



REBELS FIRING A TOWN.



The McNamara Case and the Labor Movement

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

THIS article is inspired by the report I have just read in a morning paper of a two days' conference held in Washington by the "McNamara Ways and Means Committee of the American Federation of Labor," and telling of the cowardly and contemptible action of that body, with Samuel Gompers presiding over it, in denouncing the McNamara brothers and exonerating themselves; and not only this, but "expressing the satisfaction of organized labor that the culprits have been commensurately punished for their crime"; and all of this abject sycophancy to curry favor with the capitalist class.

It is truly a spectacle to see these national leaders of the American Federation of Labor joining the Otises, the Posts, the Parrys and the Kirbys in savage denunciation of their own union brethren, whose crime consists in their having carried out the policy of Gompers craft unionism to its logical conclusion.

The McNamara brothers, whatever

else may be said of them, are at least, in this respect, more decent and self-respecting than their former official associates; their lips are sealed. They have accepted the penalties imposed upon them without a word and they have refused to implicate anyone but themselves.

The acts to which the McNamaras have confessed and for which they are now in prison I do not approve, nor does any other Socialist; and such acts would never be committed if it were in our power to prevent them. But realizing as I do, as a working-class brother of the McNamara brothers after as well as before their confession and conviction, that there are mitigating circumstances of a vital nature to take into consideration, I absolutely refuse to join in the capitalist clamor and craft union clique of denunciation of these condemned unionists.

First of all, I am not caring what the capitalist class think of me and I am not tempering my judgment or shaping my acts to meet their favor. I am concerned



**The
McNamara Case
and the
Labor Movement**

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

only with what is right and with what is my duty, and the rest can take care of itself."

Admitting that the McNamaras are guilty of all they are charged with in the way of dynamiting buildings and bridges, *their acts are the logical outcome of the impotency and hopelessness of the craft form of unionism*, typified by Samuel Gompers and his official associates in the American Federation of Labor, and of which the condemned men are faithful disciples and loyal devotees.

The McNamara brothers were not "Socialist fanatics" and "unbelievers"; they had no sympathy with industrial unionism; but they were members of the Democratic party, and of the Catholic church, and of the pure and simple labor union. They were active allies of Gompers in the support of the Democratic ticket, and with their chieftain they believed in "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies."

And then they saw the representatives of pure and simple unionism kicked out of congress and out of all the state legislatures, year after year, under both republican and democratic administrations; they saw their unions paralyzed by court injunctions; they heard the president denounce union men as "undesirable citizens," deserving of the gibbet; they saw governors calling out the militia and sheriffs swearing in deputies to shoot union men dead in their tracks for striking against famine and picketing to save their jobs; they saw the Steel Trust crushing one union after another, discharging and blacklisting their members, throwing them into jail and putting human bloodhounds on their tracks to deprive them of employment and literally starve them and their wives and drive their daughters into prostitution; and understanding little or nothing of the philosophy of the class struggle and of the enlightened methods of working-class warfare, reflected in the class-conscious movement of the workers, based upon the unity, not of the craft but of the entire class, who shall say that these craft unionists, the McNamara brothers, defeated at every turn and threatened from every side by the remorseless power of the trusts and the forces of government, are conscienceless

criminals when in such a desperate extremity they resort to the brutal methods of self-preservation which the masters and exploiters of their class have forced upon them?

As between this blind and cruel extreme and the opposite extreme of abject and cowardly surrender, the former is infinitely preferable; for at least the spirit of resistance to oppression, and the poverty and misery which spring from oppression, keep the hope alive that the horrors of slavery shall not endure forever. But for that spirit the sun of labor, if it ever had one, had long since set in everlasting gloom, and if unfortunately, or tragically as in the present case, that spirit is expressed in blind ferocity and brutal revenge, at least those who are morally responsible by having inculcated the teaching and doctrine which led to crime, should have humanity enough in their hearts to restrain their cruel hands from stoning the victims and rejoicing in their calamity. If they lack the moral fiber to avow their own responsibility and accept it as becomes men they should at least preserve the decency of silence.

Samuel Gompers and his official associates should be the very last to join the labor-crushing magnates of the trusts and their swarms of mercenary hirelings in condemning the McNamara brothers and expressing satisfaction over their tragic fate. Rather should they weep in anguish that in their moral cravenness they not only deserted their own deluded followers, but joined their enemies in the cry to crucify them *to exculpate themselves*. And here I leave them, the prey of their own remorse, whose keen pangs will torment them in the days to come if their hearts are not dead and their moral sensibilities turned to stone.

We Socialists are making no apology for any word or deed of ours in the McNamara case, and as for myself personally I shall not denounce them. I condemn the crime, but I pity all the victims, all of them, the McNamaras included.

Jim McNamara said he did not intend to take life in the blowing up of the Times. I believe him against all the corporation detectives on earth.

Jim McNamara pleaded to go to the gallows, loaded with infamy, accepting it

all to himself, to save the life of his brother. The love and fidelity of these two brothers for each other in the shadow of the gallows put to shame the spirit of those good Christians (!) who now traduce them, and if the Nazarene of twenty centuries ago, who was also crucified for opposing the rich, were here his voice would not be heard mingling with the voices of the Pharisees in the cry for their blood.

We are not forgetting in this hour of wholesale denunciation that the McNamaras were kidnaped; that an outrageous crime was perpetrated upon them, and we are not unmindful of the fact that their kidnapers have not been and will not be punished, nor of the reason why. We are going to see to it, moreover, that that fact is not forgotten, no matter how long it may be, until that crime against the working class has also been atoned for.

We Socialists are revolutionists, not murderers; we stand for education and organization, not assassination; and for that very reason we are opposed to capitalism, the prolific breeder of all these revolting crimes.

Roosevelt, who morally is still in the jungle, says that "Murder is Murder" in denouncing the McNamaras and congratulating Burns, but murder is not murder when it is for capitalism, and killing is not killing when it is for capitalist profit.

More than half a million of American wage-slaves, men, women and children, are killed, maimed and lacerated in industry every year, but this is not murder.

The capitalist owners of the St. Paul mine at Cherry, Ill., buried nearly three hundred miners alive two years ago, some of them surviving for over a week. Compared with this heart-breaking catastrophe the Los Angeles Times affair pales into insignificance, but this is not murder. The coroner's jury fixed the responsibility upon the capitalists, but they are not guilty of crime.

The capitalist proprietors of the Bayless mill at Austin, Pa. as deliberately killed their employes in the dam disaster there, according to the coroner's inquest, as if they had placed dynamite under their hovels, but this is not murder, and not one of them will be punished.

The capitalist mine owners of Pennsylvania had the sheriff and his deputies

massacre a body of miners who were marching peaceably along the road near Latimer, with an American flag at the head of their procession, but this is not murder.

Under the ethical code of capitalism the slaying of workingmen who resist capitalism is not murder, and as a workingman I absolutely refuse to condemn men as murderers under the moral code of the capitalist class for fighting according to their light on the side of the working class.

If the McNamara brothers had been corporation detectives and had shot dead twenty-one inoffensive union pickets, instead of placing dynamite under the Los Angeles Times, they would have been protected by the law and hailed by admiring capitalists as heroes.

I utterly abhor murder, but I have my own ideas as to what constitutes murder. John Brown was an atrocious murderer in the eyes of the slave power, but today he is one of the greatest heroes of history. Sherman blew up and otherwise destroyed all the property within his reach, killed indiscriminately, and spread desolation and despair all the way from Atlanta to the sea, but he was a hero and not a murderer.

Do the capitalists ever rave and tear their hair over killings committed by them, or their mercenaries, in their interests and for their profit?

Does an Otis ever howl with rage when workingmen are buried alive or blown to atoms in a mine through the criminal greed of their capitalist masters?

It is only when a killing interferes with their piracies that it is murder. All their tender sensibilities are then aroused and in frenzied concert they cry about "the law" and invoke all its terrors to glut their merciless vengeance.

I have not changed my mind about the theory that the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times was instigated by the capitalists themselves. I am convinced that all these dynamiting crimes had their inspiration in capitalist sources and their genesis in capitalist camps. I have many reasons for this which time and space will not now permit me to fully set forth. I can but suggest a few of these, which to

most of the readers of the REVIEW are sufficient in their suggestiveness:

First, the war of the steel trust on all the iron and steel workers' unions and the declaration of Morgan that the unions had to be destroyed.

Second, the fate of the Amalgamated Association, the Lake Seamen's Union, and others which were crushed beneath the iron heel of the trust.

Third, the joining of these unions by the police spies and detectives of the Steel Trust, such as McManigal, who was permitted to continue his career of crime for three years without being apprehended, and if the whole truth were known it would be found that McManigal, the corporation hireling, who will be cleared, if tried at all, is far more guilty than the McNamaras and led them into crime instead of being their dupe.

Fourth, the fight between the Erectors' Association and the independent contractors. When the Whisky Trust was organized the war raged fiercely between the trust and the independents and a number of distilleries were blown up with dynamite for the same reason that incited the war of the night-riders in the tobacco growing states of the South.

Certain it is that Otis and his Merchants and Manufacturers' Association who had sworn to wipe organized labor from the Pacific coast had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the blowing up of the *Los Angeles Times*, while organized labor had everything to lose and nothing to gain from this and similar outrages.

But even if Otis and his union-wrecking pals were totally innocent of any direct connection with the crime, it would still be the fruit of their own mad policy and the responsibility for it will finally lodge upon their own heads. The *Times* explosion was one of the echoes of Otis's declaration of war of extermination, one of the answers, sharp and fatal, to his tyrannical pronouncement against union labor. It was also an answer, and not the last, to government by injunction, anti-picketing ordinances and other capitalist devices to stay the march of organized labor and keep the workers in bondage. It was likewise an answer to federal court

decisions legalizing the kidnaping and and blacklisting of workingmen at the command of their capitalist masters.

And now a word to those who over their champagne and in sleeping cars and at the clubs and other cozy places, with their stomachs well filled, are demanding that we join them in denouncing the McNamaras "to rid organized labor of its enemies." If the McNamaras had really been the enemies of organized labor this gentry would not condemn them and they would not now be in prison.

But there are some who are conscientious and who really feel that we ought to howl with the capitalist press against the McNamaras "to clear the skirts of the labor movement," and to these we want to say that before they are qualified to condemn the McNamaras they must put themselves in their places. The McNamaras were reared as wage-workers in the capitalist system. They were never taught in the delicacy and refinement of things. Life to them has been a struggle in which they and their class have always gotten the worst of it.

Who of those who are so fierce and relentless in condemning John McNamara would dare to serve as a structural iron worker, suspended in midair on a swinging beam, for a single day?

It is impossible for these people to know the psychology of a worker who is compelled to risk his life every minute of the day to provide for his wife and loved ones.

Every skyscraper is built at the sacrifice of an average of one structural worker for every floor in it.

This worker joins the union to better his condition and he finds that it is a crime to be a union man. His union is attacked, he is discharged, put upon the blacklist and hounded from place to place until he is an outcast and in rags. His little home is broken up, his family is scattered, and possibly the daughter he loved with all his honest heart is in a house of shame.

Have you, my friend, had these experiences, or any of them? If not, you are not qualified to sit in judgment upon men who have been driven to these cruel extremities and forced down to these infer-

nal depths as thousands of honest men have been and thousands more will be in the class war that is being waged with increasing bitterness and intensity all over the civilized world.

The lesson of the McNamara tragedy will not be lost upon the American workers. It will be one more experience added to the many they already have and all of which are necessary to clarify their vision, increase their knowledge and strengthen their determination to put an end to the system in which classes war on each other to death and destruction, and workingmen are imprisoned and hanged for crimes of which they are only the blind and deluded victims.

In closing I want to express my satisfaction that the lives of the McNamara brothers have been saved. For this neither praise nor censure is due to the capitalist class. The self-confessed dynamiters owe their lives to the Socialist

movement. The American Federation of Labor did not save them.

Had it not been for the menace to the Otises of the impending Socialist political conquest of Los Angeles both the McNamaras would have been sentenced to the gallows. As to this, there is no shadow of doubt.

There is in this incident food for reflection for those who sneer at political action and decry the political power of the working class.

If the McNamara case teaches us anything it is that we *must organize along both economic and political lines*, that we *must unite in the same union and fight together*, and in the *same party and vote together*, and stick unflinchingly to that program, growing stronger through defeat as well as victory, until at last the triumphant hosts of labor crown the final class struggle with the glory of emancipation.

The Passing of the McNamaras

BY FRANK BOHN

"HANG 'em!" "Hang 'em!" "Give 'em the limit!" "Kill 'em!" were the murderous cries of the mob of all classes when on December 2nd black head lines declared that the McNamaras had confessed their guilt. The popular thirst for their blood was shared by most labor union leaders and by some Socialists.

To the average American Citizen, to whom the old barbarian custom of "An eye for an eye" is still good law, this uncontrolled rage was the natural result of his sense of "justice." The McNamaras have killed others, why not kill them? Scores of labor unions are said to have sent in urgent demands that they be punished "to the extreme extent of the law." The rumor that admonitions were received urging the killing of all their relatives, including their old mother, has not been substantiated.

What about the theory of our inquiring into the causes of human conduct before taking action? The blood cry raised against the McNamaras is simply a result of the old-fashioned and ignorant method of looking no further than the individual for causes and effects which are entirely social in their nature.

What does the McNamara case signify? Why did these men do as they did? If any may be held accountable, who are they? And by far the most important of all, what do these facts signify in the development of the American labor movement?

The history of the American labor movement for the past twenty years is a record of the murder of innocents. The newly developed plutocracy, flushed by revolutionary confidence and courage and an assured victory, has moved rapidly and steadily forward in its work of reorgan-

izing the industrial and political life of America. As Wall street swung its sharp ax on the lean hands with which the middle class clung desperately to its little all, that middle class whined and whimpered about "law and order," "justice" and "the golden rule." The trusts were "crimes against society." As the middle class let go of its wealth, political power, by that very act, slipped away from it. On December 5th Attorney General Wickersham stated that "John H. Patterson and his associates, by wrongful and illegal acts, have destroyed more than 150 cash register companies and now control more than 95 per cent of the trade."

"By wrongful and illegal acts," says the Attorney General of the United States, "a great trust has destroyed more than one hundred and fifty competing companies." This statement means that hundreds of middle class families have been, by a single trust, crushed down into the wage-working class or thrown ruthlessly upon the wayside to perish. And all these "wrongful and illegal acts" were simply according to that old and ever valid higher law—"Might makes right."

THE TRUSTS AND THE LABOR UNIONS.

The one trust we shall describe in this connection bears directly upon the subject now under discussion. Many of the trusts, during the time when they were killing and eating the middle class, compromised with the old-fashioned craft unions. In fact, these antiquated craft organizations could thrive only where they did compromise with the trust. Sam Parks was a structural iron worker. He was a "brother" of the McNamaras. Sam Parks was a power of the Structural Iron Workers' Union during that period when the great contractors and allied interests were crushing out their smaller rivals. Sam Parks was paid by the big interests to call strikes on the jobs of the little interests and put them out of business. When the group of great construction companies which made use of Sam did not need his dirty work in their business any longer they sent him to jail. And thus ended the first chapter. By 1903, the year Sam Parks was sent to prison, the Steel Trust was well on its way toward the control of the structural iron work of the nation. And the Steel Trust never needed

men like Sam Parks. The professional labor fakir belongs to the period of transition merely and is discarded when the trust is completed. But labor "leaders" like Sam Parks got salaries from the big interests such as would never be paid to labor fakirs who represent men who work in shops. The reason for this lies in the fact that in building construction both the middle class capitalist and the organized craft unionist can live longer than in any manufacturing industry. If men go on strike in Pittsburg the Steel Trust can close down the Pittsburg shops and have the work done in Pueblo, Colorado, or Windsor, Canada. But a building which is to be put up at 100 Tenth street, New York, cannot be constructed in St. Louis or San Francisco and then imported. It must be built right there on the spot. Under these conditions the middle class has a much better chance to secure contracts, to profit by local political influence and otherwise to compete with the trust. Also, for this reason, the building trades of their own strength and volition can maintain a stronger hold on the situation than the workers in any other modernized industry.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has been the last craft union to look the Steel Trust in the face.

Even before the trust was organized the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had been broken and driven. Its real power was lost in the great Homestead strike of 1892. At that time Carnegie and his hirelings shot and starved its members into submission. Open-shop conditions at Homestead and vicinity meant that closed-shop conditions elsewhere helped drive the little capitalists who compromised with the union to the wall. When the Steel Trust came upon the scene what was left of the Amalgamated Association was quickly snuffed out. The next great union for the Steel Trust to crush completely was that of the Lake Seamen. Iron ore is first and foremost of the products shipped on the lakes. The Steel Trust owned its own fleet of ore vessels. It forced every other shipper on the lakes to join it in blacklisting the Lake Seamen's Union. All that is now left of that union are a few

old starved workers, who, for 50 cents a day, carry signs about the lake cities stating that the strike is still on.

In its war upon organized labor the Steel Trust committed murders without number. Innocent men whom it imprisoned are still languishing in jails and penitentiaries. It reduced the standard of living and drove to disease and premature death scores of thousands of working men and their families.

The roadway of the triumphal progress of the Steel Trust is smeared with blood and lined with the graves of its victims. All industrial and social life in Pittsburg, in Homestead, in McKees Rocks, in Gary, is simply organized pillage, organized starvation and organized murder.

In the blackness of the night which pressed upon this broken and disheartened army of wage slaves, one single craft union for a time has been able to maintain a semblance of organization. It is the last to leave the field of battle. Its end has now most surely come. Against the steel armor and the high power steel rifles of the greatest of trusts it remained to use the bow and arrow and the war club of craft unionism. These poor weapons have now fallen from its nerveless hands.

The McNamara brothers saw union after union collapse. They saw their class spit upon and then starved and murdered. They saw all the powers of a mighty government, over which their class had not the slightest degree of control, turned ruthlessly against the workers.

Other labor "leaders" became liars, traitors to their class and grafters upon the enemy. The McNamaras, in their blundering and ignorant way, resolved to be true to their class. When the Steel Trust used every force within reach to crush the working class, the McNamaras sought to repel force by force. For men who had been receiving \$5 a day for eight hours to be forced down to \$2 a day for ten or twelve hours meant death to the working class. The McNamaras chose to die fighting.

With every convention of morality known to their minds despised and every law made for their protection broken by the enemy, how could any one, they argued, expect them to obey the law or

accuse them of wrong-doing when they ignored the constraints of customary morality?

Had the McNamaras been wiser in their day they would have said to the workers in every branch of the iron and steel industry, "Organize one union. Join the Socialist party. Organize that union of workers as the trust had organized its union of capitalists. Protect that union from the police powers of the state and from the injunction as the capitalists now protect their property from you—by gaining control of the political government. Do not organize to make peace. Organize to fight. The fight must go on until we completely possess and control the trusts. That we can do only through one union and one party and by means wholly different from those used in the old craft organized pure and simply union. Throw away your old weapons and take for yourself weapons out of the armory of modern science and scientific methods. Let us organize as a class against a class. Let us use every weapon we need for victory, discarding none. For the old-fashioned union to fight the trust is suicide. To attempt at present to use force against force would be worse than suicide. Let us peacefully educate ourselves and organize ourselves unto that day when we have developed the power necessary for an assured victory."

But in the labor union world of the McNamaras there was no such message. With Gompers they were good Democrats in 1908. In ignorance and despair they turned to the only means which seemed available to them.

In blowing up the Times building the McNamaras killed nineteen non-union men. This is suggestive of the methods of the antiquated unions. Their war has been one-tenth a war against the enemy and nine-tenths against unorganized workers. An average craft union makes scabs through high initiation fees, high dues, closed books and discrimination. Then when those whom the union cannot or will not organize get the jobs it is at their peril. Most of the craft unions have among their membership a large proportion who got in by taking the jobs of strikers and later, when they kept the jobs, being organized by the union. In

view of these facts, the outcry against the scab is, nine times out of ten, a hollow mockery.

So the miserable end of the McNamaras is a natural result of the decay of craft unionism among a working class which has, until now, lacked the insight and courage to build up a union which the times demand.

But responsibility does not end with this conclusion. When the McNamaras went to an average Socialist political meeting, what did they usually hear? Something like this: "The labor unions are dead. They have served their purpose. You have failed by striking. Now you must vote. Don't waste time fighting on the job. Wait until election day. Vote for what you want and you will get it." From such lop-sided piffle as this the McNamaras turned away in disgust and filled their suitcases with dynamite. Socialists who are too cowardly to teach the class war on the industrial field cannot now escape the censure of all right-thinking workers. And in 1911 ignorance of the situation on the part of Socialist speakers and writers is as inexcusable as cowardice.

Yet the McNamara case cannot hurt the Socialist party in any way. They were Democrats and members of the Knights of Columbus. Had they been Socialists we would have been kept busy for years to come protesting that we do not favor their methods. As it is, we shall refrain from placing the responsibility upon Woodrow Wilson and W. J. Bryan or upon Cardinal Gibbons and the Roman Pontiff.

Furthermore, the confession cannot in reality hurt our cause in California. The non-Socialist labor union vote in Los Angeles we had far better do without. When the workers of Los Angeles are ready to vote for Socialism we shall carry the city with or without the consent of the union officials.

Gompers and Mitchell, or the average craft union leaders, in the place of the McNamaras, would have played the part of weaklings and grafters or slunk out of the fight altogether. Thousands of such have quit in despair or gone over to the enemy when the trusts proceeded to smash the unions. The McNamaras, strong but ignorant, woefully misguided

but true to their class, threw themselves like fanatics into a hopeless and losing fight. Why could they not, in the hour when each, in his inmost self, was put to the crucial test, act like men and die as they had lived? From such a going out the revolutionary workers might have drawn that measure of comfort which comes from the reflection that members of the working class may be depended upon to suffer death for their cause. But their vision was too limited to inspire calm courage. Their confession is a dying groan from the lips of a dying form of the labor movement.

The McNamaras were just as misguided, but no more so, than was John Brown. With twenty-one untrained fanatics John Brown started a war upon the South and upon the government of the United States. Could Brown have been successful in freeing the slaves he would have been "right." Failure made him wrong. Were the McNamaras' old-fashioned union methods successful in bringing freedom to the working class they would be "right." But such methods cannot win. Hence, for that reason, and for that reason alone, they are to be condemned. The hearts of the McNamaras were right. It was their heads which were in error. A pity that they might not have gone to their doom like their elder brother, who, when he marched down between the ranks of soldiers with loaded muskets, bowed his head and bent his back but once, and then to kiss the black child of a slave.

A few days later, at the grave of old John Brown, Wendell Phillips, rising in the face of the bitter opposition of every cowardly, slavery-defending wage-worker, of every cringing, sniveling parson, of every dough-face politician and every swindling, prostituted lawyer and shop-keeper who hastened to assure the South that they were "law abiding" and that they gloried in the death of John Brown, said to the whole dirty rabble what revolutionists may well repeat today:

"John Brown had more right to hang the governor of Virginia than the governor of Virginia had to hang John Brown. Virginia stands at the bar of the civilized world on trial."



The Growth of Socialist Sentiment in Alaska

BY AN ALASKAN MINER

THE average Socialist looks on Alaska as a place where there is little or no industrial development and consequently a poor field for the Socialist lecturer and organizer; a place where Socialist talent and money would be practically a total loss. I shall endeavor to show that such is by no means the case.

It is perfectly true that the industrial development, thought by so many of the comrades to be absolutely necessary to the growth of Socialist sentiment, is lacking here, but there is more *intellectual freedom* here than I believe is to be found in any other section of America.

We speak of countries being "ripe for

Socialism." We mean that these countries are so well developed industrially that machine production has reached a high stage; that the national resources of these countries are controlled by comparatively few of the people, and that the masses are so tightly held in the bondage of wage-slavery that they will gladly listen to what Socialists have to say and jump at our doctrines as offering the only means of relief.

If industrial development is really all that is necessary to the rapid growth of Socialist sentiment, why is England not in the lead in Socialism? She is surely "ripe"; at least I don't think anyone will be willing to go so far as to call her



"green." I think the answer is that the ruling class of Great Britain is wise to its own interest, and that the ruling class of other countries cannot teach them anything regarding the control of the workers.

Along with the development of the machinery of production—the machine with which they shear the workers—they have caused to be developed almost equally a machine to hold the workers still while the shearing process is under way; a machine so gentle in its grip that the average worker does not feel it, does not know he is being held at all. I refer to the pulpit, the press, the public schools and all the other means employed to keep the Englishman quiet, to keep his *mind* in bondage, a more effective way of controlling him than all the other means they could possibly use. What is true regarding England is largely true when we speak of the United States.

Many Socialists employed in the big centers of industry think that it is impossible for a person to become a real class-conscious revolutionist anywhere else. Their idea seems to be that to become a real Socialist it is necessary to work at some job in a big factory. No doubt this is often true, but not always. While the worker in the city and factory is learning that there is a class-struggle, he is also where he is likely to have his mind befuddled by "reformers," "labor fakers," capitalist preachers and all the dishonest horde of lackeys of the system that is exploiting him.

It may be urged that this is good for him, that it develops him, makes him keen, and that the man who is not subject to these things will necessarily be dull and slow to see anything that is directly in front of him. Maybe some comrades can't imagine how men who have lived ten or fifteen years in this undeveloped country can become Socialists, not having had the pressure of a highly developed industrial life to drive them to it.

The Socialists here, as a rule, take very few capitalist papers or magazines. Many of them are prospecting a part of the time, often being alone for days, weeks or even months without seeing anything in the shape of a human animal.

Men so situated do a great deal of thinking, and if it is not possible for such men to rid their brains of the accumulated rubbish of early teaching, I think there is less hope of the city wage worker ever accomplishing it, surrounded as he is by all the distractions of modern civilization. I think the worker who has managed to clear his "garret" of dust and cobwebs is likely to "take" Socialism, if exposed to it, whether he is roaming the mountains in this northern solitude or working amid the whirr and rattle of machinery in a Massachusetts factory.

The Socialist here is more in the position of an onlooker than an active participant in the industrial struggle. He is far enough off not to be blinded by the smoke or deafened by the noise of the conflict. From his position here on "the top of the earth" he watches earnestly the battle rage around the world and contributes his mite toward the "cause." Alaska may not be industrially "ripe," but I believe the people that live here are *mentally* "ripe."

As evidence of the kind of Socialists we have here I will state that since the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW changed from being a record of the "hairsplitting" matches of the "intellectuals" and developed into a real workingman's magazine, filled with articles couched in language that the worker can easily understand—articles dealing with subjects of vital interest to him—I have heard not one word of complaint regarding the magazine. I think that is sufficient to show that we are not "half-baked," but that we are class-conscious and revolutionary. I don't know, but I imagine the milk-and-water kind don't appreciate the I. S. R. in its present form.

If more of our papers followed the lead of the REVIEW and printed less matter that is pleasing to craft unions and advocated *industrial unionism*, I believe the time would not be far distant when we would no longer have as a reminder that the workers are not united, the discouraging "spectacle" of union trainmen hauling scabs, soldiers and thugs to defeat workingmen who are striking for better conditions in some other branch of industry; a more inexcusable, shameful and traitorous act on the part of so-called union men it is impossible to find.



HOMeward BOUND.

From Pick and Shovel to the Breaker

BY

EDGAR LLEWELLYN

THE wonderful transformation that has taken place in the mining, transportation and preparation of anthracite coal since the inception of that industry, employing 150,000 men and boys, has created a revolution in the Tucawana, Luzerne, Schuylkill and Northumberland counties of Pennsylvania.

When this industry was in its infancy a man named Remy owned a tract of land in Trevorton, a town situated in the western end of the lower anthracite coal field. Un-

derlying this land lay a rich deposit of the finest anthracite coal. Mr. Remy mined this coal with a pick and shovel. He used also a simple hand-drill. He transported the coal in a wheelbarrow, broke up large lumps with a sledge and waited for customers. Mr. Remy prospered. He received the full value of his product and he built himself a home within a stone's throw of the scenes of his labors. The total cost of his tools did not exceed ten dollars.

As the demands for coal increased Mr.



HOMeward BOUND.

Remy engaged men to help him supply the demand. He bought additional tools. The simple drill was superseded by a larger and better one. A screen was no longer used in breaking up the lumps of coal as an inventive genius had evolved a revolving roller with projecting teeth that broke the coal into pieces of a uniform size. This roller was manipulated by men or women. Soon steam began to be used, the poor grades of coal being used under the boilers. This was the first instance of the substitution of steam power for hand power in the mines. Mules were used inside the mines as the owners found it was cheaper to feed one mule than to pay wages sufficient to keep ten men in good working condition.

Steam power accelerated coal mining and the coal burned under the boilers made possible the use of steam power. The demand for coal grew by leaps and bounds. Now was the time for the entrance of the big capitalist.

At this time the Philadelphia & Reading Company were trying to secure control of the lower anthracite coal fields. Mr. Remy found that he had struck a mass of rock running across his fields and decided that he was nearing the end of his coal deposits. But the P. & R. Company engaged experts who assured them that beyond the small "fault" lying in Mr. Remy's coal beds lay millions of dollars worth of the finest anthracite coal. By persuading Mr. Remy to sign a cunningly worded document the company secured his entire fields by promising to pay him one dollar a day for the remaining years of his life.

Upon Mr. Remy's death friends appealed to the officials of the corporation in the hope of inducing them to provide for the widow. But Mr. F. B. Gowan, the president, who posed as a kindly Christian gentleman, advised the committee that if he contributed one dollar to Mrs. Remy's support he would feel like a thief going down into the pockets of the company. He felt such a donation would be **ROBBING THE STOCKHOLDERS**.

When such incidents come to mind, do not forget the questions that are so often hurled at the socialist agitator by the business men of today: "How will you **PAY** the **OWNERS** of industry when you take control?"

Of course, the corporations immediately enlarged their operations in the coal fields. New gangways were built above the old ones. Steel railroad tracks were built; more mules were put to work. The primitive breaker was replaced by one with a capacity of 1,000 tons a day, 20,000 men were employed to work in the mines.

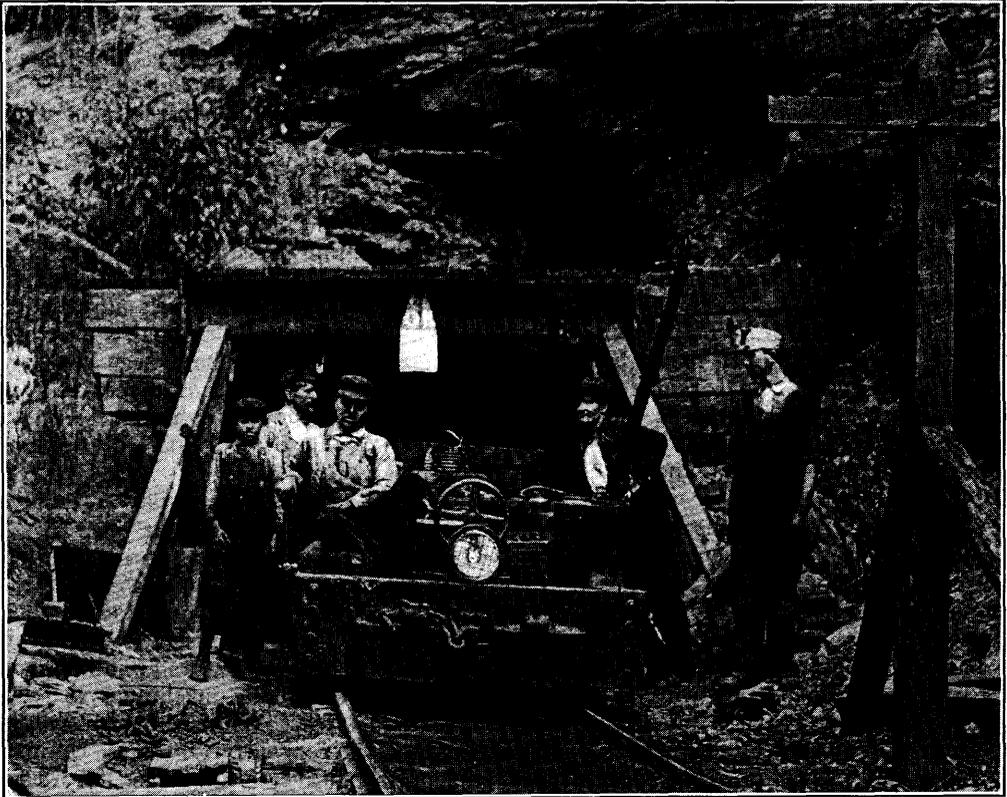
Eight miles away lay Shamokin where men could be secured. But the coal corporations did not propose to pay 48 cents (in additional wages), to cover the daily fare from Shamokin to the mines. They solved the transportation problem and themselves hauled the miners to and from work for 11 cents a day.

For a long time Sunday and all religious holidays fretted the mine owners. The men did not work, but gradually the miners who were greatly in need of more wages began to cut out church going and to work in the mines instead.

One of the peculiar features of coal mining is the increase of the cost of producing coal. The longer a mine is worked the more it costs the owners to get coal out of it. The transportation to the surface grows all the time. The amount of water to be drained off increases. Additional roofing and supports are needed everywhere. Naturally the mine owners looked to improved machinery to keep down the increasing cost of mining coal, and the further elimination of human labor power for steam power running improved machinery began. Compressed air or electric locomotives—eight ton locomotives—eliminated the mules. Water is pumped out cheaper and faster by huge steam pumps.

Ventilation of mines has been cheapened by the installation of electric fans that run faster than the old style steam engine. The new motive power works practically automatically—so that the men working on these jobs were made unnecessary. The use of reinforced concrete and steel beaming which is subjected to a scientific preservative is prolonging the life of the mine supports and reducing one item in the cost of mining coal.

But it is in the preparation of coal that we see the machine displacing human labor power almost to the point of elimination. In the modern breaker, as the coal falls out of the mine car, it is automatically separated,



ON THE WAY TO WORK.

the smaller pieces going to the sorting machine and the larger falling onto a machine running diagonally from the direction the coal travels. Through the law of specific gravity the coal is automatically separated from the slate. One of these machines displaces sixteen boys.

The smaller pieces of coal have been carried to the screens that no longer revolve, for the inventor has discovered that a flat screen operated in an oscillating manner works better for coal screening, provided a stream of water is automatically poured over it.

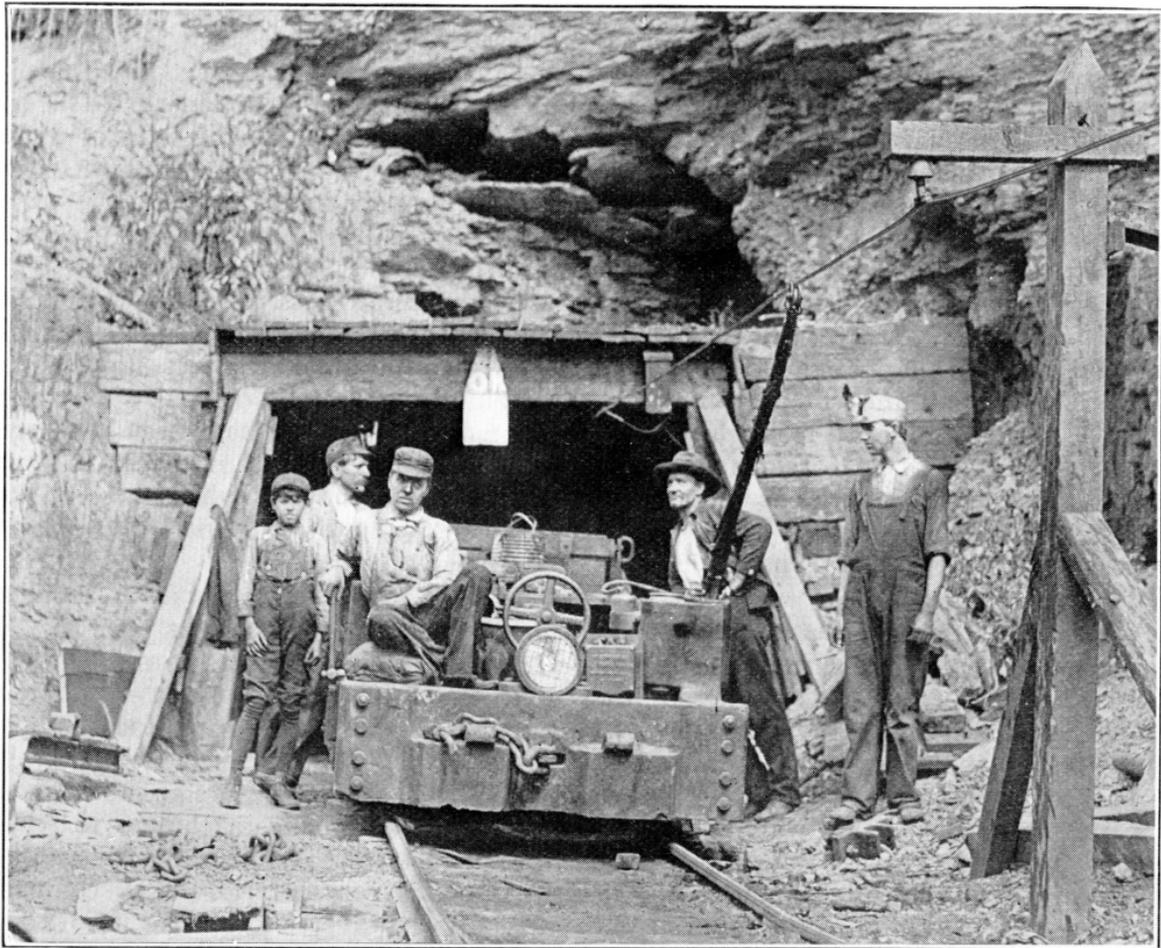
From the screens the coal is run into what is called the "jig" machine, watertight, of from one to two ton capacity. The water is continually agitated by dashers and the coal being lighter rises to the surface and is carried off into chutes, where one or two boys complete the work. It took from twelve to fifteen boys to accomplish the work now performed by one boy and a "jig."

Very often the product of the inventor displaces men and makes room for boy workers. Not so here. Here it is the boys who are going. The machines do the work formerly done by boys. A few men are hired to repair the machines and this is too heavy and too difficult for boys to perform.

This explains why the coal companies did not fight the 14-year-law limit for the breaker boy. They no longer need them. Very benevolently then they permit the state law-making body to say that boys of fourteen or under shall no longer be employed as breakers. Verily are these company officials humane when there are no profits at stake.

Often I am asked, "What will the Socialists do for the inventor?" We will surely do more for him than do the coal companies. I shall cite two instances with which I am familiar.

A man in the employ of the P. & R. Company planned a method for reducing the cost of coal preparation. So good the com-



ON THE WAY TO WORK.

pany thought it that it was put into use on every breaker. This workingman had labored incessantly for five months, during all his spare time, to perfect the process. When the general manager and his staff paid a visit of inspection to the mines, the humble workingman asked them what they thought of his invention. Then the great man patted him on the back after the manner of the successful politician, the day after election, and said, "Very fine, very fine!" But when the workingman made bold to ask what compensation the company intended to make him the haughty manager replied that he should be made foreman upon the next vacancy at the enormous increase in wages of \$20.00 a month. This for his work in saving the company many hundreds of dollars every DAY.

A foreman at one of these collieries invented a device for preventing the falling of mine cages (or elevators), whereby the lives of many wage slaves will be saved. At a trial test in the presence of the manager he proved beyond question that his was a real life saving device. It was the impression of everybody that the invention would be installed in all the P. & R. mines. Visions of wealth and leisure filled the mind of our

working class inventor for he had protected himself by having his device patented. But the manager knew this fact and the plans were dropped like a hot brick. The company preferred to take the lives of its producers rather than pay this man a royalty for the product of his brain.

I have seen the man work this great mine with his single pick and shovel and I have seen the mine pass from his hands into the hands of the P. & R. Company. I have seen gigantic steam shovels installed and weighing eighty tons of coal, supplant the labor of 300 men. I have seen coal mined lying near the surface of the earth by the use of these shovels, which help to keep down the value of coal and its price to the consumer.

Not till recently was a market found for smaller sizes of coal such as pea, rice, barley, buck, etc. This was formerly thrown onto the refuse pile, but the inventor has created the fire boxes and stacks wherein these small sizes are used for generating steam. The coal operators are able through the use of automatic machinery to reclaim the small sizes. While the heat value of this coal is very inferior many companies are not at all averse to mixing it with fresh



DINNER HOUR.



DINNER HOUR.



A YOUNG MINER.

mineral coal just as the old grocer formerly spilled sand in his sugar barrels.

The labor cost for reclaiming this coal does not exceed 27 cents a ton, and if anybody doubts the above statements, I shall be glad to furnish the names of companies that are freest in mixing the bad with the good. In some places the cost of reclamation is gotten down as low as 12 3-5 cents a ton.

A story is told of an old man who was employed in one of the mine boiler houses,

when a labor-saving ash handling device rendered unnecessary the work of several men. When the men told him about their dismissal he walked up to the new machine and shook his fist into its face (figuratively speaking), and said:

"You can snort and puff and you CAN haul the ashes," he said, "but by all that is holy you can't VOTE and just as soon as we realize that we CAN organize and CAN vote, we can take you over and USE you to our own profit."

We have traced the coal industry from the day when one man owned, mined, transported and prepared the coal for market with tools costing less than ten dollars and we have seen it develop into an industry employing over 150,000 men and boys using tools costing more than \$250,000.

Men of every nation are working in the coal mines. There are mechanics, carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, trackmen, bricklayers, electricians, engineers and miners galore. They are doing the work in the mines. They are producing the coal. They are being paid small wages—a part of the value they are producing. They are working for a boss.

This is because the capitalists own the mines and the machinery used in the mines. Socialism proposes that the men who operate the mines and the other industries shall own them. That these men shall gain the reward of their labor. Socialism shall sweep aside all class lines. We will have no rich idlers nor starving workers. And happiness will dwell in the homes of every worker upon the face of the earth.





A YOUNG MINER.

Capital and Labor

A Short Catechism

BY ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

QUESTION. What is meant by the term "labor"?

A. Mind and muscle (i. e., power) capable of being applied to the material resources of the earth to produce wealth.

Q. What is "wealth"?

A. Things worth something—articles of value.

Q. What is "value"?

A. The result of labor economically (i. e., wisely and without waste) expended upon things required by society for its maintenance and satisfaction, mental and physical.

Q. Does not land produce wealth without labor?

A. No. Land is merely the valueless material out of which labor creates wealth.

Q. How comes it, then, that individuals become rich by becoming possessed of "land values"?

A. What is called "land values" exists by virtue of the mere fact that *labor* exists, and fluctuates in accordance with the degree of certainty that labor must inevitably use it (the land). "Land values" realized is prepaid surplus value, or money advanced upon the calculation that much more money will be realized at a future period from exploited labor.

Q. Does not machinery produce wealth?

A. Not in itself. Machinery is a labor-created aid to labor. It supplements the muscle of labor.

Q. And superior ability?

A. Superior mental ability is a social quality and growth which does not belong to but manifests itself in the individual. Like machinery, it produces nothing in itself, but supplements the *mind* of labor.

Q. Can you explain it more fully?

A. Labor consists of two factors—mind and muscle. The former directs the latter, but both are absolutely necessary and interdependent. One cannot create

values without the other, and neither is inferior nor superior. Both, in fact, are *one* and called "labor." Mind and muscle exist in degree among individuals, and mind particularly is a social product. It is manifest in all the works of man we see around us. The greatest mind is perhaps more than 90 per cent social and less than 10 per cent (if at all) individual. It is not more surprising that one man should have a superior brain than that another should have a superior arm or muscle. An individual mind might contribute but the merest iota to a great scheme and get almost the entire credit. Superior mental ability makes a superior laborer, but nothing can be *thought* into becoming wealth. It must be transformed by physical effort.

Q. What is "capital"?

A. Capital—i. e., the means of production—is wealth used to produce surplus values.

Q. What do you mean by "surplus value"?

A. Value created by labor in excess of its hire is *surplus* value. "Surplus value" is that portion of wealth produced by labor which is appropriated by the capitalist (owner of the means of production). It might be termed "unpaid labor" or "wealth of which labor is robbed."

Q. What is "profit"?

A. "Profit" is or should be "surplus value." The term is in practice meant to convey the idea of gain. Some employers include the value of their own labor with the "surplus values" appropriated from their hired laborers and call it "profit." With many small traders "profit" is the reward of their toil, and in many cases they are underpaid, their labor not being "socially necessary" labor. In the cases of big corporations, the profits are less than the surplus values, because much of the latter is written off in press subsidies, donations to charities, churches, political parties

and other pillars of the capitalist system. The term "surplus value" is used in preference to "profit," because it has an exact meaning.

Q. What is "wages"?

A. "Wages" represents the price paid for the hire of labor. The conditions of wage payment is that the laborer should create values in excess of the price paid for his hire.

Q. Who owns capital?

A. The capitalist class.

Q. Has not the capitalist class as owner of the means of production, the right to all labor produces by the help of its capital?

A. Certainly, if we admit the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production, which we don't.

Q. Why do you dispute the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production—land, mines, machinery, factories, etc?

A. Because land, the private property which first enslaved labor and led to its divorce from all forms of capital, was originally stolen from aborigines who held it in common. The right of the capitalist class to these things was its might to take and hold. Labor's might to retake and hold is its "right." Labor alone has a *use* for land and will come into its own.

Q. Has labor no moral right apart from its power to take and hold?

A. It has. The capitalist class did not produce land and sources of wealth and has therefore no moral right whatever to claim ownership in these, especially when its ownership is a detriment and means of suffering and death to so many members of human society.

Q. Will not the capitalist class recognize the justice of this claim and hand over the means of production (life) to society?

A. History and present tendency point the other way. At all times classes have fought to maintain their privileges irrespective of what was or wasn't moral.

Q. Can you provide a good example?

A. A leaf out of Washington's life perhaps will serve.

Q. To what do you refer?

A. To Washington as a slave owner and the analogy it provides to the "good and moral" owner of capital.

Q. What are the facts?

A. Washington owned something less than a thousand slaves: He freely expressed his abhorrence of slavery. When Lafayette bought an estate and freed the slaves on it, Washington wrote: "Your late purchase is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally in the minds of the people." Yet Washington clung to his private ownership of human slaves as long as he lived, just as owners of capital do today. Many of the latter leave wills bequeathing their property in whole or part to society, just as Washington left a will expressing his desire to have those slaves freed which he held *in his own right*; but not until *the decease of his wife*.

Q. But Washington in a *letter* to Jefferson declared it one of his first wishes to see a plan adopted by which slavery in America might be abolished by law. Is that not so?

A. Sure. And even *his* superior intelligence and six subsequent years' presidency of the United States did not evolve any plan. No modification of society has ever been *planned*. Society is a growth and in its development upsets the grandest theories and plans of mere men, this because it obeys "economic" and not "man-made" laws.

Q. Do you mean to suggest that we cannot be legislated into a new and grander form of society; that we cannot abolish private property by law?

A. Not unless it registers a stage already attained in economic development. Laws may go with economic development, but the latter will never follow legislatures or the plans devised by politicians.

Q. Do not leading Socialists assert that capitalism will be abolished by legislative authority?

A. To some extent, but that does not and will not alter facts. To use Washington again for illustration. Referring to the abolition of slavery he wrote: "There is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority." It was, however, accomplished by nothing less than a revolution. The same may happen again.

Q. And how do you propose to abolish capitalism?

A. By the "proper and effectual" mode,

which has a different meaning at different periods. We can only organize the forces at our command and prepare for the course nature in the exercise of her divine, inexorable and irresistible laws will dictate.

Q. What are the forces at your command today and whence come they?

A. As only the working class is exclusively and unquestionably interested in abolishing capitalist domination, it is exclusively and unquestionably the source of our revolutionary movement. Today the working class is manifesting its powers in (to the capitalist class) an alarming degree. The working class is being prepared by natural evolution for its great work—or as it is sometimes described—its historic mission to overthrow the capitalist system of private ownership of things socially used and production for profit and substitute a new society wherein things socially used will be socially owned and wealth be produced for the use and enjoyment of society as a whole.

Q. How is it being so prepared?

A. The growth of the trust, with its corollaries—subdivision of labor and elimination of craft, destruction of small capital and elimination of the middleman, thus decreasing the number who control the industries and increasing the numbers and “consciousness” of the working class—is bringing us to a stage when the bulk of the workers, being reduced to a common level of misery and degradation, will observe the enormous benefit to be derived from the change of ownership of the means of production from the few to all society,

and the ease with which this desirable change might be accomplished, and will take the necessary action to inaugurate a new, and, it is anticipated, a happier era. In other words, co-operation is now a rapidly developing feature of production and will inevitably force the same (co-operative) principle upon all other phases of our social existence. We will co-operate to enjoy as well as produce.

Q. What action can the working class take?

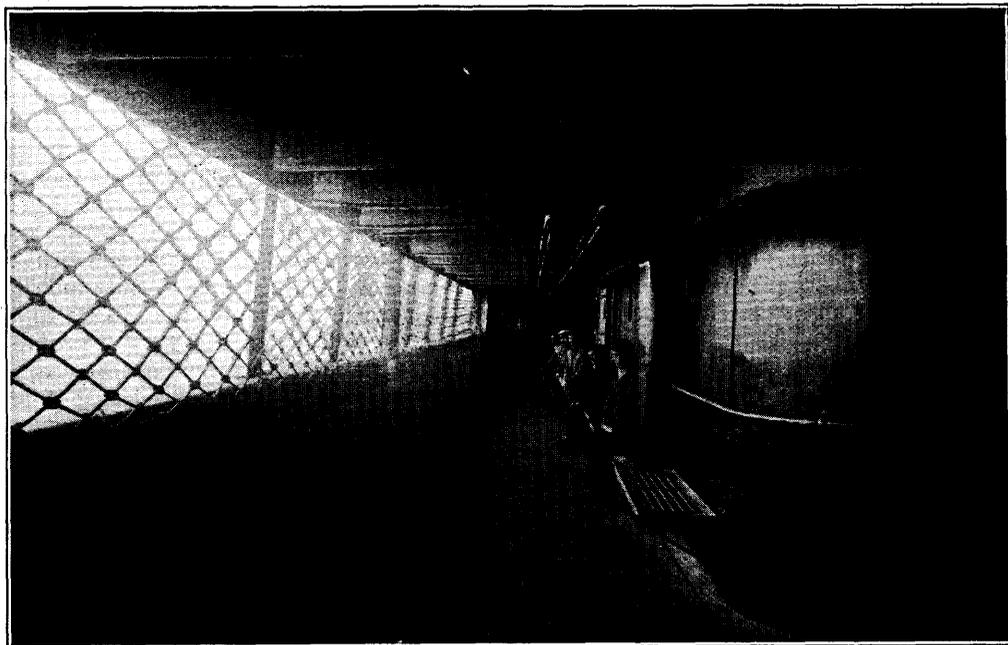
A. The working class is already taking action. The passing of trade unionism represents the final destruction of privileged sects which were accustomed in defense of their privileges to fight, and thus enervate, the class to which all belonged. The growth of industrial or “class” unionism is the recognition of all workers that all workers have a common cause to fight for, and that, to win, all must stand together—engineer with scavenger, clerk with chimney sweep, miner with railway man, farm laborer with shop assistant, for the overthrow of capitalism. The Socialist Party exists to reflect and serve the economic organizations upon the political field.

Q. Will the emancipation of the working class be won on the political or the industrial field?

A. It will be won on both if it is to be won speedily and well. All depends on the wisdom of the fighters in using each field in just its proper proportion for just its proper purpose. But it *will* be won.

Q. And your guiding principle?

A. We express it with the phrase, “Co-operate with evolution; educate towards revolution!”



COAL PASSERS COOLING OFF.

A Sailor's Life

BY WINDEN E. FRANKWEILER

BECAUSE of the recent strike of seamen in England and general unrest among them, it undoubtedly will interest the REVIEW readers to hear something about the working conditions on ocean steamers.

The above photograph shows a part of the firemen's deck of one of them. This deck is closed toward the sea with a fence made of strong hemp rope.

What do you think this fence is there for? To keep out the waves or to catch flying fishes? A few words will explain its purpose.

It must be remembered that a large modern steamer has about 100 to 150 furnaces (fires) and uses about 600 to 1,000 tons of coal daily. The coal necessary for the voyage is stored in different parts of the ship.

The boilers and coal-bunkers usually are situated below sea level and it is obvious

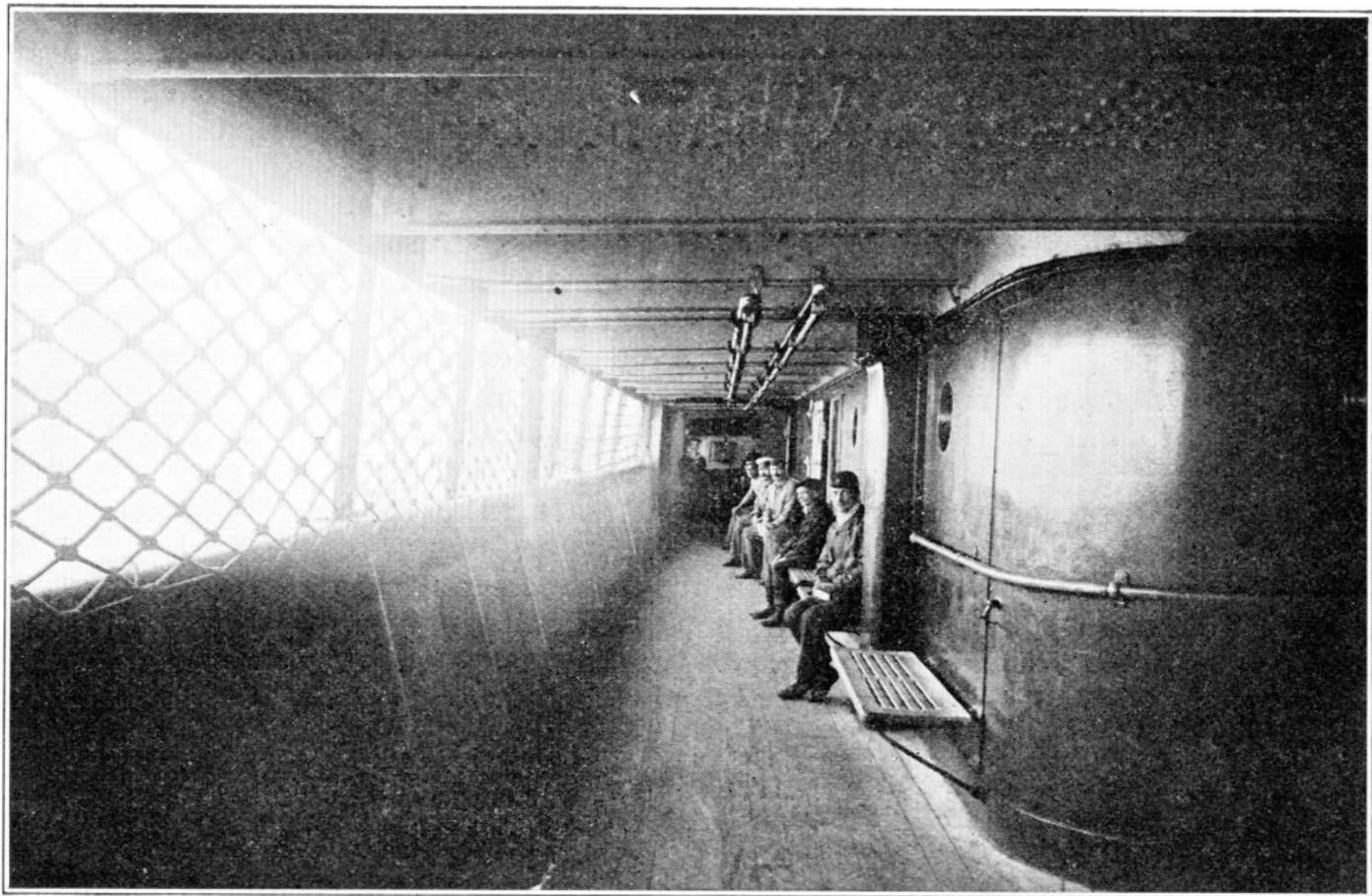
that the air in such a boiler room is hot and full of coal dust and filled with oily, disgusting smells.

It is the work of coal passers to shovel the coal into small wagons, not unlike those that are used in coal mines. These bring it before the boilers. On their way there they sometimes have to pass through dark, small gangways between the boilers—mind you, between the boilers—which are often not high enough for a man to stand upright beneath.

In order to keep up the high pressure of steam the firemen in the meantime are hard at work to shovel these enormous quantities 600 to 1,000 tons daily of coal under the boilers.

Now you can imagine what it means to do such hard work under such hard conditions; but this isn't the worst yet.

When there is only a weak wind or no breeze or the wind goes in the same direc-



COAL PASSERS COOLING OFF.

tion as the ship little or no fresh air passes through the air-tubes into the boiler room. Or when the air is warm and damp like it often is the Gulf stream, which is several hundreds of miles in width, the situation grows worse and even the electric air pumps—if there are any—bring no relief.

On such occasions the atmosphere becomes simply unbearable and sometimes dozens of men lose consciousness and have to be brought to the open air to recover.

The other workers who are strong enough to escape fainting become half crazy, so greedy for fresh air and coolness, that many of them at the end of their shift would jump overboard, regardless of certain death. Only the above-mentioned fence prevents them from doing so.

A bourgeois economist might call this fence a "protection" for the working men. The newspapers sometimes bring the news that some fireman jumped overboard, but they never go any deeper and tell why.

The steamship companies in their descriptive pamphlets tell the passengers that after four hours of work the men are "allowed" (as they term it) an eight-hour rest. The simple reason is that it is impossible to work any longer and for the man who goes deeper it means eight hours a day of exceptionally hard work under unusually bad conditions.

When there is rough weather, which happens quite often and sometimes for several days in succession, the firemen cannot sit down on their little deck to get the same fresh air. This deck is not much above the sea level and is therefore flooded by the waves. The firemen on such occasions must go to their lodgings, where, on account of the rolling of the ship, they have a hard time to keep themselves in their beds and are so deprived of the much-needed rest.

By the way, if the boiler room is a "hell" these bunks certainly are some kind of a purgatory. Usually they are in a comparatively small room, half dark, poorly ventilated, where sometimes 60 to 80 men live together. The place is so small that two, often three, beds are placed one above the other.

As compensation for this work the men get about \$15 a month and free meals and lodgings on the German steamers, while their English brothers get in the neighborhood of \$25.

Oil is used as fuel, which is making striking progress, in combination with the steam-turbine and will bring great changes. It will do away with this hard and degrading work, but also with the firemen and coal-passers. While today on a large modern steamer about 300 to 400 men are occupied in the engine room, 30 to 40 men probably will suffice to do the same amount of work.

Now a few words about the other men on board of a big steamer. The sailors (deck hands) work twelve hours a day—four hours' work alternating with four hours' rest. The payment of overtime, however, is usually unheard of.

The cabin stewards have no fixed working time at all, from six o'clock in the morning till eleven at night they must be at the service of their passengers. Besides that, at least one-half-night's watch a week.

Each complaint on the part of the passenger—founded or not—means a sure discharge for the steward. On the German steamers the stewards get about \$10 a month, free meals and lodgings. Of this money they have to pay for missing or broken dishes and lost or stolen (sometimes by passengers) knives and forks, etc., which sometimes amounts to \$2 or \$3. From this money they must also buy their uniforms and other things and finally yield some graft to pantry men and cooks. Usually nothing is left of these \$10 and so the stewards depend entirely upon the tips of the passengers, which they are not allowed to demand under penalty of immediate discharge, but for which they are heavily taxed in Germany.

The stewards on the English steamers get much better pay and besides are free during the stay of the ships in the home port.

The difference of the treatment between the German and English sailors originates in the fact that the latter mostly belong to the International Sailors' Union, while the former do not.

Sailors know little or no family life. Those on fast steamers between Europe

and North America see their families once every three to five weeks for a few days, while those on steamers plying between other countries or on sailing ships do not see their home—if they have any—for five or six months and sometimes not for several years.

When a sailor is dissatisfied with "his" ship, he cannot leave it in a foreign port, and if he does he is arrested and brought back by force and has to continue to the home port.

Bourgeois economists will prove by statistics that the sailor's life is a healthful one because so few die while at work. It

is for the simple reason that most of them give up their jobs when comparatively young and of course do not die active sailors. The firemen quit their jobs as soon as they have some other employment, while the stewards and deck hands, because of the hard work and ever-changing climate they pass through, are "worn out" at fifty.

The average man on land thinks the sailors have an easy life, full of liberty, but they are utterly mistaken, for the crushing claw of capitalism clasps the seas as well as the land.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

BY LOUIS WEITZ, ORGANIZER

A general meeting of the Young People's Socialist Federation of New York was held Sept. 10th, at the Terrace Lyceum. The meeting was well attended. Several important and decisive results were obtained.

The meeting was opened by the organizer, and comrade Minkow later took it over, acting as presiding officer. The organizer, recording secretary and financial secretary, rendered their reports. The recording secretary added the information that the federation, as at present constituted, numbered some two hundred strong; with prospects of immediate gain. A glad surprise awaited us. Mrs. Ludwig Lore addressed us.

Though the manner of her delivery was masterful, the matter of her discourse was still better, in its logic, simplicity and usefulness. In the introduction she placed especial emphasis upon the study of the young socialist movement abroad, since much could be learned from them, in the matter of avoiding errors, and finding out the best methods of organization. Comrade Lore related the neglect by the Socialist party of the young Socialist movement there, at the beginning of its attempts at organization. She was thus drawing a parallel to our own Socialist party's former neglect of this question; which neglect

has not by any means passed. Only in certain localities has the party given this subject due consideration.

At the time that the idea of a young Socialist movement in Germany was conceived of, despite the party's gross neglect, some enthusiastic Socialists, tried as individuals, to spread the idea of its need, and the resulting organization which must necessarily follow, because of this need. The aid rendered by these handful of comrades soon brought some surprisingly good results.

The organization grew so steadily and rapidly that the government became alarmed at the impending danger. Governmental restrictions of all sorts were saddled on the backs of the young Socialists of Germany, in order to weigh them down to obedience and ignominious defeat. It was mainly by outlawing all political organizations of young people that the government thought to turn the trick.

These tactics could result only in final failure, because the young Socialist movement had come to stay, and also because it was in harmony with the law of evolution. It is true, great suffering, on the part of these youthful revolutionists, was a natural consequence of their rebellion.

The government, by its pestilent oppression, had somewhat disorganized the young

people's forces. At this critical stage of the game, the trade unions, which are composed mainly of Socialists, resolved to take a hand in these affairs. The trade unions began to organize them into industrial sections, thus getting round the political restriction. The socialist party at last awakening to the realization of the importance of its young Socialist movement, sent a committee to the young people, and this committee assumed the duties of instruction.

The proof that their power is growing can be seen in their numbers, and in the various activities in which they are engaged. Their numbers, reckoning by groups, is 147. These various groups each have their own club rooms, which are called homes. And as Comrade Lore remarked, they are really and truly homes in the best possible sense of that much abused word. A picture of one of these homes appeared lately in the *Young Socialist Magazine* of New York, and it was a sight fit to draw sighs of envy and admiration from all who saw it. Their representative press organ *The Arbeiter Jugend*, has a circulation of sixty-five thousand. But their anti-militaristic demonstrations, after all, are the most wonderful part of their work, since the question of militarism is the all-important one in Germany. It is reported that during the late Morocco affair, in certain cities of Germany, demonstrations to the number of forty and fifty were held each night; the young Socialists engineering them. Another good feature of their organization is the attempts to induce all their members to join their trade unions.

The various other European countries, though inferior in their organization of young Socialists, are not by any means backward. Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Belgium are strong in this respect. France is exceedingly weak, due to the many conflicting elements within the ranks of the Socialist Party itself. The lack of clearness as to its policies does not permit of any effective young Socialist organization, founded on concentrated effort, and oneness of purpose.

The foregoing is the substance of Comrade Lore's remarks on the movement abroad. From it several lessons can be learned. Most important of all is the fact

that where the Socialist Party has a strong, working organization, there, too, the strength and growth of the young Socialist movement is great. Where such is not the case, of course, the reverse is true. Many other conclusions may be inferred from a study of the movement abroad. But space compels me to proceed with Comrade Lore's criticism of the movement in the United States.

Comrade Lore's criticism of the movement in America had necessarily to confine itself to what she knows of the organization in New York and Brooklyn. In fact, it is hardly possible that there are a dozen locals in the United States, where the young Socialist movement has been started. The first imperfection named was that we lacked the true, working class spirit. That it rather smacked of an organization of young philosophers, high school students, and the like, instead of what it should really be—an organization to better industrial conditions for the working class. She admonished us because we paid more attention to philosophical meditations than to the real work—assisting the Socialist Party in its battles for industrial freedom, by taking out the platform, by giving out literature, and attending protest demonstrations, and showing in every way that we are liberty loving in action, as well as in name.

The only reply possible to this criticism is to remind Comrade Lore that this class-conscious spirit cannot be instilled within so short a time as the existence of our federation warrants, but that it will eventually arrive. The criticism is based somewhat on false premises, because we are attempting within our present capacities to do the agitation work referred to. But, unfortunately, not in as great a degree as might be desired. Time alone can remedy this defect.

Comrade Lore did not by any means neglect the importance of educational work, but in addition cautioned us to give it its proper proportions; and not let it be the only object of our organization. The need of party members to act as directors and to assist in numerous other ways was also touched upon.

At the conclusion of her speech, Comrade Lore gave us much advice of inestimable

value, some of which cannot be followed at present. The following is a portion of this advice: Suggestions as to better methods of promoting sociability, especially at entertainments. That the young Socialists, individually and as an organization, should support their own press. And lastly that they should agitate industrially, in trade unions and elsewhere.

My object in writing this article is twofold. First of all, I wish to impress upon the Socialist Party, the necessity of starting a national organization of young So-

cialists, and also to have our national organizers mention this topic in their speeches, as was suggested by Comrade Lore. Secondly, that wherever any organizations are already formed, or about to be formed, that they should try to avoid the errors of our cousins, the Germans, and others, and to get into closer touch with the Socialist Party. If this article will be the means of injecting even the germs of this thought into the minds of the Socialist Party members, my task shall not have been in vain.

THE CLOSED DOOR.

By J. Edward Morgan.

The door of Opportunity
 Is closed and stoutly barred,
 A sceptred hand has turned the lock;
 Within a sound is heard
 Of mirth and sumptuous feasting
 While without the myriads press
 And, pleading at the entrance,
 Cry: "Open unto us."

Knocking at the door of Privilege
 With shout and deaf'ning din;
 Crying: "Open wide the bolted door
 And let the masses in!
 Within is royal feasting
 For king Mammon's chosen few,
 Without we fall with famine,
 Oh, let us share with you."

But the guarded door of Plenty,
 Is closed and double barred;
 And crafty hands have turned the lock,
 Within a sound is heard
 Of ribald mock and jeering
 As without the myriads press
 And, pleading faint and famished,
 Cry: "Open unto us."

But the iron door, long mocking,
 Shall one day be unbarred,
 And crafty hands shall tremble,
 From within a sound be heard
 Of wail and hopeless pleading
 While without the myriads press
 Made mad by strength of famine
 Thundering: "Thus we make redress."

Life's greed-ruled house of Plenty,
 With all its pilfered store
 Of Nature's wealth and art of man
 By Mammon lorded o'er,
 And shared among the golden few
 Must all its doors unbar.
 Nor brute's device nor will of man
 Shall ever close them more.

For rebel arms shall storm the doors
 And sceptred kingdom fall,
 The earth shall shake and tyrants quake,
 The slaves will take their all;
 And then no more the favored few
 Will gorge while myriads press
 And pleading at a bolted door,
 Cry: "Open unto us."

A Study in Distribution

Sears, Roebuck & Company

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL



WE Socialists have a good deal to say about production. We can give figures and facts pertaining to the subject at a rate which frequently reduces an argufying enemy to silence. But what about distribution? Have we not rather neglected the study of this important branch of modern industry in our keeness to inform ourselves on the more prominent science of production?

It must be kept in mind that some day it is going to be up to the working class to take over the industries—the factories, the big workshops, the mines, the railroads, the great stores, etc.—and operate them for ourselves. Consequently we must be prepared. We must know as well as possible beforehand exactly what we are going to be called upon to do and how to do it.

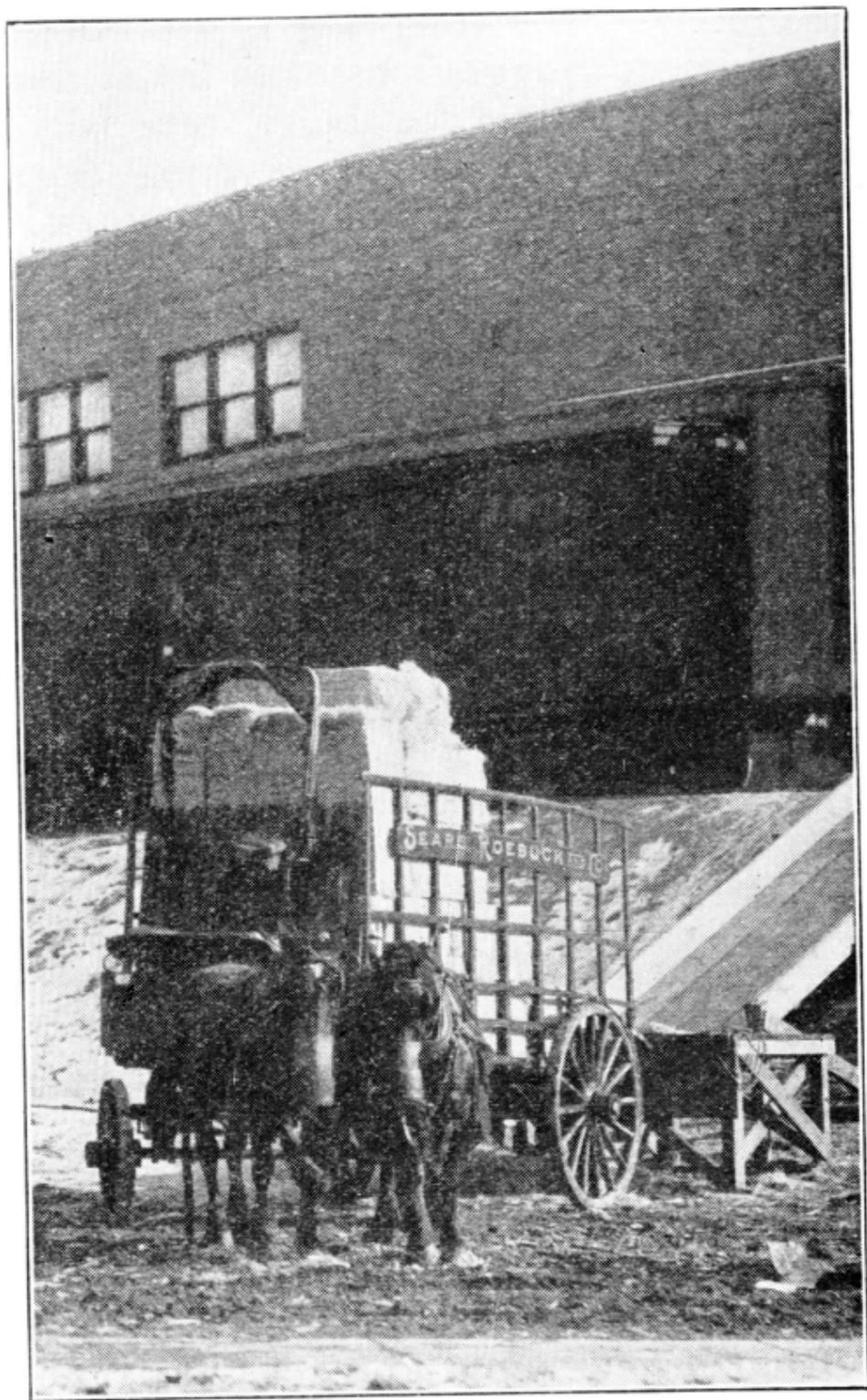
When in doubt, see how the big capitalist does it. It is to his interest to bring out the greatest amount of efficiency with the least expenditure of effort.

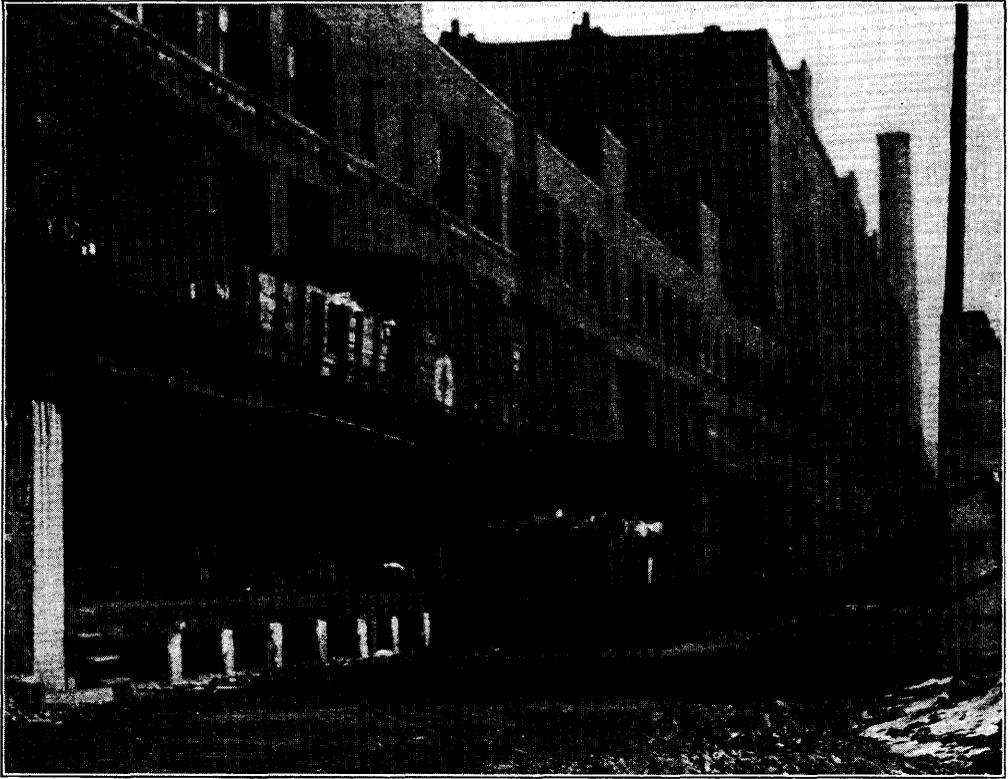
One of the groups of capitalists that are

pointing the way to efficiency in distribution is the firm of Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, that bugaboo of the little merchant and petty business man.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. are the biggest and best known mail-order retail distributors in the United States, if not in the whole world. They have made their name known wherever the postal service can carry a catalogue, and that bulky volume, weighing two or three pounds and carrying the price and description of everything from a paper of pins to a furnished house, has made its insinuating way at some time or other into perhaps every community of the United States. Sears, Roebuck & Co. will handle your order for a buttonhook with the same facility and ease as for an automobile and they will send you the same grateful acknowledgment by post card.

They are also manufacturers on a large scale, but most of the energy and attention of their 9,000 employes is given to distribution.





TWO TIERS OF TRACKS.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. do a business of more than \$60,000,000 a year and at times their sales amount to as high as \$250,000 in one day. From 45 to 65 carloads of freight alone are daily hauled away from their doors.

Yearly their business grows and daily their sales climb higher and higher. Steadily they are making it harder and harder for the keeper of the general store at Cross Corners, as well as the small merchant of Kankakee, to make a living. This is the day of Things on a Big Scale and it is up to the little man either to get in line or get out. For instance, only the other day the newspapers chronicled the fact that Marshall Field & Co., the great department store distributors of Chicago, had just bought the controlling interest in several of the biggest textile mills of North Carolina. What chance will the little retailer now have against Marshall Field & Co. in dealing in these textiles? No wonder that statistics kept by the commercial agencies

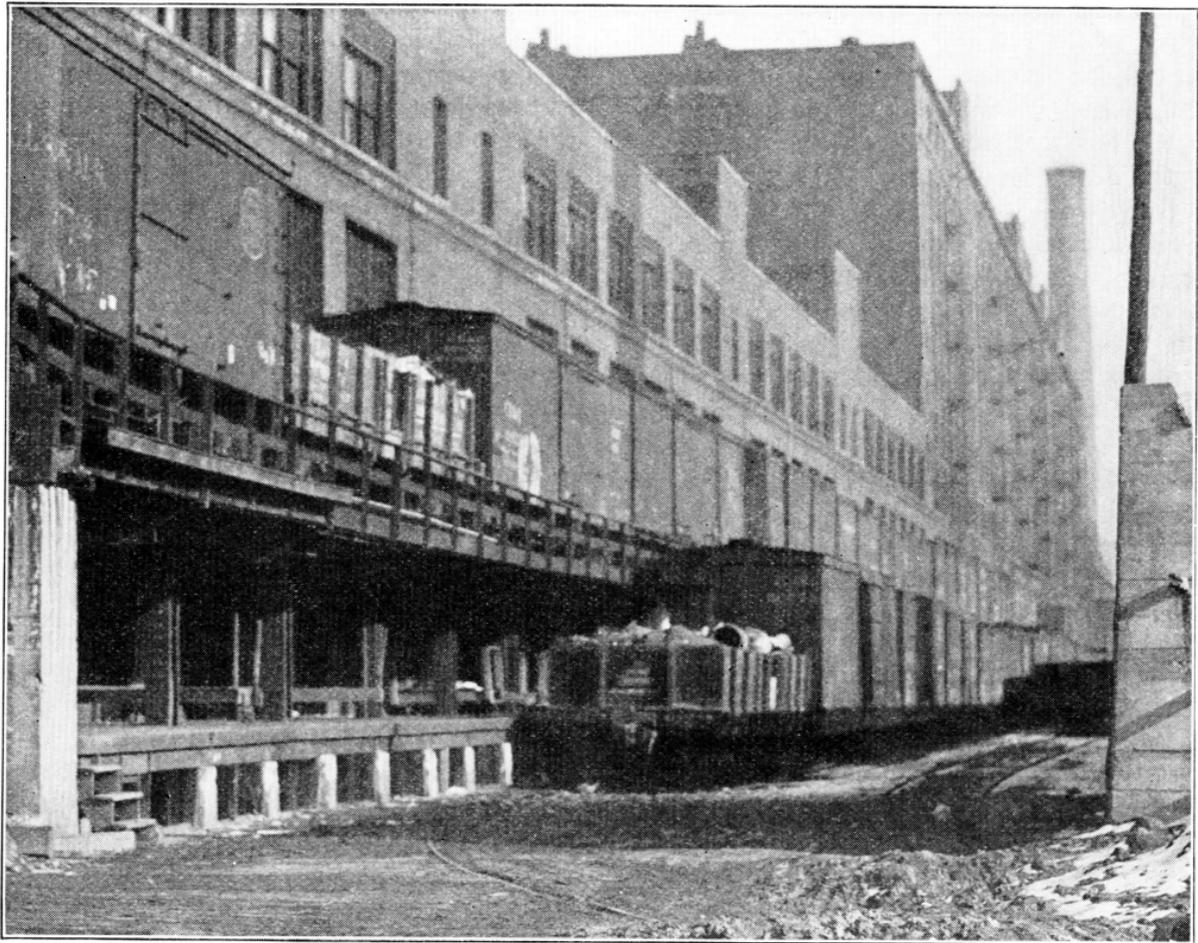
show that only 5 per cent of the persons who start a business eventually succeed!

In other words, 95 out of every 100 men who in these days put all their money, brains and energy into the founding of a new concern are foredoomed to failure! They *can't* succeed. The cards are stacked against them.

Now, Sears, Roebuck & Co. belong to the 5 per cent that have won. Hence it is worth our while to discover the reasons why, to learn how they do things, to discover upon what basis they have achieved their supremacy.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. occupy a group of big buildings situated on several acres of ground on the west side of Chicago—where land is cheaper than in the business center of the city and where workers can be had in abundance. These buildings are, in effect, merely huge warehouses where products are stored until called for.

By inspecting the Sears, Roebuck plant we can get a very good idea of what the



TWO TIERS OF TRACKS.

distributing centers of the new society will be like in the coming era in which production will be for use, not for profit making, and in which distribution will be carried out for the comfort and convenience of all, not for the enrichment of the few who at present control it.

It is a commonplace to describe a great store or factory as a beehive. The Sears, Roebuck plant really resembles one very closely. Each floor is partitioned off into so many rooms or cells, rising tier upon tier. These cells are divided into so many groups, each group being a department devoted to the handling of one particular product.

For instance, there is the clothing department. In one cell are great tables piled high with overcoats. Six hundred overcoats shipped make a fair day's business. In another cell are endless racks of ready-to-wear suits. In a third is a regiment of tailors busy making these suits. They cut up one bolt of cloth at a time, do you think? Not by a considerable sight. From 50 to 100 layers of cloth are spread upon a giant table at one time and an electric machine cuts out the different parts of 50 to 100 garments at once like a hot knife through a pad of butter.

One group of workers does the basting, another does the sewing, a third puts in the lining and so on. Fifty men can do the work of 300 by the old way. Less and less labor power is wrapped up in a suit of clothes every year. That's the reason you and I can get a hand-me-down for \$9.75 that looks almost like the merchant tailor's \$25 suit and wears just about as long.

Suppose Sears, Roebuck & Co. receive an order for one of these suits from James P. Jones, of Jonestown, Ark. The order is duly recorded by one of a thousand clerks and a requisition is sent to the ready-made clothing cell. Here a young man—there are very few old ones with Sears, Roebuck—this young man selects the proper suit from the huge stock and deposits it in a basket. A boy seizes this basket. Does he walk down seven flights of stairs and tell the people there to send it off to James Jones? He does not. He drops the basket into a chute and down it shoots into the wrapping department, where another

young man seizes it, places it in a neat pasteboard box and turns it over to a third young man who swiftly wraps it up. Another boy comes along and dumps the package into a chute again. Down it drops into the shipping department, sliding out on the floor, where one of a line of men reads the tag it bears. If it is to go by express, he shoves it over to one side; if by freight, to another side. Again it is seized and properly addressed and labeled. If it is an express package, down it drops again into the express office—every company in the United States has an office in the Sears, Roebuck main building—whence it is immediately dispatched.

Perhaps James' suit is part of a regular family order, comprising, say, a mantel clock, a family Bible, a horse bridle, three suits of flannel underwear, a bottle of perfume, a case of canned oysters, a driving buggy, a woman's hat, a churn, a pair of baby's shoes, a coal stove, a half dozen shirtwaists and a carpenter's saw—to give a few items frequently received in one order. In that case all the articles are packed into one box when possible and sent by freight. This is the sort of order that will make half a dozen of the small dealers in Jonestown gnash their teeth when they hear about it. It makes them realize their helplessness.

Now, when this box for Jonestown is ready to go out, it is not put on a wagon and hauled to a distant railway depot. The furthest it travels before being loaded into a freight car is about 50 feet. Six railroad tracks run right under the big shed of the main building and the freight cars are backed clear up to the doors of the Sears, Roebuck shipping department.

That is the way Sears, Roebuck & Co. achieved "success"; that is, made money as distributors—they use as little labor power as possible. They employ no human labor where a mechanical device will do as well. They permit no employe to take 50 steps where five steps can be made to do. Their plant is virtually a great machine, and it works almost automatically. Just enough workers are employed as will keep the machine running properly. There are 9,000 employes at present. If we applied the Supreme Court or "unscrambling eggs" process to the Sears, Roebuck plant and com-



A FRUGAL LUNCH AT NOON.

pelled it to split up into small and competing shops, we would probably find, say, 5,000 good-sized stores on our hands, employing about ten persons each. In short, 9,000 people are doing work that would have required 50,000 not many years ago. That is the same as saying that 41,000 persons have lost their jobs—forced out of employment by the machine process.

Not only do Sears, Roebuck & Co. employ as little human labor as possible, but they pay for it at lowest rates. That is because most of the labor they need in their business is unskilled, and unskilled labor is always plentiful and therefore cheap. It requires no high degree of training or intelligence to copy off an order, to arrange a row of packages on a shelf or to pack a goods box, and work of that nature is about all that is required of most Sears, Roebuck's employes.

Pick up the Chicago papers and you will always find standing advertisements from Sears, Roebuck & Co. in the "help wanted"

columns. The concern is always short-handed, principally because comparatively few workers can endure the high speed and the low wages. As soon as they acquire a little experience they go elsewhere.

I once met a man on a train out of Chicago who told me that his sister stayed nine years with Sears, Roebuck & Co., and when she left she was being paid \$7 a week.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. have built up a great fortune, then, out of the merciless exploitation of their workers. Not that the latter are ill treated. On the contrary, the firm is most "benevolent" to its employes. It has provided restaurants where workers can obtain meals at a few cents. There are rest rooms for the women and girls and athletic grounds for the men and boys. There is even a beautiful little park, with a lake, gold fish and so on, for tired employes. And, oh, yes—on a corner of the Sears, Roebuck grounds is a Y. M. C. A. building. The firm gave the land for it, also \$25,000 towards its erection. The big



A FRUGAL LUNCH AT NOON.

capitalists discovered some years ago that the Y. M. C. A. is a good thing for the soothing and amusement of their slaves.

Has Big Biz a reason for encouraging the Y. M. C. A.? You bet it has!

Sears, Roebuck & Co. put their money into the Y. M. C. A., into restaurants for their employes, and other "welfare work," for the same reason they put it into any other investment—because they expect it to pay.

Take the matter of cheap restaurants, for instance. Why do big employers go to such pains to furnish low-priced meals to their employes? Let us see.

A big corporation pays a girl worker, say, \$4 a week. It provides for her and her sister workers a restaurant in which a fairly wholesome lunch can be obtained for eight cents, or 50 cents a week. But suppose this girl had to go outside for her lunches and was forced to pay 20 cents each for them, or \$1.20 a week. In that case the firm eventually would have to raise

her pay 70 cents a week, or the difference between 50 cents and \$1.20.

So with all the "philanthropy" of employers. When analyzed it is always found to be a cold-blooded business proposition.

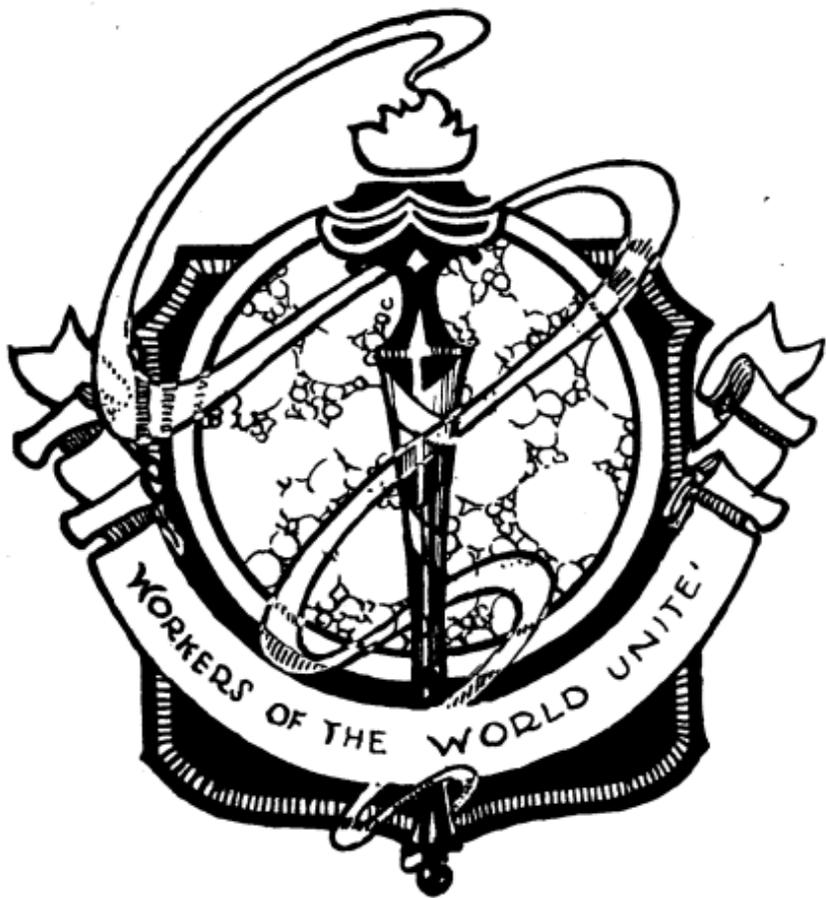
Here, then, are 9,000 workers toiling faithfully away, nine and ten hours a day, distributing the things that other workers have produced.

And over both armies of producers and distributors stand their employers, doing absolutely nothing, but absorbing the wealth as fast as their slaves pile it up.

Could a crazier scheme of things ever have been invented? Could anything be more wretchedly farcical than the capitalist system under which we live?

Some day the workers in the Sears, Roebuck and similar plants will quit being slaves. All together they will organize and unite with the producers and then good-bye to Sears, Roebuck & Co. and their class. They will have to go to work.





The Enormous Thefts of Texas Lands

A Statement of Facts for the Large Number of Tenant Farmers in Texas

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of the "History of the Great American Fortunes," "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," Etc.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The striking and original facts compactly given in this article are but a few of an immense mass of facts, all taken from the official records, embodied in Comrade Myers' forthcoming "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." Every tenant farmer in Texas should receive a copy of this important article. Further articles will follow addressed to the tenant farmers of other states.]



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

YOU tenant farmers of Texas tilling soil, not an inch of which you own, wonder how it is that vast stretches of land are owned by capitalist landlords, frequently absentee proprietors. To them the results of your labor flow.

They do nothing; you do everything; but they own the basis of your existence, and you own nothing worthy of mention. The work that you do is for their benefit. How has it come about that they have the power of compelling you to turn over the bulk of the fruits of your produce to them? They are a part of the system that has put you in bondage, not the whole part, however. Land is essential, but so are all of the varied tools of production, necessities and means of transportation and communication indispensable to modern life. But primarily you are yoked to the land.

Why?

Because the land proprietors hold paper titles to the land you cultivate. Backed by the law, the courts and, if necessary, by armed force, these paper titles are more powerful than iron chains. Yet so worthless at bottom are these paper titles that if they were to disappear the proprietary capitalists would have nothing to prove their ownership which they hold not by useful occupation, but purely by a fiction of law. How and when and where did they or their predecessors get those paper titles? This article will tell you.

The State of Texas contains 274,356 square miles, or 175,587,840 acres—an area exceeding that of the original thirteen states. Long before Texas became detached from Mexican rule, the gigantic thefts of its lands began. Starting in the year 1821, when Texas was still a province of Mexico, various promoters or coloniza-



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

tion contractors ("empresarios") came forward with large plans of loot.

Ostensibly, they publicly professed to be moved by a noble desire to colonize the Texas wastes. But one quality could not be claimed by most of them. That was the quality of "patriotism." Some of the contractors were Mexican, but the larger number were Americans, and a more predacious crew of capitalistic adventurers it was impossible to meet. The Mexican officials, lax, corrupt or secret accomplices, were more than accommodating. They grossly violated the Mexican laws, and fraudulently gave away great domains on mere promises of fulfilling certain conditions which were never carried out.

From 1821 to 1832 thirty-three of these colonization contracts were made covering tens of millions of acres of the finest lands in eastern, southern and middle Texas.

A number of the contractors were American politicians and capitalists who, after obtaining by fraud all of the land that they could get east of the Mississippi, had moved on to pillage Texas. Some of them were heads of great land syndicates grabbing areas in different places at the same time. Among the colonization contractors were Moses Austin, Stephen Burnet, Joseph Vehlein, Lorenzo D. Zavala, Benjamin R. Milam, John L. Woodbury, John Cameron, General Thomas J. Chambers, Hewitson, Powers and others. Considering what followed, it is well to keep some of these names in mind.

Each of these contractors or colonizing corporations was under contract to introduce so many specified families as settlers. According to the terms of these contracts or concessions, each bona-fide colonist was to get the ownership of a league and a labor of land (about 4,605 acres) and the "empresarios" were to receive, as compensation for their colonization work, certain stated premium lands.

The moment these contracts were signed, fraud on an immense scale began. In the first place, many of the contractors at once sold their immense concessions to groups of New York, Boston and other Eastern capitalists.

Thus the Burnet, Zavala and Vehlein contracts became the property of a corporation calling itself the "Galveston Bay

and Texas Land Company." The huge frauds committed by this corporation, at the head of which was Michael B. Menard, are described at length in the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." The records reveal how it bribed land commissioners, stole vast areas of agricultural and timber lands and on one occasion boldly took 1,700 acres of water front property in Galveston.

The officers of the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company" were such New York politicians and capitalists as General John T. Mason, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, Dudley Selden and others. Whitney "made" \$7,000,000, largely in his land operations, and all of the others got rich. Griswold was at the time concerned in an enormous successful grab of a claim of 1,200,000 acres in Florida.

Another New York corporation formed to exploit fraudulent Mexican concessions was the "Colorado and Red River Land Company," with offices at No. 8 Wall street, New York City. This company based its claims upon the colonization contracts made by the Mexican officials with J. C. Beale. It computed the area in its grants at *twenty millions acres*.

These absentee capitalists had, of course, to make a show of introducing some settlers. A number of the capitalists were owners of packet lines bringing over immigrants from Europe. Numbers of immigrants were dumped into Texas, but instead of their getting the land each was entitled to, the settlers were usually compelled to sign a contract giving back one-half of their land to the contractors.

The number of settlers brought in, however, was insignificant compared to the immense number of fictitious awards made in the names of settlers that never existed or in the names of dummy settlers.

When the colonization contracts were made, commissioners were appointed by the Mexican authorities to determine and award lands to the settlers and premium lands to the contractors. The notorious Samuel M. Williams, forger or abettor of forgery, adventurer and swindler, was the commissioner for the Austin colony; the almost equally notorious George A. Nixon acted in the same capacity for the Burnet, Zavala and Vehlein grants; the likewise

corrupt William H. Steele for the Nashville Company's colony; the commissioner for Martin DeLeon's colony was DeLeon's brother. Other corrupt commissioners acted for other colonization grants.

The frauds committed at this time by these men, as was later proved by a legislative committee, were enormous. They were, in fact, so gigantic that the grabbers saw that the only way to retain the tens of millions of acres that they were stealing was to overthrow Mexican rule. Not a single one of their contracts or concessions was legal; forgery and theft had been committed on a vast scale. The fear that the central Mexican Government would sooner or later declare their fraudulent operations null and void, made the capitalists concerned nervous. They began to plot for the separation of Texas.

These were the men who were behind the movement for Texas independence. It was they who engineered the agitation, and it was they who supplied the chief incentive.

The records show that the Mason-Whitney-Williams combination advanced much of the money to Texas for carrying on the war for independence. This money was part of the proceeds of their land thefts. They were richly repaid for their "patriotism"; they received from Texas 1,329,000 acres of its finest lands for their money advances. But this was far from being all of their "returns" for their glowing patriotism. Some of them made contracts to supply soldiers and ammunition. They never did so, but that omission did not prevent them from getting more land for these alleged services.

Their fears that if Texas remained under Mexican rule their huge thefts of land would be annulled, were only too well grounded. General Santa Anna, president of Mexico, did, in fact, issue two sweeping decrees in 1853-1854 denouncing the vast concessions of land hitherto made as fraudulent. He declared them null and void, and ordered their restoration to the Mexican Republic. But by that time Texas as well as California and other territory had been wrested from Mexican rule.

When the Texas Republic was established what happened? Many of the foremost land grabbers, or their associates, men such as Burnet and Milam, became the head

officials of the Texas Republic. It was a land grabbers' government.

If the frauds had been small, doubtless the Texas constitutional convention of 1836 would have said nothing. But so stupendous were the frauds, and so many millions of acres had been stolen by absentee capitalists, that the convention tried to confiscate the plunder. Section D of the constitution prohibited any but citizens of Texas from holding land except by direct title from the republic. Section I was designed to annul an immense grant fraudulently given by the legislature of Coahuila and Texas to General John T. Mason. Under this spurious grant, "the enormous amount of eleven hundred leagues of land [nearly five million acres] had been claimed by sundry individuals, some of whom reside in foreign countries, and are not citizens of the republic." These grants, it was declared, were contrary to the laws of Mexico and were pronounced null and void.

But the grants were never voided. Why? Because the Supreme Court of the United States held in a certain case that before a constitutional clause could become effective a specific legislative enactment was necessary to carry it into force. The grabbers, being themselves members of the Texas congress, took good care that no such legislative act was passed.

By 1838 not less than 20,000,000 acres of land had been patented under colonization contracts and various other grants. The report of a Texas congressional investigating committee disclosed the details of the stupendous frauds consummated. Of these details a few examples will be given here.

Samuel M. Williams and two associates had made a claim for, and received, four hundred leagues of land (1,771,200 acres) in Nacogdoches, Red River and Harrison counties. For what? They agreed to supply a thousand men to fight the Indians. But John P. Borden, commissioner of the Texas General Land Office, testified that Williams and his associates had supplied only forty-one men. This being so, how was it that title papers to four hundred leagues were given? Borden was forced to admit two facts. One was that the title papers were forged; the other fact was that Borden had received a present from Wil-

liams of ten leagues of land, and each of Borden's two brothers had been the recipient of a gift of a league of land.

The commissioner for giving titles at Nacogdoches was one Aldrete. Although it was proved that he was an impostor and had no real authority, yet in 1833-1834 Aldrete had issued titles to 150½ leagues of land (666,414 acres) in Liberty, Houston and Red River counties to alleged colonists. And who as commissioner had issued titles to John T. Mason? None other than the notorious Colonel James Bowie, of Arkansas land fraud fame, and on pretended authority, at that; in the year 1835 alone, Bowie had presented Mason with titles to ninety-five leagues of land (410,660 acres) in Harrison and Nacogdoches counties.

General T. J. Chambers made a claim for "judicial services." He succeeded in getting sixteen leagues of land on one occasion, and twenty-three leagues on another (altogether 171,692 acres), near Waco and in other sections. Titles were issued to Chambers, although the former Governor Viecsa testified that he had never authorized the concessions.

George A. Nixon, commissioner for issuing titles, granted titles in 1834-35 to eight hundred and seventy-one leagues of land (nearly four million acres) in Libby, Jefferson, Jasper, Sabine, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Houston and Montgomery counties to the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company" on the Burnet-Vehlein-Zavala contracts. Nixon himself received a gift of eleven leagues of land by order of Steele, title commissioner for the Nashville Company.

E. L. R. Wheelock, a surveyor, testified that in 1835 he accused Steele of acting without authority in giving titles, and that thereupon Steele became greatly agitated and refused to show the documents upon which he pretended to base his authority. Steele invited Wheelock "to join them in a combination to let no man who came have land, unless it was poor or refuse land, unless they would let one of the company clear it out on shares." Wheelock swore that Steele tried to bribe him with an offer of seven leagues of land to turn over to Steele all of his field notes in blank.

A typical example of how land was granted to bogus colonists was that of the

commissioner for the DeLeon Colony, who gave his own son, Francisco DeLeon, a grant of a quarter of a league of land, and made an affidavit that Francisco possessed all of the requisite qualifications, although, as a matter of fact, Francisco was only a boy of ten years of age, and was attending school in Louisiana at the time.

Borden, commissioner of the General Land Office of Texas, gave the investigating committee an itemized list of a huge number of forged and antedated titles in the Nashville, Vehlein, Burnet, Zavala, Cameron and other grants. Not less than 22,492,507 acres of the very best lands in eastern, southern and middle Texas were permanently alienated into the private ownership of a few capitalists by means of the fraudulent methods which have been here given. The original papers in the cases of these fraudulent titles were carried off or destroyed, so there later was no eventual way of proving the forgeries.

In 1842 more colonization contracts were made with Castro, Mercer and Peter. Not one of them carried out their contracts; the alleged settlers that they introduced were, as Governor Pease reported, bogus settlers; a large majority of the affidavits were made out in the names of boys of fifteen, sixteen and seventeen years old. Nevertheless, bills were lobbied through the Texas legislature in 1850 and 1852 by which the Castro, Mercer and Peter companies received a total of 4,496,806 acres.

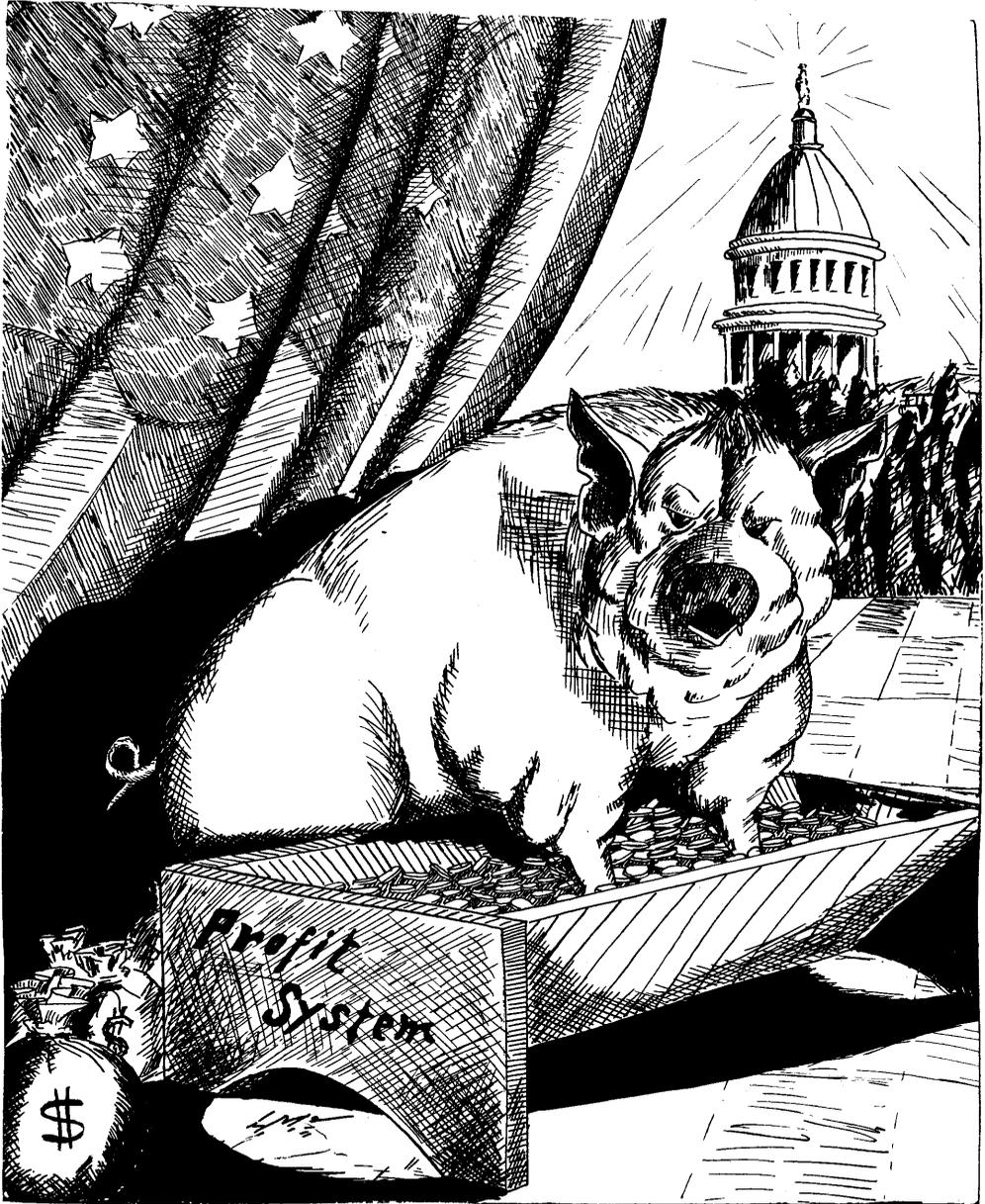
Immense numbers of fraudulent land certificates were issued under the act of 1837 giving bounties and donations to soldiers of the Texas war for independence. Few of the soldiers ever got any land, but millions of acres were grabbed by combinations of capitalists and politicians, including judges and other United States officials. When, in 1855, a move was under way to expose these colossal frauds, the Adjutant General's office at Austin, where many of the land archives were stored, was set on fire one night and burnt down. Thus the evidences of the frauds were destroyed.

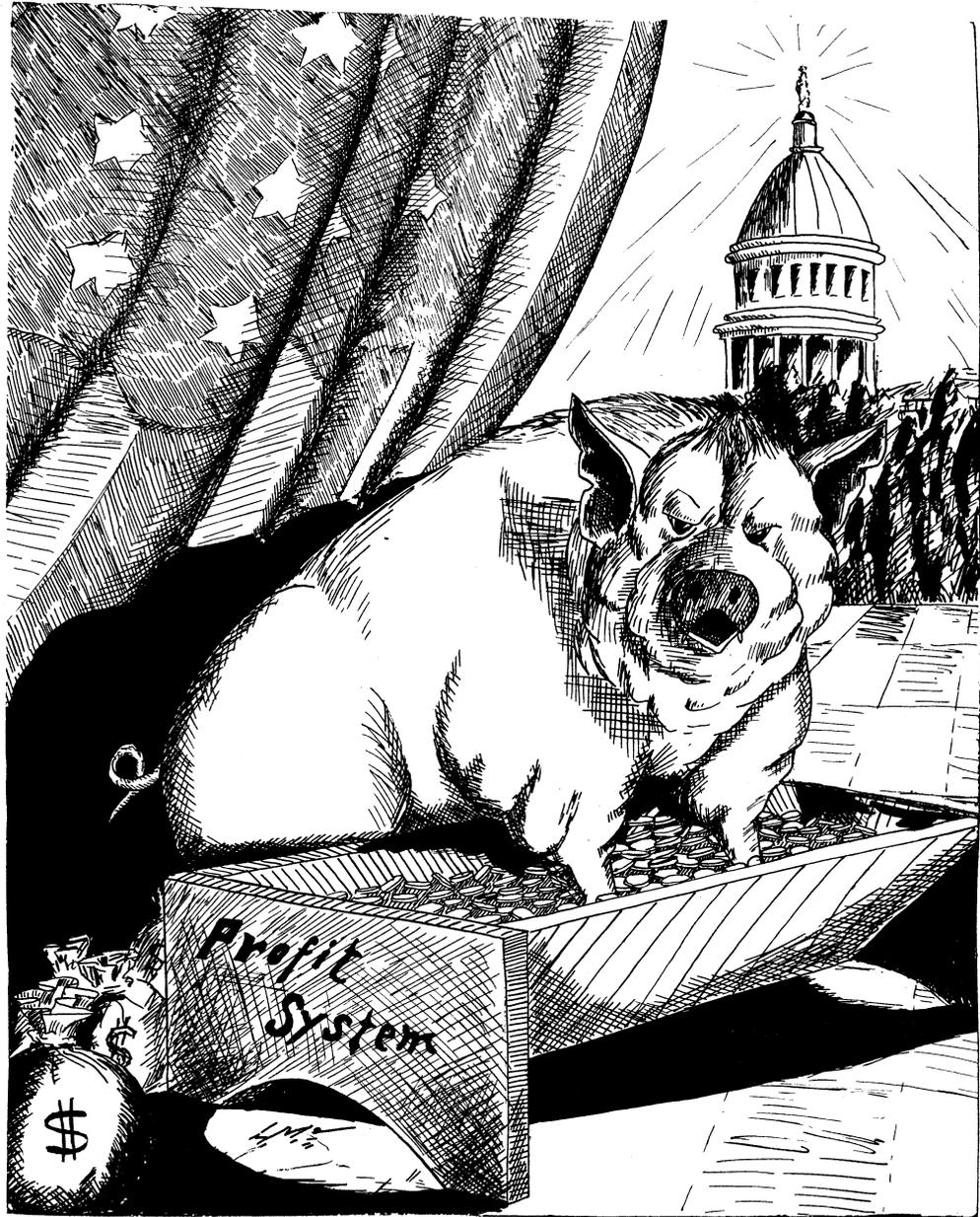
These are but the merest glimpses of the crushing array of facts described at great length in the author's "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." In that work the details are given in full, with the references from the legislative and

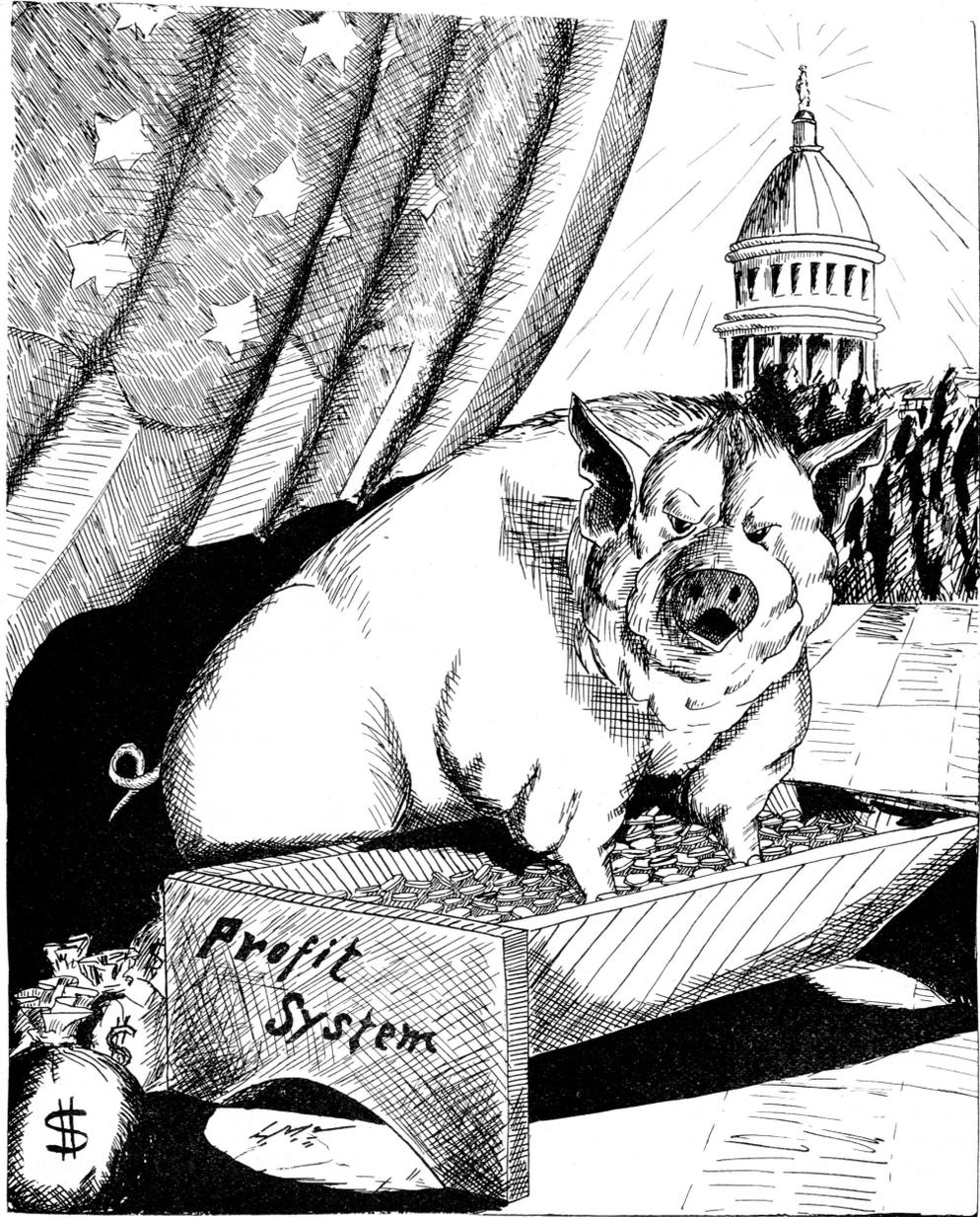
court records. By the year 1858 fully 68,000,000 acres of Texas lands had been patented to individuals, mostly absentee capitalists. It was during the years in question that the lands in the older settled parts of Texas were stolen. But the thefts have continued elsewhere in Texas to this very day. Among many other facts dealing with more recent times, the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States" describes how those multimillionaires, the

Farwells, of Chicago, got away with 3,000,000 acres of Texas land for the contract for erecting the state capitol at Austin, which was built largely with convict labor.

Capitalism is theft. Its property represents theft. If you seek to abolish theft, abolish the cause. This cause is the capitalist system. And will you ever consent to pay the holders to recover what they or their predecessors obtained by forgery, perjury, force, fraud and theft?







EDITORIAL

Better Than Barricades. We Socialists hope, as has been repeatedly emphasized, that the Social Revolution, and our minor victories leading up to it, will be accomplished by peaceful means. We have no desire to squander our lives and bodies in armed conflicts with capitalist forces, because one good, live energetic Socialist is worth a hundred dead ones.

But there seems to be quite a feeling prevalent that we are not going to be allowed to march uninterruptedly into victory merely by obtaining a majority of the votes in successive elections. Down in our secret hearts it is probable that most of us believe the capitalists are not going to surrender their political power without a struggle. In fact, a conspicuous party official and an ardent supporter of what he calls "regular and lawful methods" recently conceded that "it is not impossible that before we reach the final stage an attempt will be made by the ruling classes to frustrate our victories by force, as, for instance, by attempting to steal a decisive election or preventing our elected representatives from taking office.

"In which case," says the leader, "we will fight like tigers and mount the barricades, if need be."

Exactly how he would fight our comrade does not say, but leaves it to be inferred that he can be thinking of nothing better than the methods pursued by the French *bourgeois* and their working class allies in their Parisian street fights with the royalist forces years ago.

It is well for Socialists to discuss this point and discuss it now. If the ruling class does some day attempt to frustrate one of our important victories by force, what are we going to do? What have we to fall back on?

How long would an army of people, hastily summoned from office and factory, last against trained servants like the police and the militia, armed with riot guns and the latest death-dealing instruments of capitalist governments? Let us remember, too, that each of us adult citizens under the Dick military law is liable to instant conscription and if we re-

fuse to shoot our brothers we can be shot as "enemies of the government."

Is it possible that we have nothing better than barricades to fall back on? Let us take in illustration, for instance, the town of Gary, Ind., which is dominated by the Steel Trust. The workers in Gary, we'll say, have decided it is to their interest to control the city government for their own protection. They work through the Socialist Party and elect representatives of their class to all the offices. But the capitalist officials refuse to surrender the city government. Or perhaps the angered Steel Trust threatens to close up its Gary mills and thus destroy the town.

But the workers of Gary are aroused and determined. They say to the Steel Trust: "Interfere with us and we'll pull out every worker in this city. If necessary we'll stop work in every plant you own throughout the United States. We'll paralyze the entire steel industry." Facing such action, would or would not the Steel Trust consider it wise to allow the Socialists in Gary to occupy their offices?

Of course, to bring the Steel Trust to its knees in this way would presuppose a wide industrial organization, comprising every worker in any way associated with the steel industry, in production and distribution alike.

Is not our economic power a mightier and more resistless weapon than all the guns and barricades in the world?

The capitalists do not fear guns and barricades. They won't have to do the fighting. They will leave that to their hirelings—their police, their Cossacks, their hired thugs, their trained soldiery.

One weapon only the capitalists have cause to fear, and that is the thing they are absolutely dependent upon—the labor power of the workers. Is not the withdrawal of that power better than barricades?

What Kautsky said: "We have no ground to think that barricade battles and similar warlike accompaniments will play a decisive role today."—*The Social Revolution*.

What Marx said: "The Socialists disdain to conceal their views and aims.

They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." There is that dreadful word "forcible" right there in the Communist Manifesto. What did Marx mean by force? Guns? Childish. Dynamite? Hopeless. Force proceeds from power. There is only one kind of power that counts in the world today—labor power.

Why Not Now? In our view political action through the Socialist Party not backed by the industrial organization of the workers will prove well-nigh futile when some day the great crisis arises. But at present the framers of our party policies are careful to refrain from advocating such industrial form of organization. They call such advocacy "dictating to the workers" and are even disposed to read out of the party those who point out the necessity of the industrial union. "In time of peace prepare for war." What is the objection, then, to preparing now?

A Crushing Rebuke. The defeat of Referendum D, by a vote of 12,308 party members against 7,585, is a crushing and a well-deserved rebuke to the majority of the present National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The facts are these: Local St. Louis some years ago was ruled by a group of politicians whose thirst for votes and offices was such that they resorted to fusion with a capitalist party. After a long and thorough investigation, the Socialist Party of Missouri, by a referendum vote, revoked the charter of Local St. Louis, and issued a new charter to such party members in St. Louis as were opposed to fusion. But the fusionists did not yield to the vote of the majority. They maintained an organization of their own, and issued bogus dues stamps which their supporters pasted on genuine party cards. They also obtained several hundred questionable signatures to a petition inviting the N. E. C. to order a new party election in which the suspended members should be allowed to vote. The N. E. C., Comrade Carey dissenting, voted to grant the petition. Lo-

cal St. Louis, now reorganized by the revolutionists, appealed to the National Committee, and the action of the N. E. C. was reversed. The fusionists, through a small Missouri Local, then started Referendum D to reverse the action of the National Committee and sustain the N. E. C. The result of this vote shows that a majority of the members of the Socialist Party care more for Socialism than for offices.

How to Conduct Party Elections. Our present method of election by plurality is open to grave objections. When seven members of a committee are chosen by ballot from among more than forty candidates, the seven highest being declared elected, it is almost inevitable that the selection will be made by a comparatively small minority. The average member will naturally vote for seven candidates whom he knows either personally or by reputation. Probably he will have one or two personal friends on the list of candidates; he may vote for one lecturer whom he has heard and whom he admires, and finally he is pretty likely to fill out his list with some or all of the candidates for re-election, simply because he is familiar with their names. This makes it exceedingly difficult to dislodge a man who has once been elected to the N. E. C., and that fact reacts on the official, making him feel as if he ruled by divine right and as if any one opposing him were a traitor to the movement. The next National Convention ought to devise some method by which a committee can be chosen that will be fairly representative of the wishes of the membership. If no radical change is desired, we might at least provide that only candidates receiving at least twenty nominations from locals in five different states shall have their names placed on the ballot. This would prevent the scattering of votes among candidates with no chance of election, and would make it easier to get rid of a chronic candidate for re-election. Another necessary change is to provide for regular meetings of the National Committee, whose authority has been usurped by the N. E. C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Nationalism and Internationalism

On November 9 August Bebel said in the German Reichstag: "You have said, you who support the government, that in forcing concessions from France by making a descent upon Morocco you have served the interests of all good German patriots. This is nothing new. It is merely a confirmation of a sentence in the Communist Manifesto, published by Marx and Engels in 1847. It was proclaimed there, as you proclaim today, that governments are nothing more than administrative committees of the propertied classes.

"What the patriotism of the conservatives really amounts to we saw when the new fiscal law was under discussion; they were united in the support of a measure designed to collect the taxes out of the pockets of the poor and miserable. At that time they were very careful not to make any demands on property. They defended themselves against an income tax. All this the government seems to have forgotten when it talks of patriotism and sacrifice for the fatherland."

This speech of Bebel's would be appropriate just now in any of the parliaments of Europe. For we are witnessing today such a recrudescence of brutal and expensive nationalism as no one would have dared to foretell six months ago. If ever men cried, "peace, peace" when there was no peace, it is now. The gentle voice of the Hague Tribunal is drowned amidst the rattle of arms. The peace societies should take heart; they have business enough on hand to warrant large donations for many years to come.

France and Germany have just signed an agreement not to fight; England and Germany are still growling at each other; Italy is pitching into Turkey; Russia has an expedition headed toward Persia, and Europe and America are watching eagerly for a chance to begin work in China.

The most astonishing thing about all of these affairs is the frankness of every-

body concerned. Modern capitalism has dropped the mask of idealism. Nobody pretends that God or righteousness has anything to do with the movements now going forward.

Take the case of France and Germany for example. Both nations had been much wrought up by the outcries of patriotic journals and the long-continued "conversations" of professional diplomats. The situation was said to be very "delicate." The "honor" of both nations was at stake. But now the "conversations" are finished and the "honor" of the two nations, so it is said, has been saved.

That of France has been re-established by the acknowledgment of her protectorate over Morocco; that of Germany has been rehabilitated by the cession of certain slices of territory on the Congo. The "delicacy" of the operation seems to have been involved in determining which of these great nations had the more insatiable appetite for territory and "backward" subjects.

The case of England and Germany is mere comedy for the present, but at any moment it may be turned into the most awful tragedy. The statesmen of these two lands are engaged in the dangerous game of fanning the savage chauvinism of their respective populations. England was not involved in the Morocco affair. There was no reason why the English government should get excited. But nevertheless Lloyd-George and Earl Grey have issued one statement after another just to keep the English people from forgetting that they are to be ready to fight Germany at a moment's notice. The German government, to be sure, has not been a bit backward in the same sort of forward-looking management. When the entanglement with France was being discussed in the Reichstag the young crown prince showed his mettle by nodding approval whenever anything was said against England. England and Germany

are carrying on a contest for the markets of the world, and the two peoples must always be kept ready to fight, each one for the profit of its own group of patriotic exploiters.

The descent upon Persia offers a number of interesting aspects. Of course Persia is a "backward" nation and so ought really to submit to the process of foreign domination with more than the proverbial meekness of the sacrificial lamb. She cannot complain of neglect on the part of her more advanced neighbors. Russia and England have been whetting their knives over her for years past. But Persia certainly does show a lamentable lack of good manners. Two or three years ago she rose in revolution and overthrew a shah who had been supported on his throne by the power of Russian influence. Since then Russia has been backing this overthrown shah in his fight to regain his throne. Meanwhile England has kept her hand in and demanded that concessions to her be kept about equal to those made to the Bear. Now Persia has some young capitalists of her own. It was they who engineered the revolution. In order to make sure that their government was carried on according to the best capitalist models they imported from America an energetic young business man and diplomat named Shuster. There is nothing "backward" about our countryman, Mr. Shuster. He knows what he was hired for, and he is doing it. He is trying to run Persia for the Persians; that is, for the rising bourgeois class of Persia. In pursuing this policy he had occasion to disregard a concession which had been claimed by Russia. Russian Cossacks were ordered to the territory involved, and now a large military expedition is on its way from Russia to Persia. The English papers can't help admiring Mr. Shuster's courage, but deplore his lack of "diplomacy." A real diplomat would have managed the whole affair without any such awkward obstreperousness on the part of a "backward" nation.

In China the powers really have not had a fair chance. The great yellow kingdom lies a long way off, and the revolution took even the most astute politicians off their guard. Of course the revolution is only the old story of bourgeois domi-

nation all over again. It is seldom indeed that a hereditary monarch is really equal to the demands of the modern business world. Enlightened and enterprising Chinamen saw their country slipping out of their fingers. On the throne was a baby surrounded by a band of grafters as wicked and incompetent as could well be got together. Fortunately for China, it happened that the baby on the throne was a foreigner, a representative of a hated race of conquerors. It was easy to incite the people to insurrection against him and his advisers. So the revolution was soon got under way, and before foreign troops could be transported the revolutionists were in command of the situation.

Russia, however, is said to be sending troops to China. You never can tell what may turn up in times of disturbance, and it is always well to be on hand when things are happening.

But it is in the little matter between Italy and Turkey that the flower of capitalistic patriotism is seen at its best. When the Italian government started the invasion of Tripoli it expected an easy thing of it. Turkey would be easy to conquer, and a great stretch of exploitable territory would be won. Turkey was easily shoved out of the way, but there were the miserable Arabs filled with that strange, wild "fanaticism" which so frequently leads miserable "backward" natives to fight for their sands and their palm trees. These miserable creatures, not knowing anything about modern warfare, have surprised the world by putting up a great fight against the Italian invaders.

The Italians, being civilized, have naturally shown them no mercy. Here is an account of their heroic method of conquest from the pen of Mr. McCullagh, correspondent of the Westminister Gazette: "In order to protest against the murder of innocent men, women and children I have returned to General Caneva my pass as war correspondent. About 4,000 men and 400 women and children have been killed, of whom fewer than a hundred were guilty of having risen against the Italians. Cripples and blind beggars were shot in cold blood; invalids whose houses had been burned down were left lying on the ground. Even

a drop of water was refused them.

"I have personally viewed scenes of horror and taken photographs of them. There was not even a pretense of justice. The Arabian quarters of the villages raided were overrun by hordes of crazed Italian soldiers armed with revolvers; every Arabian man or woman was shot down. The officers were worse than the men.

"The scenes enacted were worse than any Russian pogrom or Armenian massacre."

Speaking of this report and others like it, the English field marshal, Lord Roberts, remarked: "Such things are, unfortunately, inevitable in war. Only those who have had experience of war in all its phases have the right to judge of the expediency of them."

Nevertheless, the working class has had the temerity to speak, not only against these monstrous horrors, but against the whole war being carried on by Italy and the war fever which is evident in most of the great governments of Europe. To be sure, there has been no actual uprising like that which struck terror to the hearts of the Spanish rulers two years ago. The Italian labor unions were unable to place any real difficulties in the way of the mobilization and transportation of the army. But they did their best. And in some form or other they have received the support of their fellow workers of all the continental nations. There have been imposing anti-war meetings in Paris, Berlin, Brussels and many other cities. Early in November the International Socialist Bureau sent out a manifesto "to the workers of all nations." After a brief statement of the facts of the Italian attack upon Tripoli the position of the working class is defined as follows: "In the presence of such an attack the international movement of the working class cannot be anything but unanimous in its opinion. Our comrades in Italy found themselves in accord with our comrades in the Ottoman empire in protesting against an enterprise as criminal as it is foolhardy, an enterprise more disastrous, perhaps, for the conquerors than for the conquered, an enterprise which threatens to plunge us into a general war, to open a gulf between Europe

and the world of Islam, and, as last result, to furnish to the governments a new pretext for making heavier the burden of armaments.

"The expedition into Tripoli is, in fact, but one among many manifestations of the policy followed by all the great powers: if Italy has gone to Tripoli, England has taken Egypt, France and Spain are quarreling about Morocco, Germany made the attack on Agadir, Austria-Hungary took Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to this complicity of example there has now been added the complicity of acquiescence. If the government of Italy dared to act, it was not without the consent of its allies.

"Therefore, it is not only the policy of Italy, but the policy of all the great powers, that international Socialism must denounce before all the nations as a policy of savages, equally terrible to those who are the victims of it and to those who believe themselves its beneficiaries.

"To this policy of brutality and violence the international proletariat must more than ever oppose all the forces of which it stands possessed.

"Already our Italian comrades have done what they could under the existing unfavorable circumstances to protest against the expedition into Tripoli. They have fought, they will continue to fight, against nationalist brutality.

"But it is necessary that their efforts be supported by the entire international movement. It is necessary that all our sections give proof of solidarity.

"Workers of all lands, unite against war! Make demonstrations for peace, for disarmament and for the solidarity of nations!"

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The cure of this common and obstinate trouble is found in a treatment which causes the food to be readily, thoroughly digested before it has time to ferment and irritate the delicate mucous surfaces of the stomach. To secure a prompt and healthy digestion is the one necessary thing to do, and when normal digestion is secured the catarrhal condition will have disappeared.

According to Dr. Harlanson, the safest and best treatment is to use after each meal a tablet, composed of Diastase, Aseptic Pepsin, a little Nux, Golden Seal and fruit acids. These tablets can now be found at all drug stores under the name of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, and not being a patent medicine can be used with perfect safety and assurance that healthy appetite and thorough digestion will follow their regular use after meals.

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As Dr. Bennett says, the only reason I can imagine why Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are not universally used by everybody who is troubled in any way with poor digestion is because many people seem to think that because a medicine is advertised or is sold in drug stores or is protected by a trade-mark it must be a humbug, whereas, as a matter of truth, any druggist who is observant knows that Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets have cured more people of catarrh of the stomach, indigestion, heartburn, heart trouble, nervous prostration and run-down condition generally than all the patent medicines and doctors' prescriptions for stomach trouble combined.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

About the Investigation. I suppose you know that you are to be investigated. Comrade Hunter has moved that a committee of the national committee be appointed to investigate the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co. So get your clerks to look sweet when the committee arrives. Of course you might return the insult by telling them to attend to their own business, but you won't, because you want to advertise the company and I am sure this will do it.

I am again reminded that the Socialist movement cannot be killed, but that it can or may commit suicide by playing the two ends against each other. Both ends are necessary and the middle too. Let us hope that the investigation will not prove the national committee a bunch of incompetents like the investigation of Barnes by the N. E. C.

COMRADE STONE, Avon, Colo.

Going Some. Enclosed money order for more copies of the December number. Received the bundle at 5:30 p. m. and sold out by 6 p. m. Saturday.

COMRADE INGLEHART, Weatherford, Okla.

Wide-Awake Canton, Ill. Comrade Esther Edelson has a little story to tell of the comrades in Canton, Ill., that is too good to keep. The Canton Socialists elected six out of nine aldermen at the last election and are going out to organize the county to carry it next year. When a stranger comes to town, the comrades are right on the job to get acquainted and offer any friendly assistance in their powers. The comradeship in their social life draws everybody to the local and the movement is growing in Canton by leaps and bounds. One reason why the local headquarters are so attractive is that the women have taken hold and shown the men how to make politics "clean enough" to suit them.

Illinois Central Strike Makes Socialists. Since the Illinois Central strike has broken out, the Socialists of Freeport, Ill., have taken advantage of the attitude of the capitalist newspapers to ignore the strike situation, and have carried on a campaign of Socialist agitation and distribution of Socialist papers which gave the strike news. As a result, the strikers began taking the Socialist papers and the capitalist newspapers became alarmed and tried to catch the waning interest of the workers by printing strike news too. But the men were not to be caught again. The strike showed them just where to look for their friends, and they will not forget it.

ESTHER EDELSON.

In Fifteen Minutes. I am sending you money today to pay for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS sent me. I sold them in about fifteen minutes and want more of the December number as soon as they are issued.

COMRADE ALSPAUGH, Colorado.

Will You Help? I think everyone who carefully reads Walling's great article on "Capitalistic Socialism" in the November REVIEW will agree with me that that article, in fact the entire number, ought to be in the hands of every elected Socialist in America.

Can't we get up a fund for the purpose of sending the REVIEW to each one of the elected officials of the party for a year?

The *Appeal to Reason* used to get up big funds for sending the *Appeal* to doctors, editors, preachers and what-not. Can't we do something better than that in sending the REVIEW, beginning with the November issue, to the men and women who are representing the Socialist Party in legislative and administrative posts? Let's help them to do the right thing by keeping their eyes on the *real goal*. I believe we ought to try and that we could spend no money in a better cause than in this one thing. It will take less than \$100 to do it. Won't 100 comrades give a dollar apiece? I will give a dollar. Won't you, Mr. Editor, give the scheme a boost?

Let's at least get that Walling article into every Socialist official's hands at once. We ought to get it into every Socialist's hands as well.

A. H. SPENCE, Oakland, Cal.

Hot Stuff. Enclosed please find money for more REVIEWS. I sold all the other ones last night in ten minutes. They are the "hot stuff." Just let them come.

COMRADE GRIFFIN, Snyder, Okla.

Good Work at Cobalt, Ontario. We are in receipt of a letter from Cobalt as follows: "Enclosed find P. O. money order, for which please send me five hundred copies of Mary E. Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics." I think you had better ship them by express, as we want to get them distributed as soon as possible, and it may take some time to get them by freight. Address them to me care Miners' Union Hall. I would like to know if you could let us have Frank Bohn for a few weeks during this election campaign. The elections take place on Dec. 11, so that we will need to get him here right away if he is to cover much of the district. Yours fraternally."

M. J. G.

Haywood in Ohio. The Ohio State Committee has taken Comrade William D. Haywood for one month starting Jan. 15, to Feb. 15. Comrade Frank Bohn was in Ohio all open dates for December and, among many other efficient speakers that will speak in that state this winter, Robert La Monte has been engaged for the month of March.

Haywood in Pennsylvania. "When Comrade Haywood finished and sat down the crowd was so interested and spellbound in his remarks that it remained seated to a person, and Comrade Haywood had to come back."

JAS. H. HARPER, Beaver Falls, Pa.

The Review in Factories. Comrade Rosse and Bohan of Auburn have sent in 25 yearly Review subscriptions during the past month which they secured from their comrades working in the factory in that city. They have promised to send 25 more. This is the kind of work that counts in the movement. Hope our other friends in the factories and shops will get their friends interested in the "fighting magazine." Try their plan. We will send you samples free if you care to do so. The comrades mentioned refused to take any of our premiums. All they wanted was more factory readers for the REVIEW. Keep your eyes on Auburn. The boys there are all wide awake.

Stay Away from Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City today is a reeking, seething mass of unemployed human beings, scrambling for a mere existence. The big boom is over; the reaction has set in. The bottom has dropped out. There is no work for one-half of the present population.

* * *

Here are some of the conditions in Oklahoma City at present:

Empty dwellings, about 800.

Empty store rooms, about 200.

Empty office rooms in various buildings, about 600.

About 1,000 women and girls working for less than \$6.00 per week.

About 372 children working for less than \$3.50 per week.

* * *

Working men of the world, to show you some proof of the above statement of the condition of Oklahoma City, thousands of people all over the United States have been duped into buying lots all over the city by smooth-tongued real estate grafters, on which lots they cannot realize 25 per cent of the original investment. Miles of these vacant lots surround Oklahoma City in every direction. These lots are absolutely worthless and even unfit for cultivation.

Business depression is appalling. The wage paid here is small. And this in the face of the fact that living expenses are as high here as any place in the United States.

There are ten men for every job.

D. C. COBB, Secretary,

Organizing Committee, Oklahoma City Trades and Labor Council.

Capitalist Candidates on Socialist Ballots. Early after the November elections, in which our party was successful in so many sections, vague rumors of "Socialist fusion" were spread abroad, principally in the Eastern states. Specific charges were made by correspondents of at least one New York capitalist newspaper that the names of Republican and Democratic candidates had appeared on Socialist ballots in certain localities in three different states, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. The REVIEW did not believe any such reports, but considered it worth while to get the facts and

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lay all doubts at rest. The replies to our inquiries, given below, show what cunning tricks are resorted to by both the old capitalist parties and how incessantly the Socialist Party must be on guard to prevent such skullduggery. These communications plainly reveal what may be expected when our party fails to name complete tickets. They also emphasize the fact that weak organizations can be easily imposed upon by such methods as are described here and that locals must make themselves powerful if they would stop capitalist politicians from riding into office on top of a Socialist wave. This lesson must not be forgotten in the next election.

How D. F. Dunlavy Got on the Socialist Ticket at Ashtabula. On July 14 the Socialist Party of Ashtabula, O., selected candidates for a municipal ticket to be nominated at the primary election on Sept. 3. As no Socialist was qualified for the office of city solicitor, no one could be found who would accept the nomination, because the election laws require the nominee to sign a statement that he will serve if elected.

The Socialist Party had no candidate for city solicitor and the space for the candidate's name was necessarily blank on the primary ticket.

As time for the primary election drew nigh the Socialist Party had developed surprising strength and that blank space on our ticket was viewed by some of the old party candidates with envious eyes.

The result of the primary election showed that no less than five different names had been written in our ticket and by coincidence the person who was nominated on the Republican ticket received the highest number of votes on our ticket and became the legal nominee.

It is not a case of fusion. It is merely one of the paradoxes made possible by our capitalist election laws.

Local Ashtabula, Socialist Party, by R. W. EARLYWINE, Secretary.

Tricking the Socialists in Pennsylvania. Our primary laws are so fixed that any political crook, representing the Republican or Democratic parties can go into a polling booth, ask for a Socialist ballot and, if all offices are not nominated for, write the name of some Republican or Democrat in the vacant space and his name appears on the official ballot under our column. We have had a whole lot of trouble about this but positively have no way to protect ourselves in places where the organization is weak. Where we have any strength and all offices are nominated for it is easy to blockade this game, but in the places above mentioned there are weak and practically helpless branches and this trick can be played upon them until they are strong enough to protect themselves. It is not a case of fusion or compromise. It is simply that the comrades are the victims of political tricks.

Pennsylvania is ruled by as rotten a gang of politicians as ever afflicted the earth and this is one of the results of their manipulat-

ing of the ballot laws. We have protested and, in fact, tried to invoke legal aid to eliminate this game, but the authorities decide that if a man's name is written on our ballot he is the nominee, where no other nomination has been made, so we are helpless in the matter and the only thing we can do is to keep on fighting for organization until we are strong enough, in every place, to nominate a full ticket wherever an election is to be held and if we can do that and only get three or four boys out to vote at the primaries, we are safe.

ROBERT B. RINGLER, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

As to "Fusion" at Allentown. The present Ballot Law in Pennsylvania forces all townships, boroughs, cities and counties to elect their officials at the election held in the odd numbered years. Our candidates are nominated by direct ballot at a primary election held about five weeks before the general election. In order to get a place on the primary ballot, a person wishing the nomination must file with the county commissioners a petition signed by a number of voters in his election district, the number varying according to the office desired, some requiring only ten signers and some fifty. In some election districts it was impossible for us to get enough comrades to fill our ticket. The law provides that at the primary election a voter can write the name of any person he wishes to vote for on the ballot, providing the man's name is not already printed on it.

The Republicans and Democrats, having access to the files in the court house here, knew just where we could not fill our ticket, and at the primaries had some of their henchmen vote the Socialist ticket and write the names of the Republican or Democratic candidates on our ballot where we had no candidate, and in some cases where we did have a candidate.

That is how some of them got on our ballot, and the law also provides that a man getting on the ballot that way can't be forced off unless he goes before a notary and swears that he wants to get off.

At the election the ballot was so large that it took some of the election boards all night to count the votes for the different candidates. We tried our best to get all these men off our ballot, but the Pennsylvania law is more powerful than the constitution of our party at this time and the only thing we could do was to instruct our members to cut these men when they voted and announce that they were not members of our party and had been put there by crooked work at the primary election.

Let me assure you that we have no love here for any other political party except the Socialist Party. We expelled two of our members who voted at a Republican caucus in Whitehall township.

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We are determined to build up a powerful organization here and the writer makes it his duty to get a copy of the National Bulletin for each member in this county and see that the member gets it. We want our members to know what is going on, so that when they get a national referendum they can vote on the question intelligently.

The organizer also attends a branch meeting each night if possible, helping the members in their work. We issue a dues notice to each member who is two months in arrears, and we find we are going to have a good organization as the result of it. We don't expect another election to come around without having a full ticket in the field. You need have no fear of us fusing with any other party, as we haven't forgotten the Cossacks in this state yet, nor the men who raised their pay last year. We consider everything and everybody that lines up with the capitalist class our common enemy, and wish every other local would do the same.

DAVID WILLIAMS, County Organizer, Local Lehigh County, Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

Candidate for Congress. Comrade Con Foley, of Pottsville, Pa., has been nominated for Congress from his home district in Pennsylvania. Comrade Foley is one of the clearest thinking Reds in the American movement and the Pennsylvania comrades cannot do better than elect him to serve and represent them. He is a staunch believer in industrial unionism and can be counted upon to fight to a finish in the interests of the working class. He is one of the men who has been tried and not found wanting. Comrade Foley is the man who made the scab slave drivers in his home town shut up shop in a wild effort to save their employees from the innocuous teachings of industrial socialism. And he will be able to do even better than that if he wins in the forthcoming election. Comrade Foley expects to accompany Comrade Wm. D. Haywood on his lecture tour in Pennsylvania the latter part of this month. We can assure the locals that they may expect a double treat in the advent of two such fighters as Foley and Haywood at the same time.

Socialism in Canada. Most gratifying reports have lately been sent in by our Canadian comrades. The amazing growth of the whole Dominion in industry, wealth and population is the primal cause of this socialist activity. Canadian politics, long a matter of form, has lately assumed great interest. The Canadian Socialist Federation has now over fifty locals organized in the eastern provinces, of which forty are in Ontario. Comrade Frank Bohn of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, upon the invitation of some of the Federation locals, has lately made a tour in Ontario. He reports an interest among the Canadian working class at least equal to that in New England and New York. Best of all is the news that the Federation and the Socialist party of Canada are making plans for unity. To this end they have doubtless been influenced by

the successful unity movement in Great Britain. Our Canadian comrades are using great quantities of sound literature. They now have two papers, the Western Clarion of Vancouver and Cotton's Weekly of Cowansville, Quebec. As Canada comes rapidly abreast of the United States in industry and industrial progress, a united Canadian Socialist party will keep step with the Socialist party of the United States in the onward march of the working class toward the conquest of the continent.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Is Our Publishing House Co-operative?

This question has been raised by Robert Hunter, a member of the National Executive Committee. He asks an official investigation of the question. We go to press too early to know what action will be taken by the party organization, but we shall most certainly welcome an inquiry, since we have nothing to cover up, while, on the other hand, our work would be doubled and quadrupled in the near future if our aims and methods were clearly understood by the entire membership of the Socialist Party.

How We Began. The publishing house has been in business under the same name since the beginning of the year 1886; that is to say, it is far older than the Socialist Party of America or any American Socialist movement worthy the name. For the first seven years it was owned exclusively by Charles H. Kerr, who is still president of the publishing house. Its early publications were mainly in the line of free thought, but in 1891 it began the publication of literature in the interest of the People's Party, which surprised old-party politicians with a vote of over a million in 1892. In the year 1893 the publishing house was incorporated. Mr. A. U. Hancock invested some capital, which was used for the purchase of a printing plant, the remainder of the stock being subscribed by Comrade Kerr. Mr. Hancock was compelled by ill health to retire from business within two years and the printing plant was sold, since which time the company has done a publishing business exclusively.

The New Time. In 1907 Mr. Frederick Upham Adams, a prominent newspaper man, bought a half interest in the publishing house, and an auxiliary company was organized for the publication of a reform magazine called "*The New Time*," which reached a high-water mark of 40,000 monthly circulation during the year 1898. Owing, however, to a disagreement regarding financial methods, Mr. Adams and Charles H. Kerr parted company toward the end of 1898; the former became owner of a controlling interest in

"*The New Time*," which survived only three or four months, while the latter again became owner of over ninety per cent of the capital stock of the book business.

About this time the publishing house established fraternal relations with the Social Democracy, of which Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger were directors, and by the middle of the year 1899 we were issuing no new books except along the lines of International Socialism.

Books at Cost to Stockholders. About this time a plan was developed which solved the difficult problem of how to secure more ready money which was urgently needed for the purpose of bringing out the new books required by the Socialist movement. Many shares were sold to locals and individuals at \$10.00 each, usually paid for in monthly installments of \$1.00 each, and the money thus raised was used to pay for the typesetting and electrotyping of new books. No dividends were paid or promised, but each subscriber to a share of stock was given the privilege of buying books at a discount of one-half from list prices, plus the cost of transportation. This has been and is a very practical method of CO-OPERATION, by means of which the Socialists of the United States, who in 1899 had no literature worthy of the name, have within twelve years put all the most important works of International Socialism within easy reach of American workers at only a fraction of the prices charged for similar works by capitalist publishers.

A Heavy Load of Debt. The money raised from the sale of stock was not enough to pay for the books which had to be printed to meet the growing demand. Our credit had to be utilized to its fullest extent. Moreover, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, as edited during the first seven years of its existence, was a steady drain on the resources of the publishing house.

New Blood and Rapid Growth. The present editors of the REVIEW took hold four years ago—in January, 1908. The paid circulation was then less than 3,000

monthly; today it exceeds 40,000, with every prospect for a rapid increase in the immediate future. We go to press too early to give a complete financial report for the year 1911, but it is safe to say that the cash receipts of the REVIEW for the year will exceed \$22,000, while the book sales will exceed \$38,000. Nearly the whole of this sum will have been expended for wages, paper, printing, postage, advertising, rent, taxes and miscellaneous expenses, while the year's profit, amounting to not far from \$2,000 on total transactions of over \$60,000, will have been applied to the paying off of loans made during the difficult years of our beginning.

As to "Fat Jobs." A sneering phrase is a very cheap form of argument, but it has its effect, and while no other Socialist periodical makes its salary list public, the actual figures will be a quicker answer to sneers than pages of argument. The salary of Frank Bohn since he has been with the publishing house has been \$100 a month; the joint salary of Leslie H. and Mary E. Marcy has been \$160 a month for the past year, and Charles H. Kerr has received \$137.50 a month. As a partial offset to this immense sum he has, however, been paying interest on a debt of \$3,400 for money borrowed by the publishing house—a debt which he assumed last year by arrangement with the directors, receiving therefor stock to the par value of \$3,400, on which no dividends are paid. His total holdings of stock amount to \$11,370, which represent his total earnings during twenty-six years. No other employe has during the past year received so much as \$100 monthly. It will thus be seen exactly how fat are the jobs connected with the publishing house.

How the Company Is Controlled.—It is organized under the corporation laws of Illinois—the only practicable way in which a co-operative company can be organized in this state, and it is controlled by a board of seven directors elected annually. The present board, R. H. Chaplin, J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr, L. H. Marcy and Charles Roux, were elected by a unanimous vote at the annual meeting in Janu-

ary, 1911. The holders of single shares constitute an absolute majority of the 3,691 shares which had been issued up to Dec. 1, 1911, and if they were not satisfied with the management they could have changed it, but, as a matter of fact, there have never been more than a dozen votes cast in opposition to the board of directors that has been chosen. And that is for the very good reason that the publishing house has been run in exactly the way the majority of the stockholders wish it to be run. When they desire a change, the remedy is in their own hands.

The Haywood Lectures. During the National Executive Committee election (not over as we go to press) there has arisen a sudden and peculiar misunderstanding with relation to the routing of Comrade William D. Haywood by this office. Friends may have imagined that Comrade Haywood has yielded to the repeated and urgent requests of former National Secretary Barnes, acting under instructions from the National Executive Committee, to become one of the authorized lecturers on the National Lyceum Lecture Bureau, as did Comrade Frank Bohn under similar pressure, but we are glad to announce that Haywood preferred to continue lecturing under the auspices of the REVIEW. The statement has recently been published broadcast by Comrade Robert Hunter, that locals securing Haywood were compelled to pay the REVIEW \$250 a night. We take pleasure in repeating here the terms we have made ever since Comrade Haywood began to lecture for us. Except in the West, where close dates cannot be arranged at this time, our terms for Haywood dates are the local's guarantee to take 500 admission tickets to the lecture (each ticket being good for a three months' REVIEW subscription at 25 cents each, amounting to \$125.00. Out of this sum we pay \$25.00 hall rent, supply all advertising material, donate 200 copies of the current REVIEW and pay all Haywood's expenses. The State Committee of Ohio is arranging dates in Ohio for Haywood from Jan. 15 to Feb. 15. Arrangements for other states may be made through this office. It might be well if our friends, who believe in fair play, would ask Comrade Hunter upon

what foundation he based his published statements in this regard.

Another "Printer's Error" (?). Comrade John Spargo, candidate for re-election on the N. E. C., has made wide allusions recently in the party press to certain alleged circular letters which he claims were sent by this publishing house (at the "expense of the stockholders") to all Socialist Party locals in the United States urging the election to the N. E. C. of Comrades Haywood and Bohn. Now, the local of which you are a member has received no such letter, because none was sent, and we think it only fair that Comrade Spargo be required to produce such letters, or copies of such letters, upon the request of your local, in order that comrades may know whether or not he acted in good faith in this matter.

An Odd N. E. C. Oversight. In the printed list of recommended Socialist books attached to the Lyceum Bureau Lecture Tickets sent out by the N. E. C. in SEPTEMBER are found many books published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. In fact, all the best books therein, those recognized all over the world as the classics of Socialism, have been brought out by this company. Among these books you will find listed by the N. E. C. (prior to nomination of candidates for the new N. E. C.):

INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM.

by
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
and
FRANK BOHN

Of this book Debs says:

A splendid pamphlet is *Industrial Socialism*, written jointly by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, and which I heartily commend to the working class and to all who are interested in Socialism and in the group of vital questions which have sprung from our modern industrial development. Every page of this pamphlet is clear, cogent, and convincing. The true revolutionary attitude of the working class movement is here maintained. It states the industrial and political positions of the workers in plain, straightforward terms, in their own language, and is well calculated to open the eyes of the workers to the weakness of craft unionism and political Socialism, and impress upon them the necessity of proletarian solidarity, both economic and political, and supplementary to each other, as the true basis of the revolutionary movement. The pamphlet

is especially adapted to the educational propaganda of the working class and ought to be spread broadcast among the workers.

Why This Change of Front? Now readers of the REVIEW, who are also readers of some of the Socialist newspapers, are perhaps guessing! We don't blame them! Is *Industrial Socialism*, by Bohn and Haywood, endorsed, advertised and circulated by the National Executive Committee in September and October the same book that has been placed on the Index Expurgatorius by the Party Popes along 'bout 'lection time? So many unusual and subtle changes have taken place in the mental attitude of the Socialist Party N. E. C. during the months of November and December that we think it only fair to Comrades Bohn, Haywood and Kerr that every member of the Socialist Party read the book and decide upon its merits for him or herself. Do your own thinking. The strength of the movement lies in the fact that the Socialist Party is composed of thinking men and women, perfectly capable of coming to their own conclusions. After you have read *Industrial Socialism* and discussed it at your local, we want you to write us what you think of the book. Price, 10 cents a copy, postpaid; 6 cents a copy to members of locals if ordered through the secretary or literature agent.

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 Cloudealey 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

F. F. BEBERGALL, Sec'y-Treas.

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SOCIALIST SPEAKERS WANTED Next year the Socialist Party will need fifty times as many speakers as are now available. YOU may have the making of a speaker in you, but it will take work to bring it out. To learn how to go about it, read *The Art of Lecturing*, by Arthur M. Lewis. Price 50c, postpaid, and if you mention this advt. we will include a 3-months' subscription to the *International Socialist Review*. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

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Look into the heart of **Eugene V. Debs**, and you will find written large upon it: **THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD**. And this book is a glimpse into the heart of the great Revolutionist.

The life sketch, by Stephen Marion Reynolds, one of Debs' life-long friends and co-workers, is full of personal reminiscences that will inspire the heart of every Socialist.

All of Debs' writings and speeches which he thinks worth preserving appear in this book.

How I Became a Socialist relates how actual battles with capitalists brought Debs to realize the **Class Struggle**.

The American Movement is a condensed history of Socialism in the United States.

The Reply to John Mitchell proves beyond a doubt that a "labor leader" who serves the interests of capital is a traitor to the wage-workers who trusted him.



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Unity and Victory,
Liberty,
The Issue,
Arouse, Ye Slaves,
Craft Unionism,
Industrial Unionism,

The Federal Government and the
Chicago Strike,
Open Letter to Roosevelt,
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ing Class,
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with the other contents of this book are the cream of Debs' writings and speeches. No man can know Eugene V. Debs and fail to recognize his splendid class loyalty, his love for the working class. And to read this book is to know our 'Gene.

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In the three volumes of his **History of the Great American Fortunes**, Gustavus Myers has laid bare the secret of the Goose That Laid the Golden Egg.

The Goulds, the Elkins, Vanderbilts, the Morgans, Russell Sage, the Astor family—how did these men, and other men of great wealth in America make their fortunes?

Did they pick up pieces of string and save their wages when they were boys as we were taught in school? Or was it the systematic practice of bribery, fraud, thievery, and betrayed friends upon which the famous fortunes of today were built?

Socialists are well aware of the hypocritical piracies the gigantic buccaneers of high finance have practiced upon a blind public, but we all need the Myers books to drive home our arguments about the source of the Great American Fortunes.

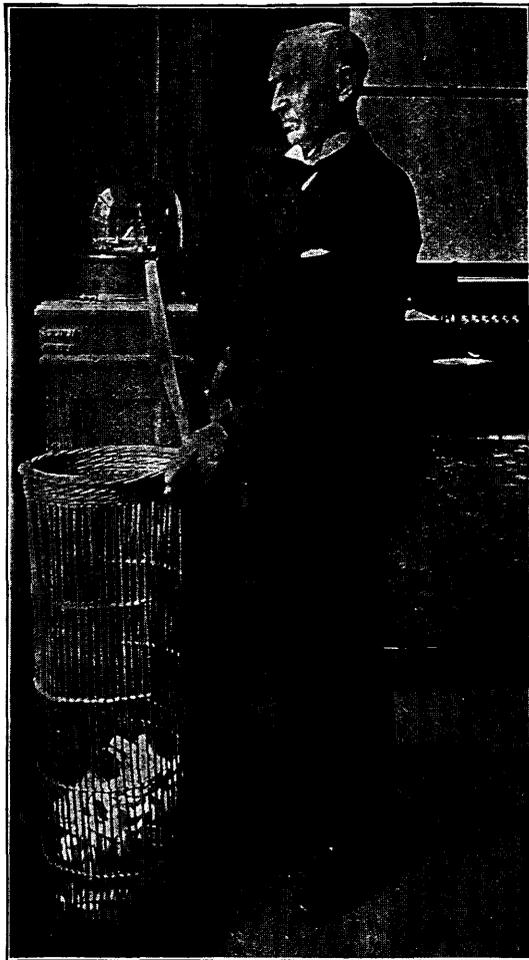
Not One Suit for Libel has been brought against Mr. Myers or this publishing house by the multimillionaires whose shady deals have so ruthlessly been laid bare in these volumes. The grimy record of great wealth has been strewed through the legal records over the whole country. Sometimes the hunter was in turn robbed of his prey and sought litigation as a means for despoiling a successful despoiler of the swag. It is these public records that have made Mr. Myers' books unassailable.

Stories of the thrift and industry of Russell Sage do not go very far when we read of the suit brought by his co-swindlers whom he had robbed of the common loot. Place a copy of this book in the hands of your neighbors. Put copies in your public libraries. Put them in the local library. Discuss them at your Local. They are full of the data you need to convince your friends that the old idea that wealth was the product of thrift and industry is exploded.

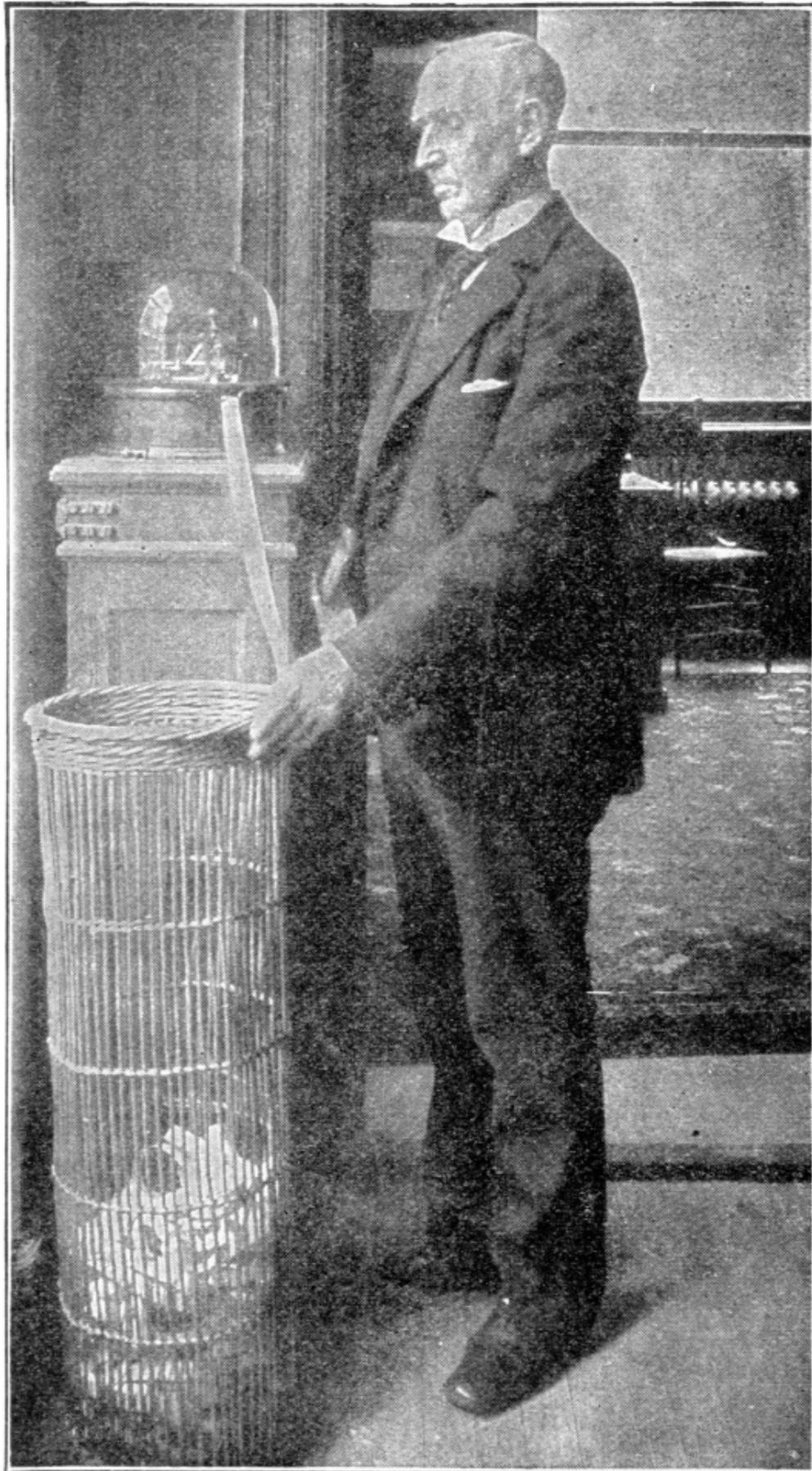
Many books have been written about America's great financiers. They tell you how Russell Sage or some other great man worked three years at \$10 a week. He saved his money. In the next chapter we find Russell buying up street railways or some other little bagatelle. He did not do it out of that \$10 a week. Myers supplies the missing link. There are no long leaps from the humble grocery clerk to the railroad president in these volumes.

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Russell Sage at the Ticker.



Russell Sage at the Ticker.



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This is an invitation that no thin man or woman can afford to ignore. We invite you to try a new treatment called "**Sargol**" that helps digest the food you eat—that puts good solid flesh on people that are thin and under weight.

How can "Sargol" do this? We will tell you. This new treatment is a scientific assimilative agent. It increases cell growth, the very substance of which our bodies are made—puts red corpuscles in the blood which every thin person so sadly needs, strengthens the nerves and puts the digestive tract in such shape that every ounce of food gives out its full amount of nourishment to the blood instead of passing through the system undigested and unassimilated.

Women who never appear stylish in anything they wore because of their thinness, men under weight or lacking in nerve force or energy have been made to enjoy the pleasures of life—been fitted to fight life's battles, as never for years, through the use of "Sargol."

If you want a beautiful and well-rounded figure of which you can be justly proud—a body full of throbbing life and energy, write the Sargol Company, 678-M Herald Bldg., Binghamton, N. Y., today, for 50c box "Sargol" absolutely free, and use with every meal.

But you say you want proof! Well, here you are. Here is the statement of those who have tried—been convinced and will swear to the virtues of this preparation:

REV. GEORGE W. DAVIS says:

"I have made a faithful trial of the Sargol treatment and must say it has brought to me new life and vigor. I have gained twenty pounds and now weigh 170 pounds, and, what is better, I have gained the days of my boyhood. It has been the turning point of my life."

MRS. A. I. RODENHEISER writes:

"I have gained immensely since I took Sargol, for I only weighed about 106 pounds when I began using it and now I weigh 130 pounds, so really this makes twenty-four pounds. I feel stronger and am looking better than ever before, and now I carry rosy cheeks, which is something I could never say before."

CLAY JOHNSON says:

"Please send me another ten-day treatment. I am well pleased with Sargol. It has been the light of my life. I am getting back to my proper weight again. When I began to take Sargol I only weighed 138 pounds, and now, four weeks later, I am weighing 153 pounds and feeling fine."

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"Here is my report since taking the Sargol treatment. I am a man 67 years of age and was all run down to the very bottom. I had to quit work, as I was so weak. Now, thanks to Sargol, I look like a new man. I gained 22 pounds with 23 days' treatment. I cannot tell you how happy I feel."

MRS. VERNIE ROUSE says:

"Sargol is certainly the grandest treatment I ever used. I took only two boxes of Sargol. My weight was 120 pounds, and now I weigh 140 and feel better than I have for five years. I am now as fleshy as I want to be, and shall certainly recommend Sargol, for it does just exactly what you say it will do."

Full address of any of these people if you wish.

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Bodi-Tone does just what its name means—cures disease by toning all the body. Bodi-Tone is a small, round, compressed tablet that is taken three times every day. Each box contains seventy-five tablets, enough for twenty-five days' use, and we send you the full box without a penny in advance, so you can try it and learn what it is, so you can learn how it cures stubborn diseases by helping nature to tone every organ and part of the body. Bodi-Tone is not a patent medicine, for its ingredients are not a secret. It contains Iron Phosphate, Gentian, Lithia, Chinese Rhubarb, Peruvian Bark, Nux Vomica, Oregon Grape Root, Cascara, Capsicum, Sarsaparilla and Golden Seal. Such ingredients guarantee its merit and explain why it cures. Bodi-Tone contains no narcotics or habit-forming drugs, nothing your family doctor won't say is a good thing. It does not excite the body with alcohol, but it tones the body and cures it disorders with the remedies nature intended to tone and cure the body. Thus, Iron gives life and energy to the Blood, Sarsaparilla drives out its impurities, Phosphate and Nux Vomica create new nerve energy and force, Lithia aids in the Kidneys, Gentian does invaluable work for the Stomach and Digestive forces, Chinese Rhubarb and Oregon Grape Root promote vigorous Liver activity, Peruvian Bark raises the tone of the entire System, Golden Seal soothes the inflamed membrane and checks Catarrhal discharges, Cascara gives the Bowels new life in a natural way, and Capsicum makes all more valuable by bettering their quick absorption into the blood. A remarkable combination that does wonderful work for health.

You Need It If you are tired of continual dosing without results, you need Bodi-Tone right now. If your local doctor has done you no good, if the ordinary medicinal combinations he used have failed, give this modern scientific combination of special remedies a chance to show and prove what it can do for you. Its greatest triumphs have been among men and women with chronic ailments who had tried good physicians without lasting benefit, and for this reason all chronic sufferers are invited to try it at our risk. If there is anything wrong with your Kidneys, Bodi-Tone helps to restore tone to the Kidneys, helps to set them right. If there is anything wrong with your Stomach, Bodi-Tone helps to tone the Stomach, helps to set the wrong right. If there is anything wrong with your Nerves, your Blood, your Liver, your Bowels or your General System, the health-making ingredients in Bodi-Tone go right to work and keep on working day after day, producing results of the kind sufferers appreciate. If you have Rheumatism, Bodi-Tone helps to drive the Uric Acid from the system while it restores tone to the Kidneys, Stomach and Blood, thereby stopping Rheumatic poison and putting new activity into muscles, nerves and joints. Bodi-Tone should be used by all women suffering from Female Ailments, for its toning properties have been found especially valuable in such ailments.

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Bodi-Tone cures conditions which are totally unlike, all in the same way, for the body in health has but one way to act—it goes to all the body and makes it well. It makes up and repays for past sickness with a strong and virile health that is often better than the sufferer knew for a long time before sickness began to trouble, for it makes the body right, with its maximum of strength, vigor and vitality. Bodi-Tone works what seems a miracle by putting tone where tone was needed. Write today, telling us you want it, get a box of Bodi-Tone promptly and try it. We take all the risk.

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Indigestion and Bowel Trouble

LONGTOWN, S. C.—Since using Bodi-Tone I am in better health than I had for ten years. I have taken medicine from five different doctors and I can't tell the different patent medicines for Constipation and Indigestion, but none of them gave me relief for more than a few days. I felt the effects of Bodi-Tone in three



days, and the benefit stayed with me. My life had become a burden to me, but it has been a pleasure since I took the first box of Bodi-Tone. I wish all who suffer as I did would take one box, for they would then know the happiness it has been to me. My return to health has given me comfort in my old age. MRS. M. J. WHITE.

Dropsy, Liver and Kidney Troubles

ASBURY, N. J.—I was taken with Liver, Kidney and Bladder trouble in the fall of 1902, and the Kidney trouble caused Dropsy. I tried



everything far and near, but nothing gave me more than temporary relief. I also took X-ray treatments for six months and was very much disappointed, as it was supposed to do wonders.

Since I took the first box of Bodi-Tone I have felt better than from anything I have tried in these seven years. I have used three boxes, and it has made me an entirely different man. I am 65 years of age. HENRY C. MOYLE.

Had Rheumatism and Lumbago

GRAND LEDGE, MICH.—I have been afflicted over six years with Muscular Rheumatism in my arms. It finally settled in my back and the doctor called



it Lumbago. Then a year ago my left knee swelled up so I could not get around and I suffered intense pains at times all winter. I could scarcely walk. I took patent medicines with no results. Then I sent for a trial box of Bodi-Tone. From that time on my improvement has been remarkable indeed, and I can now walk better than in years. MRS. TAYLOR HANCE.

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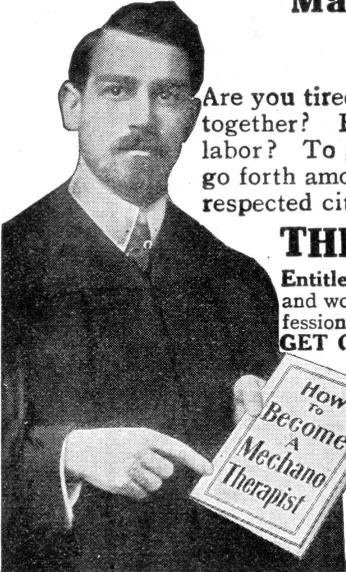


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