

APRIL, 1912

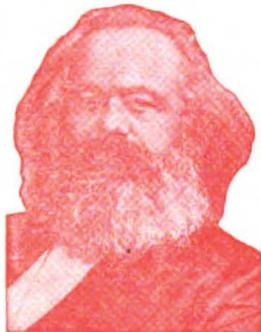
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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW



**ONE BIG UNION  
WINS  
AT LAWRENCE**

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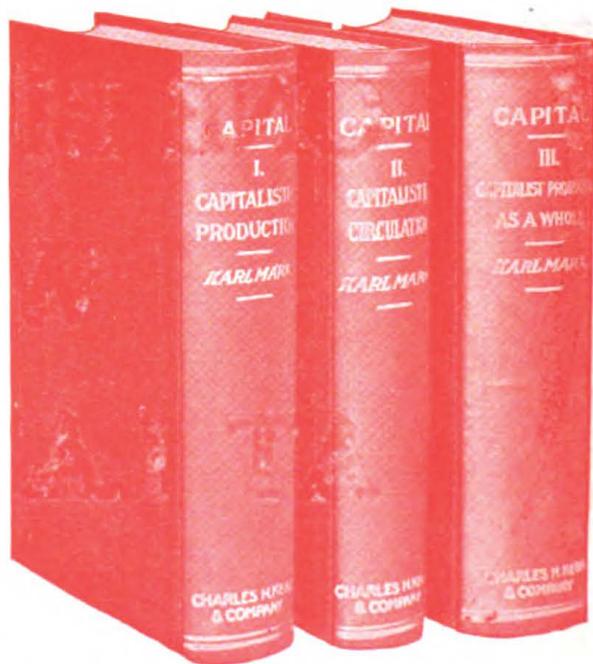
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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OWNED BY 2200 SOCIALIST LOCALS AND COMRADES

CHICAGO, MARCH 28, 1912.

## TO OUR READERS

Dear Comrades:

Forty thousand copies of the March Review were sold out before the fourteenth of the month and we were unable to fill orders for several hundred more copies.

The 50,000 April edition has been delayed owing to the removal of our printers to new quarters and our desire to give you a full account of the great victory in Lawrence. Two of our associate editors were on the job up to the time we went to press, and we hope you will be so pleased with the results that you will want to put a copy of this issue into the hands of every workman and woman in your region. Every militant socialist will want to spread the good news of how One Big Union Won in Lawrence.

We have many good things planned for May. Tom Mann, the foremost fighter in the great English coal strike, that is stirring all the crowned heads of Europe, will write about the coal war in England if the jail authorities permit. In any event, the Fighting Magazine will have news and photographs from the scene of the struggle.

Phillips Russell will contribute an article on how women are bought and sold by the check system in houses of prostitution in Chicago. Gustavus Myers will write on the Theft of Farm Lands in California.

There will be many other good things, among them a wealth of propaganda and educational articles that will make the REVIEW the best seller for the May Day Meetings.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW,



Associate Editor.

*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XII

APRIL, 1912

No. 10

ONE  
BIG UNION  
WINS

BY

LESLIE H. MARCY

AND

FREDERICK SUMNER BOYD



—*Boston Post.*

HAYWOOD AND HISTORIC GAVEL.

**T**HE greatest victory in American labor history has been won by the Industrial Workers of the World in Lawrence, Mass., in a pitched battle of nine weeks' duration against the most powerful cotton and woolen corporations in the world.

For fifty years the great textile corporations had reigned in New England practically unchallenged, save when ten years ago Tom Powers of Providence, R. I., led a fierce battle against the American Woolen Company.

During the nine weeks of the fight in Lawrence every barbarity known to modern civilization had been perpetrated by police, military, courts and detectives, the willing tools of the bosses. Pregnant women were clubbed and their children delivered prematurely. Children were beaten in the streets and jails. Men were shot and bayoneted, the jail cells were filled, three year sentences were imposed for comparatively trivial offences, and machine guns were brought into the city.

And despite the abrogation without a



—American Press Assn.

SONS OF "BOSTON'S MOST PROMINENT FAMILIES" MAINTAINING "LAW AND ORDER."

shadow of legality of every constitutional right, including those of free speech and free assemblage, and despite the provocation offered by the presence of the bosses tools, twenty-two thousand strikers preserved, under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World, a self-possession and a self-restraint that was little short of marvelous. Not one overt act was committed by the strikers. Not one desperate deed of an infuriated individual was proved against a striker.

For the first time in America's labor history it has been demonstrated that a bitterly-fought battle between capitalists and workers can be conducted without the workers resorting to any form of violence. If any triumph is to be claimed for the I. W. W. this is one of the foremost of many.

The strike took its rise in hunger and was fought against hunger in the first

place, and against excessive exploitation in the second. Sixty years ago, when Lawrence was little more than a village, and the mills were few and small, the daughters of New England farmers came from the farm to the mill to earn pin money. But as the years passed and the mills grew larger and more powerful there came into the city around the mills a class of people who depended entirely upon the mill for a living. They were first English, Irish and Scotch.

Later Germans and French Canadians began to enter and take their place in the mills, and for years these were the only nationalities to be found. Because the labor market was comparatively restricted and the mill owners were greedy for profits they sent lying emissaries through Europe, particularly to Italy, telling of the wealth of America. These men scattered literature broadcast, and

showed pictures of the pleasant homes to be gained in the new land. One picture in particular showed a mill worker leaving the mill and on the way to a bank opposite.

Thus the Italian workers were lured to New England, and after them came in quick succession representatives of almost every nationality in Europe and Asia Minor, until today among others there are Syrians, Armenians, Russians, Portugese, Poles, Greeks, Franco-Belgians, Lithuanians, Letts, Jews, Turks and Bohemians.

In the meantime the mills had grown and their power increased. Wages in 1912 were practically at the same level as in 1892, although they had been sometimes higher, and sometimes lower. And in 1912 they averaged \$6 a week. With wages stationary during the twenty years when the cost of living has increased at least fifty per cent, the workers of Lawrence were faced with chronic starvation. Medical examination of the 119 children taken at random throughout the city and from all nationalities that were sent to New York showed them to be suffering from mal-nutrition; a condition that was not the result of the strike, during which living has been for large numbers of the strikers actually better than when they were at work, but that began with the mothers who carried and bore them, and was with them as they grew up.

Living conditions in the city were on a level with wages. Lawrence is a city of mills, tenements and a few houses and stores. The tenements are the dwelling places of the mill workers, each tenement containing an average of three floors of two to five rooms each, and every room small. Many of them are dark, and few have any pretense to sufficient ventilation.

In each apartment there exist two, three and even four families. In one apartment of five small, dark, lean-to rooms forming the top floor of one of these tenements were found three families, numbering in all seventeen people, men, women and children. One of the rooms used as a bedroom for five girls was the toilet, and all the seventeen people in the apartment had to pass through the bedroom of the girls to reach it. The

toilet was out of repair at the time of the visit of the investigator, and the stench throughout the apartment was sickening.

One man, Dr. Michael Sullivan, of Lawrence, owns a large number of these tenements, and for two months the toilets have been frozen. In every other way they are in an abominable and filthy condition, but requests from his tenants for repairs have been refused or ignored. All the tenants are strikers, and Sullivan has repeatedly threatened that unless they return to the mills and earn money for rent he will take out the windows and evict every one.

Under such conditions it is not to be wondered at that the infant mortality of Lawrence is 400 in 1,000. That is a death rate that is tantamount to murder—the murder of the innocents.

The low wages destroy what is generally known as family life. Women—wives and daughters—work in the mills, and children enter them the moment they are over fourteen if they cannot be smuggled in before. The joy of rational life is impossible.

Looking over the state of Massachusetts and seeing something of these conditions with uncomprehending eyes, certain well-intentioned citizens known as reformers, after infinite pains and much pulling of many wires induced the legislature of the State to enact a law reducing hours of labor for women and children in the mills from 56 to 54 a week, the law going into effect January 1 of this year.

As has been done in practically every other State under similar conditions, the bosses availed themselves of the opportunity to cut down wages already at starvation point. And as men could not work unless the women and children worked also, wages for all mill workers were cut.

The cut amounted to about 26 cents. Against this the Industrial Workers of the World sent a committee on January 6 to protest. They were turned down at several of the mills when they asked that wages remain the same, and at one mill the committee was literally thrown down the office stairs.

The cut was a deliberate theft. When

the 54 hour week went into effect orders were given to have the machines speeded up. One tooth was dropped from the main driving gear of the looms, increasing the number of picks by 45 an hour. The result was that the production was actually greater after the shorter hours than before, while wages were cut.

Anger was intense throughout the mills, and when on January 12 the pay envelopes of thirty weavers in the Washington mills were withheld without explanation the signal for revolt was given, and the entire mill struck, the workers parading the streets.

The parade went on to the Lower Pacific mill, which struck with the Washington mill workers. The next day, January 13, some 8,000 workers were on strike, parading the mill districts and holding mass meetings. January 14, while the strikers were parading past the Pacific mill, water from firemen's hose was turned on them. This assault on parading strikers, made when the temperature was below zero, enraged the men and women and together they rushed the mill gates, entered the workrooms, demolished a few looms and induced the workers to quit with them. By January 14, the evening meetings were attended by some 25,000 strikers, all the other mills having struck in support of the original strikers. The strike in the Lawrence mills was general.

From the moment the Jewish and Italian workers went out, the I. W. W. took control of the strike, and subsequent developments make it necessary to state the position of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. in the city.

The textile workers of New England have been systematically betrayed by the A. F. of L. officials for years past. Beginning with the strike in New Bedford in 1898, when the bosses closed down the mills for twelve weeks, the National Secretary of the Textile Workers Union, Ross, used the situation to make political capital for his personal ends, and succeeded in making his way into the Massachusetts Senate, of which he is still a leading light. After twelve weeks the mills opened, and two weeks after the workers had gone back after terrible suffering and had gained nothing.

The next big massacre was in Fall River in 1904, when the bosses found their warehouses glutted with goods they could not get an overloaded market to take. A strike was the most opportune thing in the world for them, and for certain politicians. And a strike was called that also lasted for several months and became known throughout the State as the "hunger strike." John Golden was the moving spirit in this deal, and secured the aid of the Salvation Army and other charitable agencies to care for the starving workers.

This was the time when the Socialist Party had two members in the State legislature, several Mayors and other office holders, and everything pointed to a sweeping victory for the Socialist candidates in the elections that were drawing near. But John Golden and his A. F. of L. friends had other destinies for Massachusetts, and Golden, J. J. Driscoll of the Horseshoers Union, J. D. Pierce of the Cigar Makers Union, Jim Tracey, also of the Cigar Makers, and John F. Tobin of the Shoe Makers, together with some others, formed what they called a "flying wedge." These men went around the State speaking in behalf of Douglas, a millionaire shoe factory owner, Democratic candidate for Governor, who was running with the avowed object of settling the Fall River "strike," the understanding being that it was to be arbitrated and that justice would be accorded the workers.

The Socialists went down in disaster, and Douglas was elected. Douglas then fixed things with Golden so that the strikers of the Fall River mills went back to work for thirty days, pending the arbitration of the dispute. The arbitration board was appointed by the new governor, and the mill owners presented figures, based on their watered stock, that showed they had made no profits. These juggled figures were generously accepted, and the award of the arbitrators was that wages would have to be cut from 15 to 18 per cent. To this proposal Golden agreed, and the massacre was complete.

Meantime the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had formed a strong local in Lawrence in 1899. In 1900 came the split in the Socialist Labor



—Photo taken expressly for *The Review*.  
A REGULAR MORNING SESSION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE AT FRANCO-BELGIAN HALL. TWENTY NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED. HUNDREDS ATTENDED THESE MEETINGS.

Party, and that was reflected in the S. T. and L. A., which was rent asunder. Fragments of the organization remained in existence until in Sept., 1905, the I. W. W. formed a local in the city, and the older organization merged with it. The first I. W. W. local was mixed, containing representatives of all nationalities, until in 1907 a Franco-Belgian local was formed. The membership grew slowly but steadily, and in April, 1911, an Italian local was formed, and in October of the same year the Cloth Weavers' Union, until then independent, merged with the I. W. W. When the strike broke out the membership numbered a few hundred.

At this writing the membership totals upwards of 12,000, and the various nationalities are organized into their respective language branches.

On January 11, anticipating some difficulty on pay day, the Secretary of Local 20, I. W. W. wired to Joseph J. Ettor, member of the National Executive Board, who was then in New York City, to go to Lawrence. He left the next afternoon, and arrived on the night of January 12.

Plans were then laid for the conduct of the strike. A general strike committee was formed that met daily, each nationality on strike being represented on it by three delegates. In addition there

were three representatives each from the perchers, menders and burlers, the warp dressers, Kunhardt's mill, the Oswoco mill, the paper mill, the workers in which had struck in sympathy with the textile workers and presented similar demands, and from time to time other sections were represented that were gradually merged as occasion demanded. The general strike committee thus numbered 56 men and women, all of them mill workers.

The first work of the committee was to devise means for carrying on the fight and caring for the strikers. There were no funds when the strike was declared, but in a week or ten days money began to dribble in from surrounding New England towns, and as the strike continued contributions came in from every State in the Union, from all parts of Canada and even from England.

The money in the shape of strike pay would not have lasted a week, but this battle was conducted on a different basis from former fights. Each nationality opened relief stations and soup kitchens, and was responsible for the care of its own people. The Franco-Belgians had had a co-operative in operation long before the strike, and food purchases were made through its machinery. Money was paid over to the various national committees as it became necessary by the

general finance committee, with Joseph Bedard as Financial Secretary. With this money the purchasing committee bought goods, and the national committees took their portion.

Meals were provided twice a day at the various stations for the strikers who needed them, and in this manner the Franco-Belgian station at the Mason street headquarters provided 1,850 meals twice daily, the Italians 3,500, the Syrians 1,200, Lithuanians 1,200, the Poles 1,000. and soon, the Germans took care of 150 families and several hundred single workers.

In addition to money, contributions of clothing of all sorts were forwarded to the city, and in particular the Syrians and Poles throughout the country rushed to the support of the strikers with carloads of food, quantities coming from as far west as Chicago.

It was currently reported that the strikers were starving. As a matter of fact no striker starved during the strike, and the vast majority of them were actually better cared for in the way of food and clothes during the strike than they were able to care for themselves while working in the mills.

Before leaving the matter of finance it is interesting to note that the experience with the A. F. of L. methods has led everybody to look for graft and plunder in labor union funds. This attitude in many quarters was the inevitable legacy that the I. W. W. had to inherit, and demands for a strict accounting soon began to come in from various quarters, and from many people, whether they were entitled to know or not.



ON THE WAY HOME FROM A STRIKERS' RELIEF STATION.

Such demands were not granted save to those who were entitled to know. The condition of the war chest was a matter of supreme interest to the bosses, and had to be kept from them. Efforts were made to find out, and Judge Leveroni of Boston, without a shadow of right, demanded an investigation. When the judge's action became known, contributions were accompanied with requests from hundreds of contributors that no information on the subject be published until after the strike and then only to contributors.

The funds have been contributed mainly by Socialists, who sent about



ONE OF THE MANY RELIEF STATIONS.

\$40,000, I. W. W. locals and others, about \$16,000, and A. F. of L. local unions about \$11,000, the last named contributing despite the bitter official antagonism of the A. F. of L.

The conduct of the strike and the policy pursued rested in the hands of the general strike committee. At the outset all meetings of the committee were public and were maintained public throughout. There was no secrecy, and no plotting. The city was filled with Pinkerton, Burns and Callahan agents, and they found nothing to do. They attended the strike committee meetings, as did any other individual who was interested in the proceedings. The completest democracy was maintained, delegates reporting on matters concerning their own section. The reports would go something like this:

"Lettish is all right. Same now as before. Have few scabs, others stand firm till strike settle."

"Jews have a few scabs, but they were born scabs. Can't get them out, but all others firm."

"Franco-Belgian have some scabs Two Portugese fellows working in weave room of Pacific. Then French fellows get in and make another strike and scabs chased out. Franco-Belgians all stand together."

Reports would be speedily acted upon, and then came reports of special committees, correspondence, unfinished business and good and well fare. The meetings were most inspiring and enthusiastic. Unity of purpose prevailed, and there was at no time the faintest suggestion of national feeling.

Usually the proceedings finished with the singing of the Internationale and cheers for the strike and the I. W. W.

The committee was presided over by Ettor until he was jailed, and from then on by Haywood, William Yates acting on the occasions when Haywood was



—American Press Assn.  
WORKING CLASS DOLLARS SAVED THE CHILDREN FROM GOING HUNGRY.

away from the city addressing meetings and getting funds. The committee met at 10 or 10:30 a. m. From 5 to 7 a. m. the strikers were out on the line, and a new method of picketing was evolved.

Soldiers' bayonets and policemen's clubs had been used from the first to prevent picketing, and the necessity produced what came to be known as the "endless chain." All the mills but one, the Arlington, lay on the east side of Essex street, and this side of the street was barred to pickets absolutely. But the scabs had to come down streets leading into Essex street, and on the West side from 5,000 to 20,000 pickets massed every morning during the strike.

No one was allowed to stand still for a moment, so the thousands of pickets moved ceaselessly up and down Essex street and Broadway, on the South side of which was the big Arlington mill. It was an endless chain. The sidewalk was black with pickets, each wearing the I. W. W. badge or button, and a label, consisting of pasteboard attached to a piece of scarlet cloth, bearing the words "Don't be a scab," or "I am not a scab."

One of the most prominent figures in the picket line was Mrs. Annie Welzenbach, a young woman known throughout the city as being the most highly paid worker in the mills, earning \$20 a week.



ARRESTING A PICKET.

Everyone knew her, and her slogan every day during the strike was "Get out on the picket line." She and her two sisters were dragged from their beds one night and thrown into jail.

Another well known picket was Josephine Liss, who testified in Washington as follows:

"Did you ever have any trouble with a soldier?" asked the chairman.

"I certainly did," was the reply.

"Well, tell us about it in your own way," said the chairman.

"I was out walking one Sunday morning," said Miss Liss. "When I got near my home a soldier stopped me and told me to turn back. I refused to do so. He caught me by the arm and swore at me horribly. I struggled with him and he dropped his gun. I struck him in the face with my muff.

"Several policemen and militiamen came up then. One of the policemen asked me my name and I refused to give it. I felt I had been insulted. The policemen said he had seen me at court during the trial of Mr. Ettor. When I went to court the next day I was arrested."

"What for?" asked Representative Stanley of Kentucky.

"For assaulting a soldier," said Miss Liss, and her reply caused a ripple of laughter.

"When I was arrested I refused to pay the fine of \$10 and appealed the case. They reduced my bail to \$2."

Threats were repeatedly made against Haywood, Yates, Trautman, Francis Miller and others, culminating in a murderous assault on James P. Thompson, when three thugs entered his bedroom, cut open his head with blackjacks, and fired at him three times. This outrage the police refused to investigate.

On the same day that Thompson was slugged State Police Inspector Flynn attempted to provoke Haywood, who was



ANNIE WELZENBACH  
ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN WHO MET THE MILL OWNERS IN BOSTON.

talking to Thompson as he lay in bed in the Needham Hotel. Flynn, accompanied by half a dozen strong arm men came into the room, and on seeing Haywood thrust his face close to his and menaced him with his fist, saying:

"Mr. Haywood, I hear you have been talking about me in your speeches. Just you understand that I won't have you talking about me and take notice that anything you have to say must be said to my face. Do you hear?"

Haywood was wise to the game, and fortunately for Flynn and for some of his bulls controlled his temper and the episode closed.

An indication of the stress under which everybody worked, and the hourly expectation of arrest, is afforded in the action of the general strike committee after Ettor's arrest, when at Haywood's suggestion a duplicate committee was elected on the same basis of representation, the duplicate committee being present at all meetings and learning the routine and progress of the strike. This plan also brought a larger number of strikers in direct touch with the work at

the central headquarters. There is little doubt that this action went far to checking the police in arresting strike leaders.

At the same time the funds were withdrawn from the banks, only enough being deposited to provide for two or three days ahead at any one time, the rest being distributed where it could be easily secured but out of reach of a court injunction, which was also hourly expected.

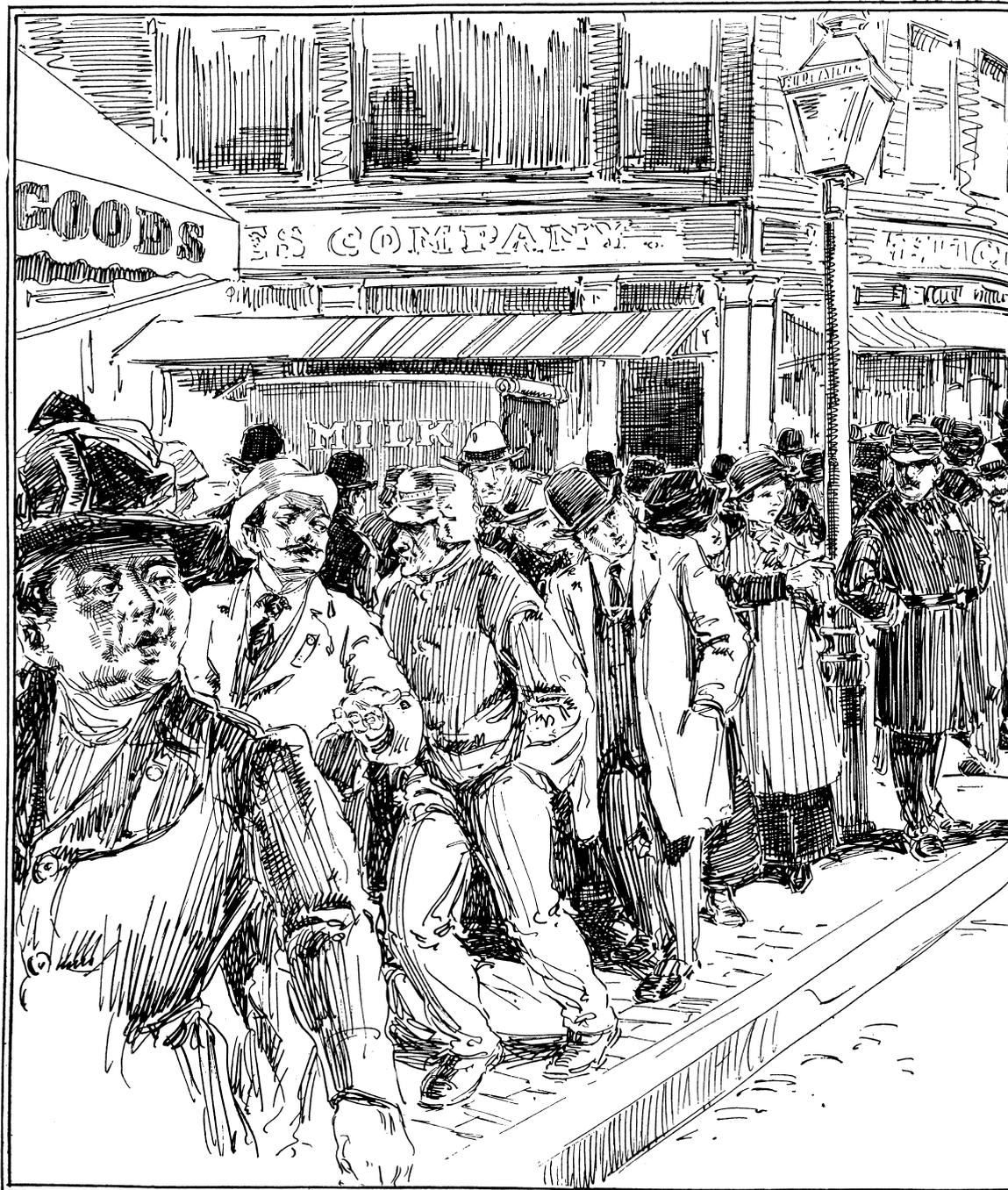
Brute force was not, however, the only weapon used by the bosses to try to crush the workers. They had allied with them the A. F. of L., the Catholic church and the Civic Federation—a very holy trinity!

Two days after the strike was called John Golden, a member of the Militia of Christ, wired Mayor Scanlon, who had called for militia, asking whether he could be of any assistance to the authorities in suppressing the "rabble," which he described as anarchistic. Golden and the Lawrence Central Labor Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., joined in praising the authorities for importing soldiers, and declared that their presence was necessary for "the preservation of order." Neither by word nor deed did Golden or the C. L. U. condemn the authorities or their tools for the barbarities and atrocities committed. Vice President Ramsden of the C. L. U., whose two daughters were scabbing in the Arlington mill, when interviewed by the writer was loud in his praises of the militia and the authorities, referred to the I. W. W. as an anarchistic organization that fomented violence and lawlessness, and declared it should be suppressed. He asserted that there was no strike and no organization—only a rabble. When he was asked about the dynamite plot engineered by the bosses through their tool John J. Breen, he naturally refused to comment.

Golden publicly declared that the program of the I. W. W. had acted very much to the advantage of the Textile Workers Union, as it was bringing the latter in closer touch with the mill owners, who understood that it would be more to their interests to deal with the organization, he, Golden, represented



JOSEPHINE LISS.



5,000 to 20,000 STRIKERS FORMED THE ENDLESS CHAIN PICKET LINE

rather than with the revolutionary and uncompromising I. W. W.

After having wired, proffering his assistance to the chief of police, Golden got busy in other directions. The mule spinners, numbering according to their own officials, some 180 men, were the only

body organized in Lawrence that was affiliated with the A. F. of L. Golden's union did not have a single member in the whole city. Nevertheless he, in conjunction with Joe R. Menzie, president of the C. L. U., issued circulars to all C. L. U. bodies asking for funds to aid



EVERY MORNING FROM 5 TO 7:30 A. M., RAIN OR SHINE.

the strike and expressly asking them not to send assistance to the I. W. W.

Then the C. L. U. opened a separate fund. So, too, did Father Melasino, and a man by the name of Shepherd appeared on the scene with some sort of free lunch counter, also appealing for funds.

These various appeals for financial assistance, all made in the name of the strikers of Lawrence, and all calculated to injure the I. W. W. succeeded in diverting large sums of money, the C. L. U. benefiting largely at the expense of the I. W. W. Several times committees

Sturges  
Lawrence.

—Boston Globe.

from the I. W. W. went to the C. L. U. with evidence that money had been misdirected, but restitution was invariably refused.

Here it may be said that in the seventh week of the strike the C. L. U. strike relief station was practically suspended, applicants being told that the strike was off and that they should return to the mills.

Golden's next move was to endeavor to organize rival labor unions based on the many crafts in the mills. For several days strenuous attempts were made to divide the workers in the old, old way. Meetings were called by Golden and Menzie, a great deal of money was spent on so-called organizing which had been contributed to the relief funds, and every effort was made to break the solidarity of the workers and get them to return piecemeal.

These efforts failed, the only result being that when the bosses made an offer of five per cent increase over the cut rates—equivalent to an increase of one and one-eighth per cent—a handfull of double-dyed scabs whom Golden had secured to do his work went into the mills.

Golden has shown himself in this fight in his true light, and all the world knows him for a traitor to the working class, and his craft unions are a thing of the past. What Golden did was merely in accord with the policy and doings of the official A. F. of L., and many of the rank and file of the Federation have already woke up to the game of their alleged leaders.

The Ironmolders' Union that was affiliated with the Lawrence C. L. U. denounced in a resolution the doings of Golden and his gang and withdrew their affiliation. A motion denouncing Golden and his tactics was lost in the Boston Central Labor Union by a vote of 18 to 16. The Central Federated Union of New York City, one of the slimiest haunts of the professional labor crooks in America, even passed a resolution virtually telling Golden to keep his hands off. The Philadelphia Textile Workers' Union, which had received the Golden appeal, reprinted the I. W. W. appeal for funds and sent several thousand dollars to the I. W. W. war chest.

The latest development in Philadelphia is that 2,000 textile workers have requested I. W. W. organizers to go there and organize a local. All over the country local A. F. of L. unions have denounced Golden and his official friends, and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. has gone on record solidly in favor of their class and against their officials.

Before the strike few of the so-called skilled workers in Lawrence were organized, there being only, in addition to the mule spinners, small independent unions of the loom fixers, wool sorters and warp dressers. None of the mechanical crafts were organized, but within a week after the strike started the bosses called for the officials of various unions, had their employes organized and advanced wages five per cent. Among the gallant band of labor leaders who rushed to the aid of the bosses was Tim Healy, who organized the Stationary Engineers. All the mechanical crafts, including engineers, firemen, electrical workers, machinists and railroaders were "organized" and remained at work, scabbing on their fellows with the full sanction and express approval of their officials.

Allied with the official A. F. of L. was the Civic Federation, which seized the opportunity to pass resolutions endorsing and approving of their good friends and allies the American Federation of Labor.

And there was the Catholic Church. The moving spirit in Lawrence is Father O'Reilly, and he preached from the pulpit against Socialism, Industrial Unionism, and the I. W. W. He went further, and informed his congregation, all of them mill workers, that there was no need for them to go into the mills at 6:45. The bosses, he explained, would be just as pleased to see them at 9 o'clock, and by that means they need not pass the pickets. City Marshal Sullivan, before he stopped the children from leaving the city, consulted three priests, of whom O'Reilly was one.

But the Church, after all, was able to do very little, for the strikers realized that it was not a matter of religion but of bread. The Syrians demanded that their priest allow them the use of the church for their strike meetings, and were at first turned down. When the

priest was given to understand that if the request was not granted support would be withheld from him, he had a change of heart, and the Syrians met thereafter in the church, speakers with their backs to the altar telling of the class war.

The same thing happened with the Lithuanians, the Jews and the Polish. There are two synagogues in Lawrence, and when the request was refused at one synagogue the strikers threatened to withdraw and go to the other temple, their request being immediately granted.

Despite all these efforts to weaken the strikers and undermine their solidarity, they have stood shoulder to shoulder, all races and all religions, presenting a spectacle that has inspired the workers of the world with new hope and given the world a new ideal. And it is this solidarity, that has been the keynote of the strike, and has been rendered possible solely by the method of organization pursued by the Industrial Workers of the World, that has maddened the mill bosses and priests and politicians throughout the country.

This solidarity found its most dramatic and highest expression in the sending of the children of Lawrence to other cities to be cared for there by members of the working class. It was because the bosses of America feared the effect of this demonstration that every constitutional and human right was outraged in Lawrence when children who were going to Philadelphia were seized by the police, supported by the militia, and together with their mothers, clubbed and beaten, thrown into patrol wagons and put into prison.

Two of the women who were thus seized at the station were pregnant, and the brutal treatment they experienced has caused both to suffer miscarriages. One little girl was beaten in the face, and her nervous system so shattered that she could get no sleep and cried out at the slightest sound day and night. She has had to be sent to relatives in Wakefield to be nursed back to health if that is possible.

This monstrous outrage occurred twice, and it was in this connection that the women entered the ranks of the strik-

ers and fought shoulder to shoulder with the men. They were called into action by a little Italian woman, an exquisitely beautiful woman, with a face like a Madonna. She had come to a Polish meeting with three companies, and Haywood, who was to address the meeting, lifted her on to a table and she spoke in broken English, saying:

"Men, woman: I come speak to you. I been speaking to others. Just now tomorrow morning all women come see me half past four at Syrian church. Tonight no sleep. You meet me at half past four, not sleep tonight.

"You all come with me. We go tell folks no go to work. Men all stay home, all men and boys stay home. Just now all woman and girl come with me. Soldier he hurt men. Soldier he no hurt woman. He no hurt me. Me got big belly. She too," pointing to one of her friends, "she got big belly too. Soldier no hurt me.

"Soldier he got mother. We tell all people no go work, no go work till we get more money. Just now stay on strike, Everybody half past four tomorrow morning come Syrian church. All right. Good bye."

As Haywood lifted her from the table a scene of the wildest enthusiasm ensued in the packed hall, containing over 1,500 strikers. Men and women were in tears. Tears were streaming down the woman's face, down Haywood's face, down the face of everybody in the room. The woman kissed Haywood's hands while Haywood kissed hers, and had to leave the hall without giving his speech.

"Soldier no hurt me. Soldier he got mother," the woman had said. But the soldiers did hurt women and little children, too. They and the police clubbed and punched, and women and children were outraged in Lawrence as they would be in no other country but Russia. The evidence given before the Congressional Committee that Socialist Representative Victor L. Berger had appointed showed that literally Russian methods had been used in Lawrence.

The strike has thrown a glaring light upon Schedule K. It has astonished millions of people, who until it came had had no idea that hundreds of thousands

of workers in America were earning starvation wages. It broke into legislatures, and forced District Attorneys, Governors and even President Taft to take ponderous action. It was the cause of investigations by the Department of Justice, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by the Department of Labor and Commerce, which has five men still at work under Commissioner Charles P. Neill.

During the Congressional investigation at Washington, Commissioner of Safety Lynch of Lawrence admitted that he did not know the laws of the State of Massachusetts, and could cite no authority under which he had acted in preventing children leaving for other cities where they would be cared for until the strike was ended.

Police Chief Sullivan, who himself struck women at the station, deliberately lied before the committee, declaring that no woman was clubbed by the police. Every city official who testified gave false witness, and one after the other they

were excused and laughed at by all America.

The fact that seemed most to impress the committeemen during the investigation was that the children who had been taken to New York City from Lawrence had no underclothing. Representative Stanley expressed amazement as this fact was brought out by Margaret Sanger, who had gone to Lawrence to bring the children to New York, and asked whether it could be a fact that textile workers had not enough clothes to keep them warm in winter. Then he wanted to know whether their outer garments were woolen, and learned that though they worked in the woolen mills they did not wear woolen clothes.

During the investigation John Golden and Samuel Gompers both testified and both attacked the I. W. W. and the men in control of the strike. Both men left the witness stand discredited and disgraced.

Speaking of the part Berger took. Haywood said in the course of his re-



"ON DUTY" FOR THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

—American Press Assn.

port to the general strike committee on his return from Washington:

"Berger worked night and day on the strike situation, and, while he is a member of the American Federation of Labor, his castigation of Golden and Gompers was quite as strong as any delivered by any member of the I. W. W. Though in the past there has been bitter acrimony between the industrial Socialists and those whose leanings were strongly political, both factions—if they may so be referred to—have worked shoulder to shoulder in presenting the facts to the world and in assisting the Lawrence textile workers to win their fight."

And the Massachusetts State Legislature was also stirred. Socialist Representative Morrill tried in vain to force an official investigation. Other attempts were made, but the power of the mill owners in the legislature was too great. All that was done was that an informal committee went to Lawrence, made some inquiries, and reported that the most feasible plan for the mill owners to do was to recognize and negotiate with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Instantly John Golden, in company with his friends Judge J. J. Mahoney, who had conducted one of the most biased courts against the strikers on record in America juridical history, and J. R. Menzie, president of the Lawrence C. L. U., entered a formal protest against such respectable citizens as the mill bosses having anything to do with anarchistic law breakers.

But the economic power of the workers organized by the I. W. W. was too great for all combinations that were pitted against them. In the eighth week of the strike the bosses made an offer of five per cent wage increase. The A. F. of L. scabs accepted it and went back. The I. W. W. strikers turned it down flat. The offer was made on a Thursday, and it was hoped that thousands of strikers would break ranks and stampede to the mills on the following Monday. When the mills opened they had actually fewer scabs, and looked out on a picket line numbering upwards of twenty thousand.

At the end of the following week the bosses discovered they meant an average

increase of seven, and later seven and a half per cent, and that they would amend the premium system, paying fortnightly instead of by the month as had been the practice, resulting in the loss to a large part of the workers of the entire premium. Again on the following Monday the mills had still fewer scabs, and the picket line was stronger than ever.

When the Committee of Ten left for Boston on March 11th, for the fourth and final round with the bosses, every one realized that the crisis had been reached. Led by the indomitable Riley the Committee forced the mill owners to yield point by point until the final surrender was signed by the American Woolen Company.

The Committee reported at ten o'clock at Franco-Belgian Hall the next day. The headquarters were packed and hundreds stood on the outside. Words are weak when it comes to describing the scenes which took place when the full significance of the report became known. For the workers, united in battle for the first time in the history of Lawrence, had won. The mill owners had surrendered—completely surrendered.

A great silence fell upon the gathering when Haywood arose and announced that he would make the report for the sub-committee in the temporary absence of Chairman Riley. He began by stating that tomorrow each individual striker would have a voice in deciding whether the offers made should be accepted. He said:

#### Report of Committee.

"The committee of 10 reported in brief that the workers will receive a 5 per cent increase for the higher paid departments and 25 per cent for the lower paid departments. There will be time and a quarter overtime and the premium system has been modified so that its worst features are eliminated.

"Your strike committee has indorsed this report and has selected a committee to see all the other mill owners who will be asked to meet the wage schedule offered by the American Woolen Company. In the event that the other mills do not accede to the demands, the strike on those mills will be enforced.

"You have won a victory for over



HOLLIDAY (Weaver)      BORN (Finisher)      SMITH (Percher)      ADAMSON (Dresser)  
 GANINITTI (Comber)      BIANKOSKY (Comber)      BEDARD (Fin. Secty.)      WELZENBACH (Mender)      ED RILEY, Chairman (Percher)

THE COMMITTEE OF TEN WHICH MET THE MILL BOSSES—AND WON. JOE ETTOR WAS THE TENTH MEMBER.

250,000 other textile workers, which means an aggregate of many millions of dollars each year for the working class in New England. Now if you hope to hold what you have gained you must maintain and uphold the Industrial Workers of the World, which means yourselves."

Continuing, Haywood said: "These are the terms submitted by the American Woolen Company through the sub-committee to the strike committee. Your strike committee has endorsed this report and the terms. Your committee has selected a committee from all of the other mills to work in conjunction with the subcommittee and proceed at once to demand the same terms as the American Woolen Company has granted.

"In the event of the other mills not conceding these the strike in these mills will be continued. I believe, however, that they will agree as some of the mills have signified their intention of meeting any raise that was offered. You understand that these mills want their old employes back, and were so anxious to get you that they wanted you to go into the mills this morning. This strike is not yet settled. The delegates will report to

their different nationalities in separate mass meetings between now and tomorrow.

"A committee has been appointed to arrange a mass meeting on the Common to be held tomorrow morning at the earliest possible hour (cheers) when the entire matter will be submitted to the vote of all the strikers.

"This is the first time in the history of the labor movement in America that a strike has been conducted as you have carried on this one. This strike since its very inception has been in the hands of the strikers. To expedite business you have reduced yourselves to a committee of 56. Conferences have been held by a subcommittee of 10, which could settle nothing, but must report back to the full committee.

"I want to say further to you, that the strikers of Lawrence have won the most signal victory of any organized body of workers in the world. (Cheers.) You have demonstrated, as has been shown nowhere else, the common interest of the working class in bringing all nationalities together.

"You have won a small increase for yourselves and you have gained an ad-

vance in wages for more than 250,000 operatives. This victory you have won means in the aggregate the distribution of many millions of dollars among the working class. If you hope to hold what you have gained it is necessary for you to maintain your organization. You must uphold the Industrial Workers of the World, which means yourselves. You are the heart and soul of the working class. No one can do things for you. You must do these things for yourselves.

"Everything for your uplift rests in your hands. Single handed you are helpless, but united you can win everything. You have won the concessions over the united powers of the municipal, county, State and National administrations. You have won against the combined forces of the capitalists. You have won in face of the armed force. Detectives and secret service men have not been able to whip you back into the mills. You have won in face of a partial court and in the face of that new form of government known as injunction. You have won by massing your brain and muscle and withholding your labor from the bosses.

"No one can point to any striker and say that he committed any violence. Your hearts and your hands have been clean and your consciences must be clear of any indictment. This is not the last fight that you will be called upon to engage in; this is the first step in the march of progress."

Great applause lasting several minutes, followed the close of Haywood's speech. Then, amid shouts and cheers for victory, labor songs were sung.

Not one of the 20,000 persons present will ever forget the wonderful mass meeting held on the Commons on March 14th when the strikers voted to accept the surrender of the bosses. As each nationality reported a volley of cheers arose as hundreds of hands were lifted high.

Then came the vote on the time for return to work. The Committee proposed Friday morning but this was voted down and when Chairman Bill Haywood put the question "Shall all go back to work on Monday morning?" thousands of hands arose in a unanimous vote which settled the question.

The Red Flag was waved from the speaker's stand and thousands of voices broke into:

"Then raise the scarlet standard high,  
Within its shade we'll live and die.  
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
We'll keep the red flag flying here!"

The committee received authoritative assurance of the early release of Ettore and Giovannitti otherwise not a man, woman or child would have voted to go back to work.

Following are the notices to be posted in each room of the American Woolen Company's mills, and to be printed in all the languages of the workers:

"To the Employes of the — Mill.

"On Friday next, March 15, wages will be paid under a notice posted March 1, and the advance in wages will be in accordance with the following schedule:

"All employes formerly receiving 9½ cents per hour, an increase of 2 cents per hour (25 per cent raise).

"Those receiving more than 9½ and less than 10 cents, 1¾ cents advance (21 per cent raise).

"More than 10 and less than 11, 1½ cents (15 per cent raise).

"More than 11 and less than 12 cents, 1¼ cents advance (11 per cent raise).

"More than 12 cents and less than 20, 1 cent (8.3 to 5.5 per cent raise).

"Those receiving 20 cents or more, 1 cent (5 per cent raise).

"All job work to receive an advance of 5 per cent flat.

"American Woolen Company,  
Mill Agent."

"NOTICE."

"The premium being already adjusted to a 54-hour basis, it will be readily seen that the increase of 5 per cent in the wage list is that much to the advantage of the weaver in more easily acquiring the premium.

"Premiums will be given out every two weeks instead of as heretofore, every four weeks.

"Time and one-quarter will be paid for overtime.

"No discrimination against any one."

The strike in Lawrence has had far-reaching effects. As a direct result of the fight wages in practically every mill

in New England have been increased. In Lowell, when the I. W. W. sent organizers into the city, the bosses rushed to give their workers an increase of five per cent.

"Already substantial increases in their wages have been accorded to workers in

	Number of employes
Fall River .....	25,000
Nashua .....	3,500
Chicopee .....	1,800
Waltham .....	1,500
Holyoke .....	1,400
Salmon Falls, N. H.....	800
North Adams .....	600
Greenville, N. H.....	400
Worcester .....	300

And many other cities."

The increase in wages in no case falls below 5 per cent. For the lowest class of workers, it will range from 15 to 25 per cent.

#### To Cost Mills \$5,000,000.

When business is in first-class condition there are about 300,000 textile operatives in New England. It is estimated that the general advance of from 5 to 7 per cent, will cost the 1,500 textile manufacturers \$5,000,000 a year.

As Comrade Haywood says: "The place to stab the boss is in his pocket-book."

As a result of the strike inaugurated by the Industrial Workers of the World, and the wonderful solidarity of the workers of Lawrence, a quarter of a million workers have received wage increases. A million men, women and children are better off and have more of the comforts of life due directly to the work of the I. W. W.

And an even more important thing, about which little or nothing has found its way in the capitalist press, is the fact that a new chapter has opened in the history of New England and the United States. For the first time in history the cotton and wooden kings have been defeated in pitched battle, and they have been defeated by the despised "unskilled worker"—the "foreigner." For the first time in America a method of organizing men and women of twenty different nationalities and leading them to victory has been found.

When Big Bill Haywood declared that the workers are going to make this a world worth living in, a tremendous cheer went up from twenty thousand workers in Lawrence who understood his meaning and realized their power. The battle of Lawrence is the death knell of craft union organization, and the herald of the formation of the workers into One Big Union.

But the fight is not over, and will not terminate until the other mills come to terms and the 63 men and 20 women now in jail are set free.

"While the strikers have won the fight they are not going to forget the outrages that have been perpetrated upon them. The cases are going to be prosecuted, and the officials will be sent to jail if that is possible. Civil and criminal actions will be brought by the injured strikers. Damages will be sued for and claims made against the state for every outrage or injury perpetrated by the minions of the law."

The Battle of Lawrence is but one engagement. The Big Fight has just begun.



—Photo by L. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.  
JOSEPHINE LISS AND YOUNG STRIKERS IN WASHINGTON.

## Before Congress

BY

ELLEN WETHERELL

THE white marble room, where but yesterday the United States Steel Trust met in a "Heart to Heart" talk with the United States Congress, had been thrown open to the people. The soft, yellow light from the cut glass chandeliers diffused a warm glow over the eager faces of the little children who had come from the mills of Lawrence to appeal to the United States Congress for Justice.

It is a cosmopolitan audience that greets the Strikers. Friends of Labor are here, side by side with the enemy of the working class. Coming in by twos and threes, their feet making no sound on the thick, velvet pile of the green carpet, the people gather for the first time in the history of the nation at a Congressional Hearing,—Striking Mill Slaves versus the American Capitalist.

Red badges with the words "Do not be a scab" flame prophetically from the breasts of the little children. Men of the camera crowd to the front, their ma-

chines raised high for action; the President of the A. F. of L., with his inevitable cigar held jauntily between his lips, moves quickly to a seat beside the Labor Representative from Pennsylvania; Mr. Wilson's face wears a troubled look; things are not going his way.

At the rear, the husband of Alice Roosevelt Longworth stands, his broadcloth shoulder touching the ragged sleeve of a negro. There are women here from the most "select" circles of Washington, and there are women from the humblest vocations whose hands are rough and reddened by years of toil. Men of the Red Race, stalwart Crowes, one wearing the typical blanket of his tribe, look on unmoved. Men of the press are in their seats, a goodly number.

The witnesses for the prosecution are pressing to the front, their alert, intelligent faces aglow with the spirit of the truth that they are about to speak. The defense, citizens of Lawrence, sit at the right of the Committee, men of mature

years who are here to testify in behalf of the class that denies the right to live to men and women and little children of the working class. Victor Berger, his ruddy, mobile countenance aglow for the Cause he champions, moves uneasily; Mrs. Berger takes a seat by his side; close to them sits the grandson of old Ben Butler, Rep. Butler Ames of Massachusetts, who is counsel for the defense. There is a stir as a place on the platform is made for the "First lady of the land," Mrs. Taft,—her face is impassive and bears no look of interest in the scene.

Now enter the nine gentlemen of the Committee; cigars pass freely among them, the tobacco smoke curls gracefully up obscuring the white frescoes. The hour has arrived for the Hearing to be-

gin; Victor Berger is impatient and moves quickly to the front of the desk. A telegram has been received from the Strike Leader, *William D. Haywood*, saying that two of the women beaten by the police are in the hospital too ill to appear as witnesses.

The children are being arranged before the cameras to be photographed; the Chairman of the Committee leans forward, there is a sharp rap from the gavel on the rosewood; "Gentlemen," cries Berger, "just a moment, Gentlemen," a moment of intense silence, the photographer nods his head, "all right," the little children step back into their seats, and the Chairman of the Committee calls, "The Hearing is now open."

### Flashes From "The Hearing."

"I do not care for a general investigation by the labor committee that will be dominated by Samuel Gompers," shouted Representative Berger.

\* \* \* \* \*

Perhaps the star child witness thus far has been Camella Teoli, a 14-year-old girl, who had been employed "twisting." She said she is now a little over 14 years old, and that before she reached 14 a man had come to her father's house and suggested that she be put to work in the mill. When her parents objected on account of her age, she said the man offered to secure a certificate to the effect that she was 14, and therefore of legal age, upon payment of \$4.

The money was paid, she said, and the certificate was delivered next day. She then went to work at the mill. Later, when it was discovered that she was not of legal age, inquiry was made, but nothing resulted. She said she did not know the name of the man who proposed the certificate to her father.

Asked if she had ever been injured in the mill, she replied: "My scalp was pulled off in a machine. I was in a hospital seven months. The company paid the bills, but not my wages, during that time. My scalp is still under treatment, although I am back at work in the Wood mill, receiving \$6.55 per week, almost. I am a striker because I do not get enough to eat at home.

# The Tainted Shoe Label

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

FOR some time it has been the fond delusion of members of the Socialist party and sympathizers in general that they are doing a real service to the labor movement in buying only shoes that bear the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

As a matter of fact any person who yields to the well-advertised cry of "Patronize the Label" in the case of the Boot and Shoe Workers, which is virtually the privately owned organization of one John F. Tobin, merely gets himself "played for a sucker" and plays directly into the hands of notorious enemies of the working class.

Of all the unions in the American Federation of Labor the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is perhaps the rottenest and most corrupt. It is owned, body and soul, boot and breeches, by the bosses and a little gang of union officials who fatten off their helpless membership.

John F. Tobin, president of the union, and his little coterie of lieutenants, make use of the union shoe stamp merely as a thing for barter and sale and as a means of enslaving the workers and tying them tight to the bosses' machines.

The union shoe label is one of the rankest frauds ever put over on an innocent and unsuspecting public. How and why will be shown herein.

For five months a devoted little band of about 200 shoe workers have been on strike in the city of Cincinnati against a reduction in pay. They have stood solid without a break in their ranks for 20 weeks. They would have won their de-

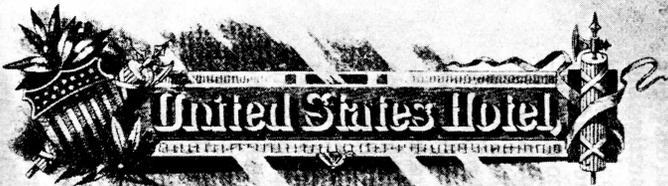
mands long ago but for the fact that their places have been filled in large part by STRIKEBREAKERS FURNISHED BY OFFICIALS OF THE BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION.

The strikers are members of the United Shoe Workers of America, a seceding organization formed by those who could no longer stand being preyed upon by their officials. In the face of starvation, injunctions, intimidation and attempted bribery they have stood firm without a single desertion, held together by the knowledge that they are fighting a battle for the good of their class.

The man who has done most in an attempt to break their strike and force them to accept a reduction in wages is William Tateman. Tateman was formerly local business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union but so useful did he make himself to the bosses that they took him to their hearts and he is now secretary of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of Cincinnati at a comfortable salary. Tateman's principal aid in procuring scabs for the bosses has been William Prout, who now holds Tateman's former job with the union.

The close relations that have existed between Tateman, in his capacity as a servant of the bosses, and the officialdom of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is shown by the following telegram under date of December 18, last, to Chas. J. McMorrow, general organizer for the Tobin union:





TILLY HAYNES,  
PROPRIETOR

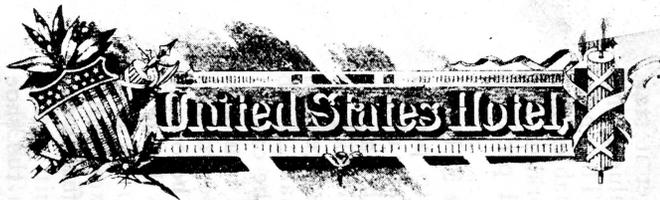
**Boston,**

1911

Dec 16 1911.

It is understood that these men with Harold Bogian, are to receive eighteen dollars per week for a period of six months from the date of their re-employment, their work being satisfactory.

The goodwill stipulated among them is to receive twenty five dollars per week with the same provisions.



TILLY HAYNES,  
PROPRIETOR

**Boston,**

1911

It is further understood that, provided the work and behavior of the aforesaid men is satisfactory, they may retain their places until they desire to leave.

Also that the men may work by the piece provided any may desire to do so.

C. J. McMorroy,  
Booker T. Washington Union.

can do by addressing a letter to the undersigned, who will be pleased to furnish you with all necessary information."

The union stamp, by the way, is copyrighted in Tobin's own name and is practically his private property.

Tobin goes on to say:

"We have made the splendid record of having gone through the last four years without the violation of a single contract, and without a strike in any department in any factory throughout the entire country where the Union Stamp is used."

Note how this old union tyrant boasts of the submissiveness to which he has brought his slaves.

The merchandise of which Tobin has made the union stamp is further exemplified in the notorious Cass & Daley case in Salem, Mass., in 1909. When four shops of Cass & Daley were called out on strike, the firm suddenly appeared with the B. & S. label and declared their shops were now "union." Such a smell arose that the Salem Central Labor Union investigated the case and found that the union stamp had been put in "for business reasons only" and that "questionable methods" had been used. The affair eventually reached the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L., and the Gompers crew, to which Tobin belongs, threatened dire punishment of the C. L. U. unless it rescinded the findings of its investigation. The C. L. U. refused, and a year later refused again, but eventually did rescind because of further threats from the A. F. of L. officials though in a half-hearted way.

So contemptible did the methods of Tobin's union become that in August, 1910, William Mailly, former national secretary of the Socialist party and business manager of the Ladies Waist and Dress Makers Union, wrote a letter to the *New York Call*, in which he called attention to the methods of the Tobin gang in Brockton and Haverhill, Mass., and denounced the union label as a "swindle upon the labor movement." Tobin was so infuriated by this that he threatened to punish *The Call* for publishing this letter by withdrawing his stamp advertisement, but upon being told in effect to go take his

advertisement and eat it, he let it stay. Tobin realizes full well the value of his label ads in the Socialist press. They have given him a prestige which enables him to double cross both the workers and manufacturers with safety and profit to himself and allies.

The rank and file of the B. & S. Union has been helpless and afraid to protest because they have learned that any objection is dangerous. Tobin and his agents maintain a private blacklist by means of which they can persecute an insurgent all over the United States and make a job impossible for him to hold. The case of C. P. Dean is notorious. Dean is a militant unionist known among shoe workers all over the country. Because he openly opposed the Tobin methods, he is a marked man and only recently was fired off a job in San Francisco for no other reason than that the B. & S. officials demanded his discharge.

Big changes are going on in the shoe industry in consequence of the new and faster machinery which the bosses are constantly installing. Simultaneously with the installation of these machines, which increase the output, the bosses are finding excuses for reducing wages. The Tobin crowd is not only secretly but openly assisting this process, knowing that they have the backing of the heads of the A. F. of L. The United Shoe Workers have already waked up to what is going on. They realize that only industrial organization and a steady reduction in working hours can save them from becoming absolute slaves. They are seeking to draw all the workers in the shoe industry together into One Big Union.

Tobin and his aids have combined with the bosses to fight this new tendency and to assist the manufacturers in putting through these constant reductions in the rate of pay. Many Tobin shops are among the lowest paid in the United States.

The situation is shameful. The little band of strikers in Cincinnati deserve the thanks of the entire working class for making the fight they have. No person who believes in clear-cut and uncompromising unionism will hereafter buy any shoe bearing the tainted label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, of which John F. Tobin is president.

# A STEADY JOB

BY

CON FOLEY

**D**O YOU KNOW why you have not got a steady job like your Daddy used to have? A lot of people notice that jobs are getting scarcer and scarcer but there are not many of us who think out the reason why.

Of course, you remember what small steam engines they used to have with small trains and clumsy couplings. It took six men to man those trains. Today we see one large compound engine with four times as large a train manned by FOUR men—all due to the air-brakes and patent couplers.

Then look back to the old rolling mill where we puddled iron. It is displaced by the up-to-date steel mill with its great cranes and tables, and if we go into the scrap yard we see a huge magnet over the scrap heap lifting tons upon tons of metal, operated by a single boy doing the work of thirty to forty able bodied men.

Then look into the shoe-maker's shop. No longer do we find the shoemaker sitting on a bench with his hammer, knife, awl and wax ends about him. We find a boy or girl operating a machine that performs the work of heads of families.

The same is true of the sheep shearers, and Old Grandma with her spinning wheel has been divorced from the farm. The ancient spinning wheel is now represented by a great factory where machines are operated by the grand-children. There is nothing left for the old folks to do any more, so it is Over the Hills to the Poor House for them.

Everywhere we see the introduction of machine production where hand production used to prevail. Brains are no longer required in working men and women. The machines are so perfect that anybody can run them.

This is the age of "labor-saving" machinery. But you and I do not benefit by

it. We are thrown out of employment and the bosses' pay rolls are cut down and his profits are increased.

Before the introduction of so many "labor-saving" machines, it was easier for men to secure jobs and the bosses said less about wanting young men. A man was not thrown on the scrap heap just because he had a few gray hairs.

Now we ask the boss for permission to work. He sends us to the company physician who strips us; examines our eye-sight, our muscles, our teeth, our blood; and only the perfect physically are chosen. Only the perfect are permitted to sell themselves on the installment plan—day by day, or week by week—for wages.

It was only a few years ago when the whole country was agitated over Southern "slavery." But the slaves did not have to beg the boss for a chance to work. The boss hunted them up and put them to labor. The "slaves" did not have to worry over butcher bills, rent, doctor bills or clothing. The boss looked out for these things. The slaves did not even have to form unions to make jobs or to give jobs to their members, and none of them were put on the "black list." They were never discharged. Rather did the boss set blood-hounds on their trails when they decided to take a permanent vacation.

To abolish these "barbarous" conditions the President of the United States violated many state laws by declaring the slaves should be free. There was a war over slavery. Men left their jobs and their homes to fight for the freedom of the negro, but when the smoke of battle cleared away we found there was a new kind of slavery and that neither the black nor the white working man was free from it.

We workers found we had to hunt

bosses if we wanted to live. We could not even sell ourselves outright to them so that we would be sure of permanent jobs and permanent homes and steady meals. We found there were more of us than were needed and that those of us who got work had to toil excessively in order to prevent the other fellow from getting our places.

We don't work today because we love to labor, and the boss does not hire us because of the great love he has in his heart for us. He hires us to make profits out of our labor, and we work to get enough money to live on, so that we can go to work the next day.

Today we work for money to feed us so that we may work tomorrow; tomorrow we work to get enough money to work the next day, and the next day we toil in order to earn enough to get the wherewithal that will fit us for the job the day after.

What we want is a steady job. A smile comes over my face when I think how nice it would be to have a steady job for the rest of my days. A steady job is almost as good as money in the bank. It makes a man independent and free from care. There are so many kind things we could do, and so many laughs we might enjoy if we were all sure of steady jobs.

Well, you can get a steady job at good pay. You can get a job where the value of your product will go to yourself instead of to the boss.

Of course as long as the boss owns the factory or the mine or mill, you and I can-

not be sure of a steady job. We shall be absolutely dependent upon him. That is why I am a Socialist. Socialism proposes that the men who work in the mines shall OWN the mines; that the men toiling in the mills shall OWN the mills; that the men running the railroads shall OWN the railroads. In other words Socialism proposes that the men who use the great tools of production, such as the land, the mills, factories and mines shall own them collectively and run them for the benefit of the men who do the work.

As the Declaration of Independence says: when a form of Government becomes destructive of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it is the right of the people to institute a new government. And the working class is organizing itself into a political party with this end in view. This is the Socialist party, owned, financed and managed by the working class.

There is only one party in the world that has ever proposed to give workingmen and women steady jobs and that is the Socialist party. If you are a working man or woman you belong in it. It is organized and managed by workingmen in the sole interests of workingmen. Write for information about how to become a member. Read some good books on Socialism.

The Socialist party has a working class platform and it stands on that platform every day in the year, because it is a platform made—not to RUN on—but to STAND on.



# INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL ACTION

From an Editorial in the *Maoriland Worker* New Zealand

I AM myself a keen and enthusiastic political actionist until I find it glorified at the expense of industrial organization—and then I understand better the direct actionist who scouts political action and would away with it. Similarly, I am myself a keen and enthusiastic industrial unionist until I find it glorified at the expense of political action—and then I understand better the political actionist who scouts industrial unionism and would away with it. Will the working class never learn that these two agencies are complementary, and that in combining these two agencies lie safety, security and advancement? At the root of each agency shelters a principle never yet, throughout all time, proven unsound. In the one case the principle is Direct Action (industrial organization) and in the other case the principle is Indirect Action (political government). Neither is absolute. Running through all progress, all evolution, all revolution, we detect the interplay, even the intervention of one with the other, of the Direct and the Indirect form, method, tactic, principle. Nowhere in history, nowhere in the growth from microbe to man, can I see warrant for the contention that as against its antipodes either the Direct or the Indirect stands forth as sole and true law, or with separate certitude.

\* \* \*

I have tried to put the foregoing plainly. It is the central point of the interminable argumentation between Parliamentarism and Industrialism. In the last analysis our defense or exposition of one or the other comes back to Direct Action vs. Indirect, or vice versa. Broadly speaking, too, politics shapes in dealing with Ideas, while industrialism shapes in dealing with Interests (this, although both merge at periods—for our problems, as our countries, are intricate, diverse, complex).

Broadly speaking, furthermore—and in sociological and scientific classification—politics appertains to Ethics and industrialism to Economics. Society has economic foundations upon which develop social relationships and ethical manifestations.

\* \* \*

In the course of The Worker's life we shall get all this as clear as daylight. The statement of it seems necessary as starting-point in the consideration of correspondents' letters. Jack Townsend, for instance, declares that he is no believer in strikes or lockouts, that the A. W. U. never gained anything by strikes, and that "the only strike that the masses can ever hope to better their conditions by is a strike at the ballot-box." Mr. Laracy says: "With regard to the strike at the ballot-box I absolutely agree with Mr. Townsend. Nobody has ever been able to show me what the workers can gain by means of the strike and industrial unionism that they cannot already gain by a strike at the ballot-box." Now, our friends will forgive me if I ask why, since they believe so wholeheartedly in the ballot, they deem it necessary to fool about with unionism, and particularly with their beloved shearers' Association? If the ballot is THE thing, why go to all the trouble of organizing men into a union; and, further, if the ballot is THE thing, why on earth worry about arbitration, for or against? You see, these two pals of mine (I hope I may consider them such) really do not mean quite what their enthusiasm induces them to say. If they thought nothing was to be gained by organizing men into unions, if they believed unionistic strength could gain no betterment in conditions, they would not be giving their lives to unionism. They know that the working class benefits from the ballot-box come from the ballot only

because of the unionism behind the ballot. They know that if they permit their industrial organizations to go to pieces, the ballot never can better conditions. As to your "strike at the ballot-box" (by which our friends mean quite the opposite to striking, since they want the ballot cast and not discarded) tell me, did the ballot give us unionism, or did unionism give us the ballot? Why, that very arbitration defended by our friends came out of unionism! Admitting the benefits gained per politics, is there a single benefit upon Australasia's statute books which was not the outcome of solidarity and strength upon the industrial field? Indirect Action by the pressure of Direct Action, you see. And let me say that a realization of the damage being done to Unionism by the tendency to concentrate upon Labor-in-

politics led me to talk the matter over a good deal with Tom Mann and Scott Bennett, and the three of us came to a recognition of the primacy of economic organization and the secondary character of politics in industrial interests. (Yet, near-enough complementary all the same; not antithetical.) In Australia the political success of the Labor movement resulted in the neglect of Unionism—until of late, when the thinkers began to see that "political success" was unsuccessful without Unionism to complete it. And, more than anything else, Labor-in-politics, and what it brings and threatens, is leading men to discern that it was sectional unionism which mistakenly saw salvation in politics, and that better than sectional unionism and reflex sectional politics is Industrial Unionism.



WALKING PLOW USED ON SMALL FIELDS AND HILL SIDES.

# How the Machine Is Making History on the Farm

BY

Lynn W. Ellis, Traction Farming Expert

Editorial Note.—Mr. Ellis is not a Socialist, but we take great pleasure in publishing his article on modern farm machinery as being a wholly unbiased view of the trend in the farming industry.

ONE THIRD of the people of the United States, and by far the largest single class of wealth producers, live in the rural districts. National prosperity is dependent on the success of their labors. Any factor that influences their lives in any marked degree is of importance in history. Anything that affects their physical and mental development, the ownership of their land, the quality, volume or price of their products, methods of production and marketing, or the financing of their business, is extremely significant from the historian's standpoint.

Farm machinery has vitally affected this class in the matters above enumerated. In fact, the entire history of American agriculture is divided into periods based entirely upon the development of farm machinery. With respect to the character of implements and machinery on farms, there are three fairly distinct periods. The first is the era of hand methods, continuing until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. In fact, up until 1850, the wagon, the cart and the cotton gin were practically the only implements or machines which did not belong to hand methods of production.



FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION THE PRAIRIE FARMER HAS USED THE SULKY PLOW.

The second great period was the era of transition from hand to machine methods, continuing from 1850 to about 1870. At the latter date practically all of our modern machines were in the field in some crude form, and the idea of superseding hand methods by machinery had firmly fixed itself upon the mind of the average farmer. From 1870 until the close of the century improvement in all classes of machinery was marked and this might be called the *era of farm machinery*. During this era scientific breeding, based on the introduction of improved foreign stock, improved the efficiency of the average farm horse at least twenty-five per cent. During the same time the number of horses and other work animals used on farms for each farm laborer also increased about four-fold. In view of what will be said later regarding the influence of power on agriculture, it is significant that in the same time, and corresponding to the number and efficiency of horses, the farm products produced per farm laborer increased about *five times*.

By reason of these improvements in machinery and the increase in animal power at the disposal of the laborer, the farmer was relieved of drudgery and given time to study his work. His hours of service were made shorter and his mental faculties stimulated. He became a more efficient worker, a broader man and a better citizen. The quality and yield of his products were im-

proved by confining crop operations within those periods each season when the most favorable conditions prevail.

The farm machine has greatly decreased the cost of production and increased profits. It has greatly reduced the proportion of laborers required to produce the nation's food supply, leaving it free to aid in industrial development along other lines. For example, four farm families in 1800 barely supported one in town, while two in the country now support three in town and still leave a balance for export, in spite of decreasing surplus. This change has thrown upon the cities the burden of providing work for the increased army of workers, and in turn makes it necessary for each farm laborer to produce a greater and greater surplus of food above the needs of his own family. The introduction of machinery has increased the skill required of the farm hand laborer, so that the ordinary city laborer will not make good on the farm. Most important of all, perhaps, this increase in the use of machinery has enlarged the investment necessary for properly organizing a farm. This and the constant rise in the price of land have made it more difficult for persons of small capital to engage in farming.

All of these great changes had actually taken place before the opening of the last great epoch in American agriculture—the age of mechanical power on the farm. Up

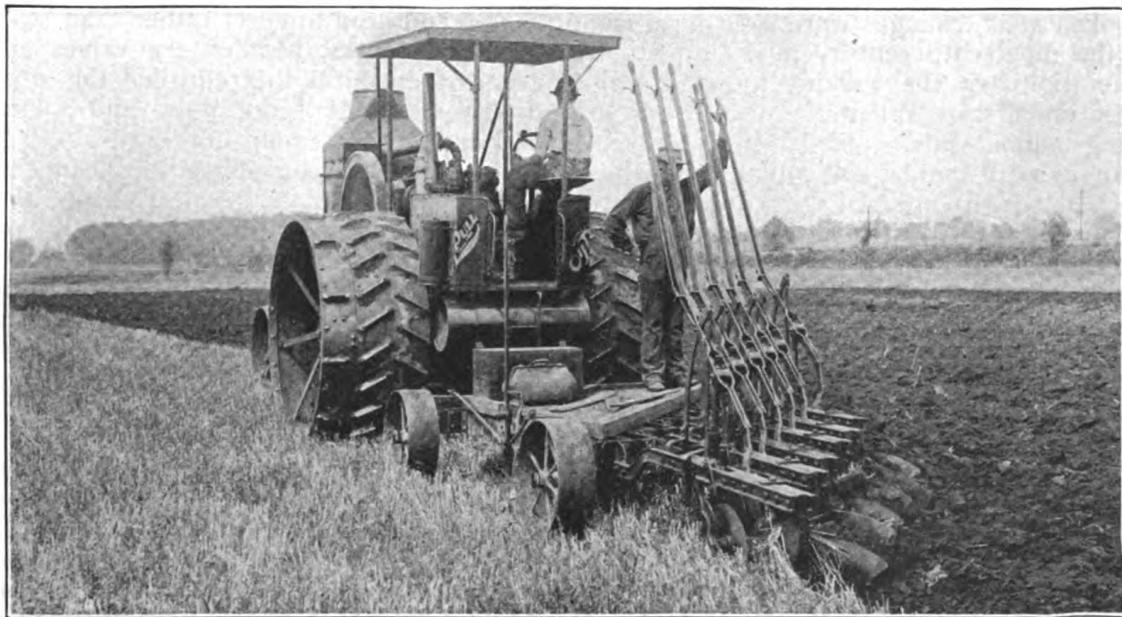
to the present time we have discussed the effect of farm machinery when drawn by animal power—the same power that had been used since the days of the first plow. While farm machinery has been wonderfully advanced, the power had remained the same for centuries. Only in the last decade has agriculture begun a widespread shift to mechanical power, the factor which has so wonderfully developed other industries.

Power shapes our modern world. The thought of power is fascinating to the human mind. Around the struggle for one sort of power or another have centered all the mightiest struggles of history. Around the power of the engine to do useful work have grown the greatest industrial empires ever known. The farm tractor and the stationary farm engine have brought mechanical power to the farm. The latter replaces the farmer's own muscle and lightens his work. The tractor, which is replacing the farmer's greatest source of power, is the great history-making machine of the twentieth century. The reorganization of the farm which must take place will surely hinge on the solution of the power problem.

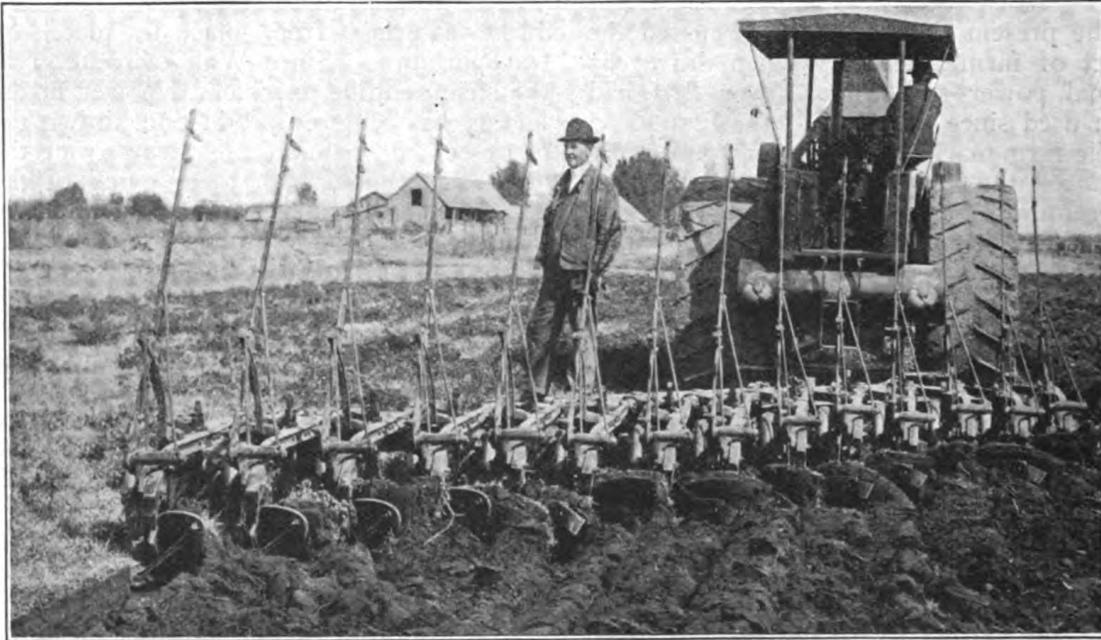
The human race uses power for the three great fundamental needs: Tilling the soil to produce raw materials for food and clothing, or agriculture; changing the shape of these materials so as to adapt them for human use, or manufacturing; and carrying

these materials from place to place, or transportation. Since Watt's invention of the steam engine, mechanical power in the factory has centered production, drawn the processes of manufacture away from the home, and taken with them much of the best blood and capital. They are now in turn sending back machinery and engines to the country to take the place of the laborers they drafted. The great steam-driven factories are producing at an enormously cheaper rate, and on a much higher plane of efficiency, than the old home-spun and tallow candle methods of our grandfathers. Fulton and Stephenson applied mechanical power to the steamship and the steam railway and today a steam-driven commerce binds the nations together. Agriculture, the fundamental industry, has lagged far behind and it is only with the occupation of practically all of our naturally productive land that the problem of cheaper production has become uppermost.

The problem of applying mechanical power to the soil is vastly different from collecting raw materials for use in a central power-driven factory. The farm power plant must be capable of going from place to place and doing its work wherever found. Again, the limitations of topography, climate and soil make the mechanical problem of supplying an efficient farm tractor much greater than that of making a stationary engine for the factory. The farmer, too, is



SMALL TRACTORS WITH FOUR TO SIX PLOWS ARE INVADING THE CORN BELT.



LARGE TRACTORS WITH A DOZEN OR MORE PLOWS ARE SOLVING THE POWER PROBLEM IN THE NORTHWEST.

conservative, and has been slower to adopt changes than the manufacturer involved in the whirl of modern competition. The farmer, however, must now adopt mechanical power on a scale which compares with that of the other two great industries, or else fail to meet the demand for food with profit to himself.

The broad evolution in farm methods may be illustrated by that of the plow, the fundamental farm implement. From the crooked stick, changes were slow until late in the nineteenth century, and up until a generation ago the walking plow was almost universal. When the farmer began using animal power in larger quantities changes were rapid. The walking plow has now all but disappeared from common use in our western states, and for a generation the farmer has ridden the sulky plow, or the gang, using more animals and less human labor.

From the gang plow to the small tractor is the next step in size, although the largest tractors came first in point of time. Tractors capable of pulling four to six plows are now coming rapidly into use in the corn belt, while the larger ones with from eight to fourteen find ready sale in the northwest. It seemed as though the limits had been reached. Engines had reached the greatest size consistent with safe and economical

transport. But just as two, three or four horses succeeded one, so multiple tractor outfits are coming. At a recent demonstration at Purdue university three 30 h. p. kerosene engines hitched to one giant plow of fifty bottoms broke all known records for plowing. This twentieth century monster broke out a strip nearly sixty feet wide at each trip, plowing at a rate of an acre every four and one-quarter minutes. Four men, three engineers and a plowman, men of skill and keen intellect rather than plodding clodhoppers, handled the valves and levers of an outfit that equalled the work of fifty men with sulky plows and a hundred and fifty straining horses.

The tractor is compelling the change to mechanical power, the greatest change that has come to agriculture since the savage first hitched a forked stick to the horns of his bull and declared man free from the curse of Adam. The horse works only one hour in nine as an average for the year, but he must be kept warm and sheltered, and must be fed and watered three times a day, whether used or not. During the winter his only work is the little that is necessary to keep him in condition. He must be maintained for twelve months to be ready for the work of four. He depreciates in idleness and is subject to disease and accident. The feed of a work horse costs

\$55 to \$60 a year and other items bring the total to \$100, or more than 10c for each hour of work. The cost of buildings has advanced and the cost of shelter for the horse and his feed is becoming prohibitive.

The tractor does not require attention when not at work. Thirty million work animals, each taking 27 minutes of a man's time every day, mean an enormous waste of human energy. The time spent annually in caring for one horse will keep in perfect condition a tractor with the power of thirty. The tractor will endure hard work twenty-four hours a day instead of six and outlive the average horse in hours of service. Its fuel is much more concentrated than food for the horse, and a tractor with a year's fuel supply can be sheltered in a tenth of the space required for horses of equal power and their feed.

The animal, especially in cities, is a constant menace to public health. Both on the streets and on the farm the connection of its refuse with the disease-breeding fly is becoming recognized. Due to our wasteful method of handling natural fertilizers, our work teams constitute a serious drain

upon our soil fertility. Feed for our work animals costs one and a quarter billions per year, equal to the total income of two million average families. The crops from five to eight acres are withheld from supplying human needs by the necessity of maintaining each animal.

Farm labor is constantly growing scarcer, and where five men would be needed to drive twenty-five horses hitched to gang plows, one man on a tractor, with an assistant on the plow behind, will accomplish as much work. The tractor will handle every operation on the grain farm from soil to market. It will plow, disk, sow, harrow, harvest, thresh and haul the grain. It will combine two or more operations with a great saving in power. By its rapid work it renders the farmer less dependent on Providence and insures greater yields by giving him the upper hand of unfavorable conditions. In the corn belt the tractor enables deeper plowing to be done without the great excess of horse flesh which costs so much for maintenance throughout the idle months of the year.

The coming of abundant power to the



CAPITAL WITH LARGE MACHINES ADAPTED TO THE PURPOSE IS RECLAIMING THE LAND THAT COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN FARMED WITH HORSES.



A TRACTOR WITH EIGHT PLOWS, A DRILL AND HARROW, PUTS IN THE WHOLE CROP.

farm means enormous things in the way of better farming and cheaper farming. It enables larger areas to be cultivated as well as before, and the same areas to be cultivated much better. Either way, it increases the effectiveness of the farmer and enables him to produce at a much lower cost of operation expressed in percentage of the total crop.

Mechanical power on the farm saves wages, perhaps, rather than money. The tractor and its accompanying machinery represents an investment which requires capital. Labor is a commodity which can be paid for piece-meal as used, but the machine must be paid for all at once or within a short time. The machine is making history because for wages it substitutes interest on investment. The man with only his labor as capital is coming to the same point on the farm as he has come elsewhere. He cannot compete with machines that represent money and a lower cost of production. It is only natural for him to oppose the introduction of such equipment, yet the small farmer cannot stop the coming of large machinery and mechanical

power. He should have no wish to do this, since it means cheaper production and a saving of human energy, which is our most precious possession. We are, however, vitally interested in knowing who will buy the machine, since the men whose money buys the machine will unquestionably have the direction of its operations.

The question arises as to the fate of the small farmer. It has long been preached as fundamental that the prosperity and continued welfare of the country depends on the success of a large body of farmers on small, independent farms. The cry has been that the big farmer was a detriment to good and profitable farming; that the big farmer was always "land poor" because he could not cultivate his acres with a high degree of efficiency. "The little farm well tilled" has been the ideal, and with former equipment and power this was undoubtedly well founded. Now, however, a new mechanical factor has entered, and the big farm can be handled on a basis of quality. Colleges, other public institutions, and even city business houses are turning out business managers capable of keeping big farms



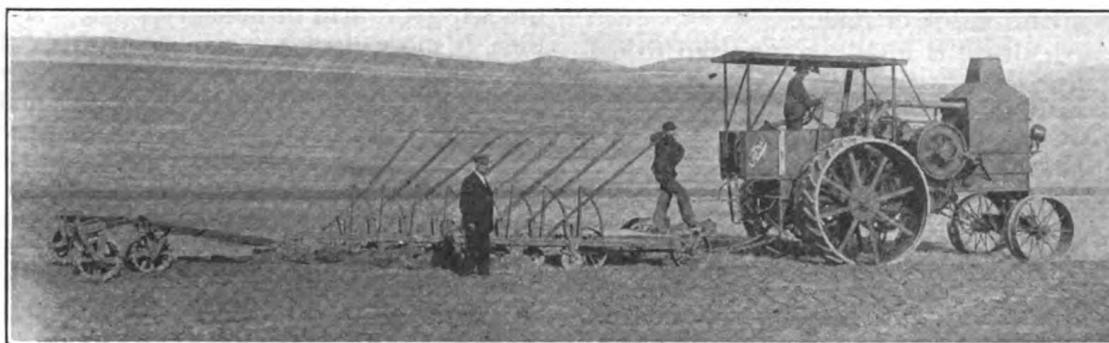
A SMALL FARMER WITH HIS TEAM AND BINDER CANNOT COMPETE WITH THE COMBINED HARVESTER WHICH CUTS, THRESHES AND STACKS 75 TO 100 BUSHELS OF GRAIN A DAY.

up to a high standard. Intensive farming on a large scale is made possible by modern men and machines.

Since mechanical power is the thing that has brought about these changes, it is urged that the small farmer be given a tractor adapted to the size of his present holdings. However, the small tractor costs more to buy and to operate. It costs more to buy because the building and selling cost is not reduced in proportion to the power developed. It has serious mechanical disadvantages which do not occur in the tractor pulling six or more plows. It is significant that Europe, which has long been up against these problems that are now looming up in America, has never solved the problem of the small tractor. The small tractor, if developed, may stem the tide for a time, but it will give way to the larger outfit, just

ive work may sometimes be necessary in order to make these improvements possible. Many a modern factory or office building is torn down after a few years to make room for a bigger and better one. The roads, buildings and fences established when small power units were used may have to be removed at considerable cost in order to adapt farms to more efficient methods of production.

If, after reconstruction, such farming cannot be done at a profit in competition with more favored sections, the system of farming must be changed. Skillful management will decide upon such questions. The individual cannot call in the services of college-trained experts to advise him as a co-operative body can, but the time will come when every operation from plowing to marketing must be under the eye of a



A TRACTOR WITH A HEAD LIGHT AND NIGHT SHIFT CARRIES ON THE FARM WORK ALL DAY NOW LIKE A MODERN FACTORY.

as the single horse gave way to the four-horse team. This outcome is, of course, subject to natural limitations, but wherever the large tractor can be used the smaller will yield, just as water wheels have disappeared from all but isolated neighborhood factories, and sailing craft from all but the slowest of routes.

If the large tractor and the large farm are coming, then what of the small farmer? Will he be driven out of existence, or will he protect himself by learning to co-operate with his neighbor? One or the other alternative seems inevitable. Economy of production points to the use of the largest power unit and the largest machine that the natural features and type of farming will allow. This, then, will mean that the size of the neighborhood co-operative association will be based upon the size of the largest machine that can be used upon the combined farms. Considerable reconstruct-

well-equipped supervisor. The farmer has no more right to be independent in the present sense than the laborer in the city. Some day he must be content to be one of the rank and file, working with his neighbors under the direction of those best equipped, if he is to continue his work at a profit.

In actual practice we now have numerous co-operative associations where the management is in the hands of well-paid experts. If the farmer cannot supply the capital necessary to organize production on a proper basis he must adopt the city's policy and employ money—*borrowed* money. The individual citizen in town could not carry out large public improvements, but working in common with his neighbors he has drawn away capital from the farm and made it pay a profit well above the interest. The city is thus able to spend \$35,000 per mile for streets, where in some cases only \$50

per mile is allotted for country roads. These investments pay, but unless farmers work together they cannot force the use of their share of the country's capital.

Co-operation, real co-operation, is the solution of many difficulties. Co-operation has proved a success in many localities where farms are small, especially where fruit and vegetables are marketed at a considerable distance. In the sections of large farms and local markets this movement has not grown as rapidly as it should. Farms are growing larger, however, in the central states, and are remaining large in new sections where they have not already been parceled out. Mechanical power is coming in rapidly to work these greater farms. It is making co-operation necessary. The farmer who persists in his "independence" and small-scale production for another decade invites absolute failure.

Agriculture is finally committed to mechanical power. The year 1912 will probably see nearly two million mechanical horsepower sold to our farmers. The great multiple-engine and 50-plow outfit at Purdue university has shown that mechanical power may very possibly be applied to agriculture on the scale of the largest ocean liner's engines or the turbines of the central power plant, if farming should ever require that scale of operations. If the small farmer does not co-operate to equip his farm with a share of the most efficient cost-saving machinery, he has no legitimate objection if capital takes the initiative in economical production and reduces him to the wage earning class. For, after all, the real purpose of agriculture is not the enrich-

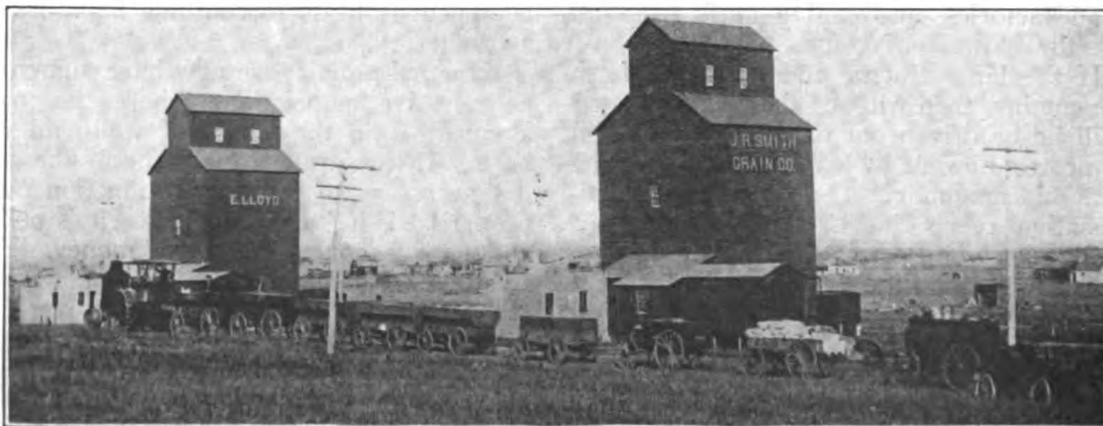
ment of the man who tills the soil, but the providing of a hungry world with food.

Farm machinery in general has made history because it profoundly affected the work and welfare of the farm laborer. The tractor is making history because it comes to solve a problem at a time when the demand for breadstuffs has overtaken the possible supply under former methods of production. New countries have adopted higher food standards. The world is pressing on the limits of production and needs the acres for the human race that until now have been devoted to the feeding of droves of idle animals. The machine furnishes power to cultivate new acres and to make older ones produce more abundantly. It keeps down costs and insures adequate production. Moreover, it is hastening to a decision the issue between men and capital in the last great field of industry. The tractor then is more than a machine. It is a solution of a great world problem—hunger. And it is making history because it is making agriculture over.

Someone has written of a modern kerosene tractor a boast that is significant in its truth and prophecy. It needs little imagination to conceive that the coming of the tractor marks the last and greatest epoch of all:

#### I AM THE TRACTOR.

I am the tractor, born of the spirit of man. My ribs are of iron and my sinews of steel. I breathe the vital air of heaven. I feed on oil of the earth. Swift lightning courses my nerves of copper. Fire and power awake at their flash in my bosom and drive my sturdy legs to action.



THE TRACTOR CUTS THE COST OF CARRYING FAR BELOW THE COST WITH TEAMS AND SINGLE WAGONS.

I serve the children of men. At their bidding I become a thing of life, to draw the plow. I lift the yoke from their shoulders and bear the heaviest burden of their toil. By day and by night, unresting, I upturn the hidden depths. Hand in hand with sun and frost and rain, I crumble the wild plain to fertile dust.

I sow. I reap and glean. I winnow corn

from the chaff and fetch it to give new life. I bring the dumb beast rest. I bring to the toiler his daily loaf. I bring happy occupation to hosts on railway and sea, in the mill and the factory. I am today's beast of burden. I am the hope of food and life for tomorrow's millions.

I am the tractor, born for labor unending.

## The Fight for Free Speech at San Diego

By VINCENT ST. JOHN

**T**HE town of San Diego is the latest to make the attempt to relegate free speech to the back lots where it will do the least amount of damage to the parasites that infest that section of California.

Up to date there are 210 men and women in jail for attempting to exercise their supposed right of free speech and peaceable assemblage. Those in jail are members of the I. W. W., Socialist party, Single Taxers and members of the various trade unions of San Diego. Thirty-eight of those who are under arrest have been charged with criminal conspiracy to violate the laws of California. The servants of California corporations are following in the footsteps of the officials who made Spokane "famous." The lack of success from this line of tactics that attended their use by the City of Spokane does not seem to be appreciated by those in charge of San Diego's legal destinies.

The San Diego *Herald* quotes one Harry Utley as uttering the following sentiments. (The paragraphs below will give the readers a good idea of the mental equipment of San Diego officials.)

District Attorney Utley says: "These people are vandals, barbarians, hoboes, I. W. W.'s, and trash.

"Any man who can't get a political job and make money has no right to live. Any man who is out of work should be put in jail, especially if he insists on talking about it.

"We'll starve them into submission while they are in jail awaiting trial. They won't feel like telling the truth so much when they get out."

The I. W. W., Socialist Party, Single

Taxers, and the Trade Unions have organized a free speech league and want every revolutionist in the United States and Canada to know that the fight will be continued until San Diego is convinced beyond any question of doubt that free speech will have to be allowed in that section of the world.

The men and women who are on the firing line are appealing to all in the state of California for their active assistance. They are appealing to all in the country to help them advertise the town of San Diego so that it will be a stench in the nostrils of all the world.

The Free Speech Committee requests that you hold protest meetings in your locality. Send your sentiments to the mayor and city council of San Diego. Raise funds to help the men and women carry on the fight.

Above all rouse men that are ready and willing to go into San Diego and take an active part in the fight for the protection of the supposed constitutional rights of Free Speech and Assemblage.

Remember this is your fight as well as it is theirs. A speedy and complete victory in San Diego means that you will profit as much as the workers of San Diego. It also means that when you are engaged in a fight you will be able to call upon the San Diego workers for support and get it.

Make a noise. Raise MEN and money for San Diego.

The more recruits that come to San Diego now the shorter will the fight be. But short or long the fight will go on until it is won.

# A Night in New York's Municipal Lodging House

BY

GUY McCLUNG

A CAPITALIST, whose workers go on strike, can—if he has been in business long enough for them to heap up profits for him—shut up shop and go to Europe. Or, if he prefers, he can stay quietly in his comfortable home, enjoy his usual good meals and sleep in his warm bed.

Meantime his slaves go cold and hungry.

Here is the story told me once by Earl Stone, 24 years old, a plumber's helper:

"I was thrown out of work by a strike. When it was settled my boss refused to take me back because I had been one of the main agitators. I was put on the blacklist, which meant that no other plumbing firm in town would hire me, so I took to the road.

"I blew into New York early one cold morning in a side-door Pullman with just ten cents in my pocket. I sat around in the parks all day and was going to spend the night in one of them but just about dark it started to rain. It wasn't long till I was chilled through. I had nothing to eat all day and the most I had the day before was a plate of soup.

"I tramped the streets up and down trying to think what I would do. It was the first time I had ever been in a real big city and New York sort of frightened me. I tried to decide what I would do with that dime. I walked up and down with my hands socked into my pants up to my elbows, holding that dime in one fist till it was warm and damp. First thing I knew I looked at a sign post and found myself on the Bowery.

"It's queer, but let any strange rummy what's down and out blow into New York and before the day's over he'll be on the

Bowery. I don't know exactly why it is. Something seems to draw a bum down there.

"I couldn't make up my mind whether to spend that dime for a bed or take it out in beer and feed at the free lunch counter. But the more I thought over it the worse I hated to part with that dime. It was all that was between me and plain starvation. If I let go of that ten cents then I would be up against it for fair. Besides, as long as I had that dime I could sort of hold my head up. So I made up my mind to hold on to it for an emergency.

"Just then I recollected to have heard of the Municipal Lodging House where you could at least get in out of the wet for a night. I asked a bum where it was and then started for the foot of East 25th street feeling cheerful and hopeful, though of course I didn't know whether I could get in or not as I had heard there was lots of applicants.

"I found the place and went right in and sat down. A man come up to me and says: 'What you settin' here for?' I told him I didn't have anything else to do. 'Well, line up,' he says, 'and take out your matches and dump 'em in that box.' I did like he said and got in line with the rest of the rummies.

"When my turn came before the man at a desk, he asked me my name, address, the year I was born, who was my last employer, how long I was employed, and how long I had been out of work. Then he give me a bag for my valuables—knife, keys, and such—and handed me two checks with a loop to hang around your neck.

"Then I went into the dining room with the rest of them. There was a counter

covered with coffee cups and five big tables, seating about thirty men each. I got two pieces of bread and a cup of coffee.

"Then I was led downstairs into a room where there was a lot of chairs and a rack in a corner with nets in it. I was ordered to strip. I did like the rest of them, put my belts into my shoes, my shoes into my hat, and got a check for the lot. I won't forget the number of that check soon. It was No. 237.

"Then we filed into another room filled with shower baths. As I went in a man standing at the door dipped up a gob from a can of soap and slapped it on my head. It looked funny to see a lot of men come sailing in with a big lump of soap on top of their heads. Every man was told to give himself a good scrubbing and they had to do it too.

"Then we all went into another room where we were given towels to dry with.

Next we got a pair of gray Sox and a nightshirt. You have to bring those socks back too. 'No socks, no clothes,' they tell you.

"Next I got into an elevator to the third floor. I found it was a big dormitory with berths built in the form of racks and aisles between. Each man gets a blanket and two sheets and another blanket to sleep on.

"I was waked up at five o'clock and told to bring my two sheets and pillowslip down

with me. The elevator took me back downstairs where I handed over the check for my clothes. I got dressed and filed in with the rest to the dining room where each of us got a bowl of porridge, two slices of bread, and a cup of coffee.

"We were all lined up again at seven o'clock and made to face the 'judge' at the desk in turn. He asked each man what sort of work he was accustomed to and then assigned them to different jobs by squads. The sick and weak were allowed to go. I was sent with 20 men to the room where we all undressed the night before. We were put to work scrubbing the floor with bucket and brush. We scrubbed and mopped away from 7 till 10 o'clock. It was harder work than it sounds like. I didn't mind it, but most of the men were so weak from lack of regular food that it was all they could do to hold out. One man in front of me was barely able to move, much less work. I could tell by his face that he hadn't had any regular meals for a long time. I watched him after we were turned loose and gave him half my ten cents. The oher nickel I spent for coffee and buns, for that porridge and buns hadn't more than whetted my appetite and I could have eaten a horse. Part of my squad didn't get out with me but got sent to the island. You are allowed only three days a month, you know, and if you get caught coming back any oftener, you get sent up."

## Who Made the Bricks?

"WHAT did you say to that man?"

"I told him to hustle—to work faster."

"May I ask what right you have to arbitrarily command him to work faster?"

"He is in my employ; I pay him for his time and I want all of it."

"How much do you pay him?"

"Ten reales per day."

"Where do you get the money that you pay to him?"

"Selling bricks."

"Who makes the bricks?"

"Well, I do—and the others here."

"How many bricks do you, yourself, make?"

"Well, er—the 24 men in my employ make 24,000 per day."

"Oh, I see! Then it is not you who pay these men but, in reality, they who pay you—for telling them to work faster."

"But, sir, you seem to forget that the machines are mine!"

"And how did you get these machines?"

"Selling bricks—afterwards I bought the machines."

"But who *made* the bricks?"

"O leave me in peace, man! Don't you know that if those idiots over there were to get the idea in their heads of running the machines themselves, there would be one hell of a mess? Can't you see that?"

"Yes, plainly, one hell of a mess for you!"

# GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

BY

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

THE APPEAL TO REASON rightly says: "Socialism is against the purchase of telegraphs at any price. Wireless telegraphy is rendering them obsolete, and the men who are about to lose out by being behind the times must not unload their worthless properties on the people. Watch for grafting politicians posing as 'socialistic.' They are lying thieves." *The Appeal* explains that government ownership as practised in New Zealand is not "socialistic" at all but state capitalism. To be socialistic, it says, industries must be under the management and control of the whole people and besides must be operated, not for profits, but "in order to end profits."

This plan of "unloading" properties no longer profitable or of selling them at prices even higher than their present inflated values is at the bottom of all measures of government ownership as long as the capitalists continue to own all governments.

And yet our Socialist Congressman has proposed a well-meant but stupid bill which will greatly aid their schemes. Congressman Berger's measure for government ownership of telegraphs and railroads might be all right *if presented to a Socialist Congress*. But he leaves to a proposed committee of twelve congressmen the right to determine what the "ascertained" and "actual" physical value is. Now there is only one Socialist Congressman. So Berger is willing to entrust this work to a committee which would either be composed of capitalists exclusively or in the proportion of 11 to 1. His measure is thus nothing less than a vote of confidence in the present Congress.

As Berger has not made it clear that

government ownership by a capitalist government is not even a partial installment of Socialism, he is guilty of having (unintentionally) aided the capitalists in their schemes.

Government ownership of railroads is demanded by the interests of small capitalist shippers. It is supported on that ground by A. C. Barber, former president of the Match Trust, and favored by Winston Churchill of the British Cabinet, though, like Mr. Hearst, the latter has not indicated the date or the price to be paid. The Mikado, the Czar and Diaz and other reactionary rulers and governments have already established it.

Government ownership is demanded not only by many small capitalist shippers but also by small capitalist investors, who want the government credit and guarantee to protect their investments.

Government ownership is also in the interest of small capitalist tax payers. A large part of the national expenditures of Germany are squeezed out of the railways and so out of the nation—simply another form of indirect taxation. The wealthy classes are thus relieved of so many inheritance and income taxes they might otherwise be forced to pay. This money when not used to reduce taxes is invested chiefly in army and navy. But in Germany as well as England and America the profits of government ownership are going more and more to investments in canals, irrigation, reclamation, and other governmental projects for the benefit of capitalists. And an increasing part is going to be expended henceforth for "labor reforms," aimed to improve the physical and industrial efficiency of what is now conceded to be the most profitable of all capitalist assets, i. e., its "working-cattle."

•••

But above all government ownership (or government control so complete as to amount practically to the same thing) is to the interest of the whole capitalist class because, until labor becomes stronger than capital, it would put an end to all strikes that are at all "dangerous." The very industries most likely to be nationalized—the railroads, mines, telegraphs, the steel trust, etc., are those where a prolonged strike would be most injurious to all capitalists. Such strikes not only damage the capitalists immediately involved but all others—and also landlords, real estate dealers and all shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, etc., who are not immediately and chiefly dependent on the wage-earners.

Government ownership, which will make striking a crime similar to treason, mutiny or rebellion will therefore have the support of the whole capitalist class in proportion as the railway organizations become militant and effective.

Government ownership under a Roosevelt will mean that the remnants of the right to strike now possessed by the railroad men will be taken away, as has happened in every single instance where railroads have been nationalized. Mr. Roosevelt's *Outlook* even says that a strike of government employees is *mutiny*. Which can only mean that it may under certain circumstances be punishable by death—if other penalties don't prove sufficient.

The "radical" British government has already indicated its intention not to allow either a national railway strike or a national coal strike to become effective. Ex-President Roosevelt has repeatedly shown that he has the same intention and President Taft has lately indicated that he also is planning measures to protect what he calls "the public interest"—doubtless through the Canadian compulsory "investigation" law. Mr. Victor S. Clark, the special investigator sent to Canada both by Roosevelt and Taft, has recommended this law for the United States and predicts that "public opinion" will demand it after the next great coal or railroad strike. No doubt he is right.

And if this is the government's attitude where there is private ownership, we can picture what it will be when mines, railways or trusts are under its

direct ownership or control. Indeed the examples of France, Italy, Switzerland, Australia, and other more or less "democratic" countries where government ownership prevails leave no room for doubt. Government ownership will prove the most effective means yet discovered to repress the unions.

The Socialist Mayor of Schenectady (Lunn) no doubt has these facts in mind when he says: "Government ownership today would establish a bureaucracy more tyrannous than we now have."

And Debs has explained that one of the chief motives of those trust magnates and their political friends (like Roosevelt), who want the government to go into partnership with the trusts in the control of prices and wages, is to secure more effective means to put the unions down.

Only recently Senator Owen expressed the small capitalist fear of government ownership or control, in the widely applauded phrase: "The government cannot control the trusts as long as the trusts control the government." As state after state falls into the small capitalist or "progressive" hands, this fear is removed and the demand for government ownership and regulation of "trusts and labor unions" will soon echo from coast to coast. For all "progressives" are agreed both that strikes of government employees are "inadmissible" and that some plan must be found to abolish all strikes that have any possibility whatever of overturning capitalism or even of seriously weakening it.

Here, then, is Capitalism's challenge to Labor. Here at last we have arrived on that favorable field of battle which Lafargue said it was the sole purpose of present-day revolutionary activities to procure, namely, the struggle over those workers who, like the miners and railway men, are in a position to paralyze industry. The capitalists will put off the battle a few years by intimidating these unions, by making striking "treason" or some other form of crime, and by endeavoring at the same time to bribe them and to separate them from the rest of the workers by giving somewhat better conditions and wages. Both policies are succeeding in many countries, and will doubtless succeed here—for a while.

But in the meantime every battle fought in this field will be more intense and stupendous. Each conflict will line up more and more of the population in one or the other camp. The first of the great struggles into which we are now entering may *seem* to be lost. These may be followed by a brief period when striking in mines or on railways has become a crime and the workers in these employments *seem* intimidated on the one hand and bribed into relative contentment on the other. By these means the capitalists may have postponed the final day of reckoning a few years.

But these years are absolutely indispensable to the Socialists and unionists to perfect their organizations. We are certainly not ready for the final struggle today. We may not be ready by 1916

or 1920 and it is only when we are fully prepared and can back the railway workers and miners by an organized majority that they can hope to succeed in paralyzing industry. It is only then that we have any right to expect them to put up a real fight.

Government ownership or government regulation, compulsory investigation or compulsory arbitration, injunctions or no injunctions, constabulary militia, or the United States army, the essential struggle will be the same. When the majority is organized and includes all important groups of wage-earners it will be able to take possession of industry and government. Nothing the capitalists do can delay that day. And nothing the workers do can hasten that day except as it *improves and strengthens their organizations.*

## BEWARE THE PRAISE OF PARASITES

BY

ED. MOORE

**C**APITALISM thrives on unpaid labor.

Unpaid labor is the work done during that portion of the day for which the worker is not paid. With modern machinery the wage-worker produces enough wealth in two or three hours to pay his wages. The rest of his product is divided *by the capitalists* into rent, interest, profit, dividends and taxes.

Capitalism in order to live must, therefore, have wage laborers, for unless there is a class that must sell its knowledge of brain and skill of hand for wages, there can be no part of the work-day or product taken to be divided among landlords, manufacturers, merchants, bankers and politicians.

Herein, then, is the cause of the misery of the wealth makers. The more wealth there is taken from them to be divided among the capitalists, the less there will be left for themselves. And it follows that the more wage earners there are offering themselves for sale (or hunting jobs) the greater will be the opportunity of the man-

ufacturers and merchants to buy intelligence and skill at a low price or wage.

It is a self-evident fact that unless a thing is made it cannot be taken and used. Therefore the source of all unpaid labor is on the farm and in the shop and mine.

Automatic machinery and scientific management are cutting down the number of wage-earners required to make wealth, and, therefore, reducing the number of jobs for workers. As a result, the unemployed, "the reserve army of capital." Marx called it, is increasing enormously. From it are recruited the professional strike-breakers. The professional politicians of all parties get from it the demagogues, strong-arm-men, ballot box stuffers, jury fixers, plain-clothes men and deputy sheriffs.

Fear of losing their jobs is making intelligent wage-earners think about what will happen to them if a machine is put in to do the work they get wages for doing. Modern business methods are making bookkeepers and clerks wonder how long it will be before recording and adding machines, manipulated by boys and girls

with only a primary school education, will make unnecessary their services. Engineers are beginning to complain of the "hand book men," who, under the direction of a corporation's consulting engineer, are closing the doors of opportunity to them. A college diploma will not balance the advantage to the corporation of a cheap "hand book man."

On all sides wage-earners are searching for the source of the evil. The brainy capitalists know where it is. They will not, if they can help it, let the wage-earners find out where the stream of wealth that flows to the employers is coming from. For its source is the unpaid labor of workers.

One of the most successful tricks of the capitalists to keep wage-earners from tracking to its source the cause of their miseries is the political game called General Welfare. Illustrations of moves in the game are: (1) The holding up for public inspection of statesmen who "get in wrong" with the Interests, and who are cast adrift to please the deluded wage-earners. The workers fondly imagine that "clean politics" has a direct bearing on shop conditions and wage scales. (2) Agitation by manufacturers (who employ cheap labor) for seats for sales-ladies in department stores that do not handle their products. It is a good way to knock a business rival and fools the wage slaves. (3) Movements instigated and financed by proprietors of department stores for cheap postal package rates and rural delivery. (4) Propaganda paid for by bankers and stock exchange bulls and bears for old age pensions. (5) Regulation of the liquor traffic by associations organized by distillers and brewers. This often freezes out enemies and gives all the trade to the "right" parties. (6) Vice crusades started and carried on by landlords who own houses of ill-fame, for the purpose of getting higher rents for their properties. (7) Civic federations kept alive by trust magnates to keep carpenters and structural iron workers fighting over which shall put on the bolts and rivet the metal trim taking the place of wood. These are the kind of sops that fool us.

An illusion that we need masters makes it easy for capitalists to delude confiding wage-earners with false doctrine that kind-

hearted men will lead the way to the happy time when mankind will live a life of ease untroubled by the bread and butter question. But as the bread and butter question is an every-day fact, our masters, the capitalists, see that to continue to ride on the backs of the wealth-making wage-earners they must give the illusion the appearance of reality by granting us what are practically worthless concessions. They give us the right to quit one boss and go looking for another, or allow us to combine to make the bosses give us enough money for wages to buy food. And it is to *their interest* that we keep strong enough to work to make profits for them. Remember that profits can only come from unpaid labor.

Underfed and overworked slaves will gladly listen to those who promise them more food and less work. And if the slaves are ignorant of the reason why they are held in slavery, they will look up to a fellow-slave, or an agent of their masters, who will teach them to confine fault-finding to after work hours. These workers may listen when advised to show their masters by temperate and logical argument why, if given more food, they will be stronger, will work harder, will produce more profits for the masters. These leaders will tell them that under these favorable conditions the masters will have a surplus from which they can give a little to care for the slaves that old age has made too feeble to work.

Should there be a movement among the slaves to free themselves from the rule of the masters, for the purpose of keeping the wealth they made for themselves, the slaves who would oppose this movement and argue that a step at a time would be the better way, would find favor in the eyes of the masters, and would, no doubt, be praised as "practical," "sane and sensible," "clear-headed and logical." And self-interest would show the masters that it would be the best policy for them to put the slaves who preached compromise on the easy jobs, and flatter them by pretending to consult them about what should be done to elevate the workers, so that, in the far distant future, "slavery shall disappear."

Is the Socialist movement, a movement of wage-slaves to overthrow wage-slavery,

in danger from the teaching of doctrines that will make the workers rest satisfied with more food and less work? Are there those in prominent places in the movement who are being praised by the master class for their "sensible" and "practical" actions in leading the working class to take "easy and short" steps on the road to the millenium, in which beef-eating wage-workers will not be let out to make room for rice-eating ones?

Is there ground for fear that we have in prominent places in the Socialist Party those who fear its candidates will not get votes, and therefore will not be elected to offices paying good salaries if the party bravely states that its only mission is to overthrow wage slavery at the first opportunity that offers?

Are the evil days come upon the revolutionary political movement of the wage-slaves to abolish their slavery when the praise of our enemies, the master class, sounds more gracious to the ears of prominent members than does the clear-cut defiance of the slaves who would rather starve fighting for freedom than to eat at the political banquet tables spread by the master class in legislative halls and executive offices, spread to seduce revolutionary slaves to betray their class.

Regulating the household affairs of capitalism under which we are the field hands and domestic servants, is not fighting the class struggle. Well was it said by Wilhelm Liebknecht:

"Whoever conceives of socialism in the sense of a sentimental philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalistic society, is no socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which modern Socialism is unthinkable. To be sure Bernstein is nominally for the class struggle in the same manner as the Hessian peasant is for 'the Republic and the Grand Duke.' Whoever

has come to a full consciousness of the nature of capitalistic society and the foundation of modern socialism, knows also that a socialist movement that leaves the class struggle may be anything else, but it is not socialism."

Praise and perquisites have turned the heads and filled the pockets of leaders in great movements. Well do our masters know how to seduce by flattery and influence with well paid positions those they wish to use. Wage-slaves must look with suspicion on everything our masters praise. We must beware of giving the official approval of the Socialist Party to "enlarge and extend the hostile power that dominates over them" (wage-slaves), for "the better the conditions under which they are allowed to labor (for the further increase of the bourgeoisie's wealth and for the wider extension of the power of capital), the more contentedly will they forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags them in its train."

The Socialist Party is not seeking the approval or praise of the capitalist class. When that class praises any of the party's policies let us beware, overhaul them and see if they really are useful to help to make an end of wage-slavery. Chains, whether the golden salaries of political offices or the iron ones of wages for work, are still chains.

Let us not drown our battle cry of "Workers of the World, Unite. We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a world to win!" with shouts for old age pensions for worn-out wage-slaves.

**BEWARE THE PRAISE OF PARASITES. OUR MASTERS COMMEND CONSERVATISM IN ORDER TO CONTINUE CAPITALISM. ONLY UNCOMPROMISING REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM CAN PUT AN END TO WAGE-SLAVERY.**



LOADING SLEDGE.

# THE OYSTER BEDS

BY

DAVID FULTON KARSNER

Photos by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

HERE is scarcely a state in the union but has some industry of which it is proud, and "Maryland, My Maryland," is no exception, for her oyster beds are quite as famous as Chicago's killing beds are infamous, or as are the Lawrence's mills betwixt and between. But he who enters a café of any "denomination," and orders "half a dozen fried," or a "small stew," must needs know that the oysters placed before him were gathered under extraordinary circumstances.

Indeed, I have heard Marylanders say that hundreds of wops have sacrificed their lives, to say nothing of their health, in the arduous task of procuring the food of the sea. And yet, when you meet a gentleman from Maryland the first bit of information he will convey to you is that "We have the best oyster beds in the

country, in fact, in the world." I doubt not the assertion. But anyone who has visited the famous Eastern Shore of that state can testify that in the chilly months of the year there are more men out of work there than, possibly in the City of Baltimore.

This is true by reason of the fact that when the frosts begin to come down in that state, the owners of the oyster beds advertise for hundreds of men to tong for the bivalves. They go down there in droves of fifties. Only the best of the groups are chosen, of course.

The various owners of the beds have various ways of paying the tongers. Some are paid as high as ten cents a basket, while others are paid all of seventy-five cents a day. Perhaps these men will stick to their jobs throughout the season, but you may be sure they will not return



TONGING THROUGH THE ICE FOR OYSTERS.

the next year if they can earn a living any other way. I am told upon good authority that the little bosses have taken unto themselves the task of coercing men to work in the oyster beds. Not a few have actually been forced upon ice floes, given a pair of tongs and told to get to work. They have likewise been detained from day to day.

When the men are sent out upon these floes they are given a bushel basket, and when this basket is filled with the delicious blue-points, they are given another. But it is not at all likely that a single worker will be able to dig more than three bushels of oysters a day. And their days are long ones—averaging ten to fifteen hours. At this rate, it is plain that the diggers earn very little for their trouble. As usual the employers reap the benefits. It is stated that the bulk of the oyster beds in Maryland are either owned directly or indirectly by the different steamer lines which sail their vessels between Maryland and the Virginias. This may be true, but on the other hand, the steamer lines are either owned directly or indirectly by a certain gentleman named Morgan.

Hence, these hundreds of men digging oysters in the Chesapeake are employed indirectly by Morgan, who takes the product of their toil.

Not infrequently places which contain the best oysters are covered over with ice. In this case, the man on the floe saws through ten or twelve inches of ice, wedges his tongs through the cracks, breaking the surface until he is able to scoop and draw up the oysters. This process makes the worker's position a very unsafe one. Sometimes he often falls into the bay, is carried down with the undercurrent, and lost. Of course, no one ever pretends to know anything about these minor details for there are always other innocent wops on short waiting to take the place of the man on the floe or under the ice.

Just as soon as the baskets are filled they are dragged to the shore, from which they are lifted to sleds drawn by men who pull them to the depot. But before this is done the foreman of the crew takes a check on the baskets. Most of the lot is shipped direct to Baltimore. From this port they are distributed



SAWING OUT A SECTION OF ICE OVER AN OYSTER BED.

throughout the United States, shelled or unshelled.

And right here it might be well to say something about the other wops whose duty it is to shell the oysters. One can see them any day in oyster season, sitting along the wharves of Baltimore opening the shells. For this work the shuckers are paid something like two and a half cents per quart of oysters. It is not a pleasant job, but when a fellow becomes accustomed to the use of the knife he may be able to shell twenty-five quarts in a working day.

They say down in Maryland that the negroes and wops delight in the oyster season. But this is not true of those who have worked in the oyster beds. They detest it. As many as can get out of the state. They either borrow or steal

the fare with which to get away. Anyway they disappear. For they know that as sure as they remain about the Eastern Shore or about the wharves of Baltimore they will be "drafted" to the oyster beds. It is better to steal or ride the bumpers out of the state, they say, than to become "drafted" scoopers in the oyster beds. At least, they argue, it is far better to be a live slave on shore than a dead one in the bay. And they are right.

They say, the beds of the Chesapeake will continue to yield their largess for many years. There is no present fear of the supply of Blue Points running low. But it is a wise wop that stays ashore. And the wop is beginning to shun the oyster beds as he would the plague. Probably "drafting" will increase for the necessity of the Boss knows no law.

## A Cry from the Pit

BY

J. EDWARD MORGAN

Why all this grudging and drudging for gold  
 Aping the customs so foul and so old—  
 Aping and cringing and lumb'ring along  
 In the paths of the fathers, by fathers led wrong?  
 Out upon precedent, custom give o'er,  
 The wilds of life's Infinite lie on before.

Leave the foul creeds of the past to decay,  
 The Dreamland of Science just over the way,  
 Where man is triumphant, illumined and free,  
 Lies waiting, long waiting, why longer delay?  
 Turn the old page of the past to the wall,  
 Old Error stalks drunken, make way for his fall.  
 Out upon Custom's law, ape we no more,  
 The realm of Freed Science lies luring before.

Bear the glad tidings! Oh, spread the good news  
 Everywhere man is found: Time to cut loose  
 From the creeds that enslave, from the customs that bind  
 In the soul-taming hells the bulk of mankind.  
 Out upon Duty's croak! Hell take its lore!  
 Life and Love's Infinite lie on before.

Rend the false pattern, we build all anew;  
 The axe to old sign posts; Life's longings are true.  
 Up, out of bondage to man and his creed,  
 And damned be the vassal whose heart cannot bleed—  
 Whose faith cannot follow his veins gushing lore  
 To Freedom's fair Freeland that beckons before.



# The Black Man's Burden

BY

HUBERT H. HARRISON

PROVIDENCE, according to Mr. Kipling, has been pleased to place upon the white man's shoulders the tremendous burden of regulating the affairs of men of all other colors, who, for the purpose of his argument, are backward and undeveloped—"half devil and half child." When one considers that of the sixteen hundred million people living upon this earth, more than twelve hundred million are colored, this seems a truly staggering burden.

But it does not seem to have occurred to the proponents of this pleasant doctrine that the shoe may be upon the other foot so far as the other twelve hundred million are concerned. It is easy to maintain an *ex parte* argument, and as long as we do not ask the other side to state their case our own arguments will appear not only convincing but conclusive. But in the court of common sense this method is not generally allowed and a case is not considered closed until *both* parties have been heard from.

I have no doubt but that the colored peoples of the world will have a word or two to say in their own defense. In this article I propose to put the case of the black man in America, not by any elaborate arguments, but by the presentation of certain facts which will probably speak for themselves.

I am not speaking here of the evidences of negro advancement, nor even making a plea for justice. I wish merely to draw attention to certain pitiful facts. This is all that is necessary—at present. For I believe that those facts will furnish such a damning indictment of the negro's American over-lord as must open the eyes of the world. The sum total of these facts and of what they suggest constitute a portion of the black man's burden in America. Not all of it, to be sure, but quite enough to make one understand what the negro problem is. For the sake of clarity I shall arrange them in four groups: political, economic, educational and social. And first as to the political.

### *Political. I.*

In a republic all the adult male natives are citizens. If in a given community some are citizens and others subjects, then your community is not a republic. It may call itself so. But that is another matter. Now, the essence of citizenship is the exercise of political rights; the right to a voice in government, to say what shall be done with your taxes, and the right to express your own needs. If you are denied these rights you are not a citizen. Well, in sixteen southern states there are over eight million negroes in this anomalous position. Of course, many good people contend that they may be unfit to exercise the right of

suffrage. That so? Then who is fit to exercise it for them? This argument covers a fundamental fallacy in our prevailing conception of the function of the ballot. We think that it is a privilege to be conferred for "fitness." But it isn't. It is an instrument by which the people of a community express their will, their wants and their needs. And all those are entitled to use it who have wants, needs and desires that are worth consideration by society. If they are not worth considering, then be brutally frank about it; say so, and establish a protectorate over them. But have done with the silly cant of "fitness." People vote to express their wants. Of course, they will make mistakes. They are not gods. But they have a right to make their own mistakes—the negroes. All other Americans have. That is why they had Ruef in San Francisco, and still have Murphy in New York. But the American republic says, in effect, that eight million Americans shall be political serfs. Now, this might be effected with decency by putting it into the national constitutions. But it isn't there. The national constitution has two provisions expressly penalizing this very thing. Yet the government—the President, Congress, the Supreme Court—wink at it. This is not what we call political decency. But, just the same, it is done. How is it done? By fraud and force. Tillman of South Carolina has told in the United States Senate how the ballot was taken from negroes by shooting them—that is, by murder. But murder is not necessary now. In certain southern states in order to vote a man must have had a grandfather who voted before negroes were freed. In others, he must be able to interpret and understand any clause in the Constitution, and a white registration official decides whether he does understand. And the colored men of states like Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana who meet such tests as those states provide are disfranchised by the "white primary" system. According to this system only those who vote at the primaries can vote at the general elections. But the South Carolina law provides that: "At this election only white voters. . . . and such negroes as voted the Democratic ticket in 1876 and have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since. . . . may vote." Of course, they know that none

of them voted that ticket in 1876 or have done so continuously since. In Georgia the law says that: "All white electors who have duly registered . . . irrespective of past political affiliations . . . are hereby declared qualified and are invited to participate in said primary election." Under the new suffrage law of Mr. Booker T. Washington's state of Alabama, Montgomery county, which has 53,000 negroes, disfranchises all but one hundred of them. In 1908 the Democrats of West Virginia declared in their platform that the United States Constitution should be so amended as to disfranchise all the negroes of the country. In December, 1910, the lower house of the Texas legislature, by a vote of 51 to 34, instructed its federal Senators and Congressmen to work for the repeal of the two amendments to the national constitution which confer the right of suffrage upon negroes. But the funniest proposal in that direction came from Georgia where J. J. Slade proposed an amendment to the state constitution to the effect that colored men should be allowed to vote only if two *chaste* white women would swear that they would trust them in the dark. But, however it has been effected, whether by force or fraud, by methods wise or otherwise, the great bulk of the negroes of America are political pariahs today. When it is remembered that they once had the right of suffrage, that it was given them not upon any principle of abstract right, but as a means of protection from the organized ill-will of their white neighbors; that ill-will is now more effectively organized and in possession of all the powers of the state, it can be seen at a glance that this spells subjection certain and complete.

#### *Economic. II.*

Political rights are the only sure protection and guarantee of economic rights. Every fool knows this. And yet, here in America today we have people who tell negroes that they ought not to agitate for the ballot so long as they still have a chance to get work in the south. And negro leaders, hired by white capitalists who want cheap labor-power, still continue to mislead both their own and other people. The following facts will demonstrate the economic insecurity of the negro in the South.

Up to a few years ago systematic peonage was wide-spread in the South. Now, peonage is slavery unsanctioned by law. In

its essence it is more degrading than mere chattel slavery. Any one who doubts this may look to modern Mexico for proofs. This peonage in the South had reduced many black men to slavery. And it isn't stamped out yet. It was on January 3, 1911, that the Supreme Court, in the case of Alonzo Bailey, declared unconstitutional the Alabama peonage law, which had been upheld by the state Supreme Bench. About the same time W. S. Harlan, a nephew of the late Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court, and manager of a great lumber and turpentine trust, doing business in Florida and Alabama, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and fined \$5,000 for peonage. He has since been pardoned and had his fine remitted by President Taft.

One of the forms of this second slavery is the proprietary system, according to which the negro laborer or tenant farmer must get his supply at the proprietor's store—and he gets it on credit. The accounts are cooked so that the negro is always in debt to the modern slave-holder. Some of them spend a life-time working out an original debt of five or ten dollars.

But peonage isn't all. The professional Southerner is always declaring that whatever else the South may not do for the negro it supplies him with work. It does—when he works for some one else. When he works for himself it is very often different. For instance, there was the Georgia Railroad strike of May, 1909. The negro firemen were getting from fifty cents to a dollar a day less than the white firemen, they had to do menial work, and could not be promoted to be engineer. They could be promoted, however, to the best runs by the rule of seniority. But the white firemen, who had fixed the economic status of the black firemen, objected to even this. They went on strike and published a ukase to the people of the state in which they said: "The white people of this state refuse to accept social equality."

On the eighth of March, last year, the firemen on the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railroad did the same thing. In the attacks made on the trains by them and their sympathizers many negro firemen were killed. Occurrences of this sort are increasing in frequency and they have a certain tragic significance. It means that the negro, stripped of the ballot's protection,

holds the right to earn his bread at the mere sufferance of the whites. It means that no black man shall hold a job that any white man wants. And that, not in the South alone. There is the case of the Pavers' Union of New York City. The colored pavers, during the panic of 1907, got behind in their dues. The usual period granted expired on Friday. On Monday they sent in their dues in full to the national organization. The treasurer refused to receive the dues and at once got out an injunction against them. This injunction estopped them from appealing to the National Executive Committee or to the national convention. They are still fighting the case. Last January the several walking delegates of the Painters', Plumbers', Masons', Carpenters', Steam Fitters', Plasterers' and Tinsmiths' Unions compelled the Thompson & Starrett Construction Co., the second largest firm of contractors in New York, to get rid of the colored cold painters who were engaged on the annex to Stearns' department store. They would not admit them to membership in the union; they merely declared that colored men would not be allowed to do this work. And these are the same men who denounce negro strike-breakers. They want them out of the unions and also want them to fight for the unions. Presumably they would have them eating air-balls in the meantime.

Last February the New York Cab Company was dropping its negro cab drivers because, it said, its patrons demanded it. Last November the white chauffeurs of New York were trying to terrorize the colored chauffeurs by a system of sabotage in the garage, because they, too, believed that these jobs were white men's jobs.

It is but a short step from the denial of the right to work to the denial of the right to own. In fact, the two are often linked together, as in the next case. In the latter part of 1910 land speculators in Hominy, Okla., sold some land for cotton farms to negroes. The negroes paid for this land, took possession, and were getting along splendidly when—"the local whites protested." "Night-riders (i. e., Ku Klux) around Hominy several days before served notice that all negroes must leave the town at once, and to emphasize the warning they exploded dynamite in the neighborhood of negro houses." So the negroes fled, fearing

for their lives. At Baxterville, Miss., the same thing happened in March. In November, 1910, a colored man named Matthew Anderson in Kansas City was having a fine \$5,000 house built. But the jealousy of his white neighbors prevented its completion. It was blown up by dynamite when it had been almost finished. In Warrenton, Ga., notice was sent to three colored men and one widow, who had prospered greatly in business, to the effect that they must leave immediately because the white people

of Warrenton "were not a-goin' to stand for rich niggers."

One of them has been forced to sell out his business at a loss. Another never answers a knock and never leaves his house by the front door. All through these things Mr. Washington tells his race that if it will work hard, get property and be useful to a community it will not need to strive for a share in the government, and they call this man a "leader"!

(To be continued.)

## TOILERS AND SPOILERS

By SAMUEL W. BALL

**L**ABOR produces all the wealth in the world. Wealth consists of houses, cars, mined coal, hats, coats, shoes, books, sugar, bread, and any other article of use or value.

Natural resources are not wealth in this sense. Coal in the ground is not useful. It is not a convenience. It heats no houses, makes no steam, runs no machinery nor is it a thing of use or beauty. It satisfies no want of man as long as it remains in the ground.

Trees in the forest are not useful. They are not convenient. Potentially they are chairs or houses, yet they are actually neither. A clay bank is a brick house potentially, but it is not a real house. Gold, copper, silver have no value until the hand of man is applied to them. It requires labor to transform them or to move them about so that they become useful or convenient.

Labor does not create things. It transforms and transports things so that they satisfy a want or become useful.

Therefore, all the wealth of the world is artificial. It is produced by men working with their hands. These men form a class distinguished from all other classes. They have brains also. But the action of their brains must become manifest in the work of their hands before any wealth is produced. This class produces the wealth of the world. They feed the world. They clothe the world. They house the

world. Without their labor the world would not be a fit place in which to live.

But those who produce the wealth of the world are empty handed. They have not even the bare necessities of life, and none of its comforts or luxuries. Everything they produce is in the possession of those who do no work.

The other class, those who do no work, mine no coal, build no houses, run no machines or mills, do nothing but own. They add nothing to the comfort or progress of the human race. They only accumulate what others create. The only wealth they produce is to be found in cigar ashes, empty champagne bottles, ruined lives.

The wealth they accumulate is expended in monkey dinners, dog funerals, butterfly balls and other dissipations. This class resides mostly in Atlantic City, Palm Beach, Weehawken, Baden-Baden, Carlsbad, Monte Carlo and other such *industrial centers*.

The fact that the producers of wealth have no wealth and that some of them should be content to have no wealth is at once the most grotesque and pathetic thing in the world.

Workers of the world, how long will you have it so? You have but to join forces—all of you, black and white, brown and yellow brothers—to make a new world wherein you shall enjoy the full product of your labors.

# A Positive Platform

By AUSTIN LEWIS

A CORRESPONDENT, who, like so many hundreds of other workingmen, has left the Socialist party, disgusted with its latter day opportunism, writes to ask me with regard to a "positive platform." The expression occurred in a recent article which I had published in *Revolt*, and this is only one of several inquiries of a similar nature received.

By the way, it is almost pathetic to see the type of men who are being driven out of the Socialist party. Young and vigorous workmen, full of ambition for the cause of the proletariat, enthusiastic and generous, refuse to be herded along a path which leads to disillusionment and makes only for the advantage of misleaders.

My correspondent belonged to a local which broke up after the endorsement of the present state administration and ever since the proletarian ex-members of that local have been looking for a foothold which would give them a chance to maintain that fight. It would seem that they gained nothing by leaving the party. Their places are taken by smooth bourgeois, mealy-mouthed anemic ethicists and political adventurers. It is a poor exchange and we are all the poorer thereby. The men should have stayed since they could do no better; they should have stayed and helped the rest of us.

It is easily comprehensible that a vigorous working man should desire to play a game more to his evident immediate interest than the political. For the political game at its very best can be no more than a reflection of the actual fight carried on in the shop, the mill and the mine. Adventurous spirits will naturally find in the real fight, the economic fight itself, greater zest, greater opportunity and more real satisfaction than in manipulation and that eloquent hypocrisy which is inseparable from popular speaking and the marshaling of political sentiment. All this can be readily granted. No one can blame a working-

man, who, breaking loose from the bourgeois associations which membership in the Socialist party necessitates, goes into the industrial struggle itself determined to put his whole force where it will immediately tell.

But the Socialist party exists and will continue to exist. It has a role to play; it is on the stage of history. The character of the role is largely dependent upon the working class and those who think with the working class. It is quite likely that the maintenance of the present tendency in the Socialist party will cause it to degenerate into a mere appendage of reform republicanism, and that its leaders by careful bargainings, may, as is the way with leaders, land successfully, leaving their deluded followers wallowing in the mire. They are not far from it now. The recent Socialist party activities placed side by side with those of reform republicanism are hardly distinguishable except by the inferiority of their texture and the evident amateurism of their construction. We find the same "constructive" policy, the same burning anxiety to give the capitalists a chance to dispose of insecure plants for secure bonds, the same flatulent sentimentalism about a reformed society, even the same desire to truckle to the organized labor bodies. It would be hard to say where reform republicanism leaves off and Los Angeles socialism begins.

Still the Socialist party is going to live. In spite of all its present vileness, its double dealing and double shuffling, its belly-crawling and humiliating kow-towing to labor organized on safe, sane and conservative lines, it is a political manifestation of first-class importance. The economic acts of the proletarians must mirror themselves in political action and in this country they will, in all probability, find their reflex in the Socialist party.

It is necessary then that the Socialist party should, as far as possible, be made

amenable to the proletarian so that the latter may find in it a ready response to such political desires as he may possess. For, even laying the least possible stress upon political action, it is necessary that the actual achievements of the proletarian should be converted into statute law enforceable by the power of society as a whole. If the Socialist party is not to mirror merely the defeat of the small capitalist and to be phonographed in history as a futile whine, it must be made to mirror the advance of the proletarian. It can only do this by the presence of the proletarian in its ranks and the presence also of those who are able to interpret the psychology of the militant proletarian.

Besides this, moreover, the Socialist party must engage in a campaign of education so as to obtain the support of that mass which while not proletarian still will cluster round the militant nucleus if the aims of that militant body can be made to appeal to their sense of right and justice. These latter are abstract terms and, it must be remembered, that while such abstractions play no real part in the equation of social progress after cancellation is made, they are still most important elements in generating or developing individual and even mass enthusiasm. These abstractions the bourgeois element in the party is using to its own advantage at the present and is emotionalizing with political career well in view.

Against this tendency and this emotional thimble-rigging we protest in vain. Negations cannot head off positive effort, for men after all, express themselves not in negations but in affirmations. A critical correspondent in *Revolt* said rather a good thing when he declared that words unmade men. Negations may unmake men and, even affirmations, as the story of opportunist socialism conclusively shows.

Now, what is meant by a positive plat-

form? A platform which will make proletarian affirmations as against the bourgeois affirmations of the opportunist socialists. There is no space now to go more fully into this, but I will set hereafter a list of matters which might be made the prominent features of a socialist campaign. These can be more fully discussed in later issues:

"A Maximum Working Day for Men and Women."

"A Minimum Equal Wage for Men and Women."

"Old-Age Pensions, Without Working Class Contributions."

"Maternity and Disability Pensions, Without Working Class Contributions."

"Exemption of All Wages From Attachment and Execution."

"Close Regulation of Hire, Purchase Businesses and Money Loans on Salaries, and Prohibition of Assignment of Wages Except to Members of Family."

"Prohibitive Tax on Private Employment Agencies."

"Full Legal Recognition of the Right to Strike, Boycott and Picket."

"Absolute Prohibition of Police Regulations Tending to Abridge Liberty of Speech and Assembly."

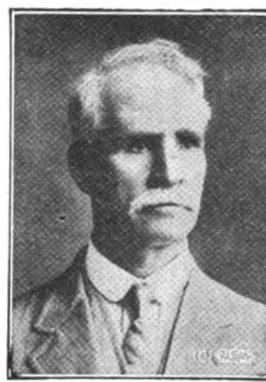
"Provision for Unemployed, Male and Female, So As Not to Interfere with the Operation of Running Industries, by Municipal Farms or Otherwise."

"Abolition of Employers' Hospital Fees and Compulsory Medical Treatment of Employees Under State Supervision."

"Abolition of Poll Tax."

"Provisions for Extending the Voting Franchise to Migratory Laborers."

The above is a tentative list of proposed political measures which might tend in some measure to give the working class a better opportunity to make their fight. They may be regarded as starting points of proletarian political action.



CHARLES EDW. RUSSELL.

FRANK BOHN.

N. A. RICHARDSON.

PHIL H. CALLERY.

## THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST LYCEUM LECTURE BUREAU

**T**HE REPORT of the National Lyceum Bureau indicates that it has accomplished one of the greatest pieces of propaganda work ever undertaken by the Socialist Party. In all 1,560 lectures were conducted by 312 locals. The average attendance being over 300, there was in all an attendance of 500,000 up to March 1. The total receipts were \$61,827.62. This means just that amount of subscriptions to papers and books. The distribution of over 2,000,000 pieces of advertising had in itself incalculable propaganda value. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the advantage which organized, systematized lecture courses have over the casual public meetings which most locals have been in the habit of conducting during the winter season. The division of the subject of Socialism into five parts and the discussion of each phase by a competent lecturer was a most fortunate conception on the part of the manager of the Lyceum Course, Comrade Katterfeld. The purpose of the Lecture Course was first, to educate party members and sympathizers in Socialism. Second, to bring new members into the party. Third, to increase the circulation of all legitimate party pub-

lications and distribute sound literature. Fourth, and by no means the least important, to get the party membership into the habit of performing propaganda and educational work during the winter time. The Lyceum Bureau has been successful in attaining every one of the purposes with which it set out. Of course there was a considerable number of failures among weak locals. Nor did the smallest locals prove to be the weakest. What an inspiration it is to find one like that at Plaza, North Dakota, successfully conducting a course to a conclusion. Plaza has but 500 people but its Socialist Local there sold 344 tickets. Many of the Lyceum tickets were sold to surrounding country people and some of them rode as far as thirty miles with the temperature way below zero to attend the lectures. Washington, Pennsylvania, with a population of 18,000, had an average attendance of 600 and upon the completion of the first course it applied for a second. So many locals made a splendid success of their work that it would be impossible to mention them all.

It might almost be considered strange that we have waited until this late date before organizing this lecture work. It



ARTHUR BAKER.



BENJ. F. WILSON.



FRANK W. SLAYTON.



GEO. D. BREWER.

needs no argument to show that an average local simply cannot secure by itself the speakers needed for a systematic course. And whatever causes in the past may have led some of the state organizations to take a doubtful view of the work of the National Office, these ought not at present to count against the work of the Lyceum Bureau. The far-reaching results of the Bureau's work are much too valuable to permit its discontinuance or weakening by any lesser considerations whatsoever.

The communications from the Bureau were generally signed by the National Secretary. But Comrade Work, we are sure, will heartily sanction our emphasis of the fact that the success of the Bureau

was due in a large measure to the indefatigable zeal and painstaking labor of the secretary of the Bureau, L. E. Katterfeld.

It is to be hoped that next year the Lecture Course will be conducted by at least twice as many locals as this year. Intense interest in Socialism everywhere abounds and purely propaganda work is being conducted to a gratifying degree with inspiring enthusiasm. It is the soldier work of education which our American movement has hitherto lacked and which will make it a hundredfold more efficient in the near future. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW heartily endorses the educational work of the Lyceum Bureau and wishes it larger success next year.



# The Red Card Organization And State Election Laws

By F. P. O'HARE

THE most important problem for the organized Socialist movement to solve at the present moment is the one dealing with our form of organization. It has been the belief of the writer for several years, that a portion of the time and energy of our National Organization could be well spent in an effort to digest and understand the primary laws passed by the various state legislatures and study their effect on the old-time form of organization of the Socialist Party of America.

To get the matter squarely before the minds of those interested, the question which I proposed to an old Socialist organizer might be restated: A western state legislature proposes that the delegates to national party conventions shall be elected at the state primaries and their fares paid out of the state treasury. When delegates thus elected at political primaries present themselves at the national convention of the Socialist Party and claim the right to sit at its councils, what will be the action of the Socialist convention, composed largely of delegates elected by the *Red-Card* membership.

The comrade had no definite answer and yet this question must be answered. Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois and other states now have primary laws prescribing the plan of organizing all political parties, including the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party in its beginning fell into a mould similar to the forms of the national labor unions. We have state "charters," local "charters," membership cards and a dues-paying system, pledges and all the paraphernalia of the labor unions. For many years the state laws permitted us to organize the Socialist Party in our own way. It seems to the writer that the Socialist Party was the only political party in America organized on a democratic basis permitting a group of citizens to own collectively and manage democratically a po-

litical party. The whole manner of organization was democratic, and revolutionary; and being revolutionary, and furnishing a means for the proletariat expressing himself, has collided head-on with capitalist political institutions which are essentially monopolistic and despotic.

No one who has studied the primary laws of various states will deny that they furnish a most effective means of destroying the pure revolutionary character of the Socialist Party unless the Socialist Party has the wisdom to circumvent this insidious attack. Several years ago when the matter was brought to the attention of various state conventions of the Socialist Party by the writer, the movement did not have sufficient experience with the primary laws to foresee their full effect and no action was taken; but today we can see plainly that state primary election laws have not been thoroughly digested by the Socialist Party and our state party constitutions are not carefully adjusted to them; this furnishes the means of creating splits and schisms which can and do keep the party in a constant turmoil. There is not the slightest question but that the St. Louis controversy would have been settled long ago were it not for the fact that the "St. Louis Socialist Party" (composed of individuals not now affiliated with the "Red-Card" organization) held political control of the Socialist Party in the State of Missouri. For many months the legal state chairman of the "Socialist Party in Missouri" did not hold a card in the Socialist Party of America. The legal city committee of St. Louis, having absolute control of campaigns and elections was composed of individuals who were not members of the Socialist Party of America. Before the Socialists of Missouri can go into the campaign of 1912 the law requires that \$6,000.00 in money must be raised and placed in the hands of the legal State Chairman. This is required by law, and if the Red-Card

members of the Socialist Party of America should not feel like raising this money and placing it in the hands of a state officer of the Socialist Party, who might not be a member of the Red-Card organization, Missouri could not have a *Red-Card* Socialist ticket in the field. Illustrations without number of similar cases can be presented from widely scattered states which have the state primary laws, and the Socialist Party of America is brought face to face with this problem which absolutely must be settled. While I was a member in Kansas City, Kansas, we found that some individual unknown to the Socialist local of that city had been elected to the Wyandotte County committee. What did he care for the Red-Card Organization? He did not know about it; he was indifferent to it. There was no way of removing him. He was not subject to any referendum or recall. The legal State Chairman and legal State Committee of the Socialist Party in such states as have primary laws are officials recognized by the government of the state and are beyond the power of our Red-Card working-class organization. Like the Socialist mayors who have been elected in various cities where Socialists have endeavored to recall them, they may wriggle their fingers and laugh at the Red-Card Organization.

It would seem that a wise thing would be for the Socialist National Committee to appoint a commission to digest all the state laws in states having primary methods of organizing political parties, and to also digest the state constitutions of the Red-Card Socialist Party of such states, and lay the facts before the next National convention. It seems they should appoint a commission to frame up a series of suggestions to guide the state organizations in the adoption of state constitutions for the Red-Card Socialist Party which will permit us to minimize the risks of divisions which I have mentioned.

A great many of the divisions in the Socialist Party are due to deep lying causes. Every locality thinks that the "fight" is about this or that. They think it is due to a rivalry for leadership. They think it is due to a difference in Socialist tactics. While it is true that there may be rivalry and differences in theories regarding tactics, and differences in interpretations of the national and state constitutions of the party and other differences of greater or less importance, none of these differences would be effective in keeping the party in turmoil and struggle were it not for the fact that capitalist law recognizes as the party managers individuals who are entirely indifferent to the Red-Card Organization, that we have been working for and building up for the last twelve years.

It would be useless to call attention to these facts without suggesting a course of action and the writer recommends that the Red-Card members request the National Executive Committee to appoint a commission, providing salary and expenses for it, and giving it ample time to make a thorough study into the capitalist state laws governing party organization, and a thorough study of the constitutions of the Socialist Party in the same states, in order that the Socialist Convention which will meet on May 12th may have definite information to work on and may take action that will permit our Red-Card Organization to grow and flourish and yet retain its collective, democratic and revolutionary characteristics. Unless such steps are taken, we may expect a new Socialist Party to arise, organized on the same plan as the Republican and Democratic parties characterized by constant struggles for party leadership, divorced from the control of the common working man, answerable to no one for its actions and capable of bringing discredit and scorn on the Socialist movement of America.

# CRAFT UNIONISM

By J. H. FRASER

**T**O SAY that a craft union can be revolutionary is a contradiction of terms and an unpardonable abuse or misuse of language. The craft union is based upon the idea that the interests of the master and the workers are identical and that contractual relations are possible between them.

Revolutionary industrial unionism demands that the worker receive the full product of his labor and parasitism cease. This leaves nothing for the capitalist to do except to go to work and be of some use to himself and society by becoming a producer. To say that the average capitalist would sign a contract on these terms is to make yourself ridiculous. Contracts between capitalist and wage-worker are generally about 95 per cent in favor of the capitalist.

If the craft union contained even a perceptible revolutionary element, clauses demanding that every union member be given sufficient employment to enable him or her to live decently, at least, would be the most prominent in these contracts. But one may search in vain for them. This has given rise to a condition about which little is known outside of craft union circles, and which is only mentioned here that those who are so anxious to enter into political affiliations with the A. F. of L. may be warned.

The number of unemployed union men is usually large at all times and especially so during certain seasons and in large cities. This gives rise to a fierce competitive struggle for jobs and in the elimination of the less competent from permanent employment. To protect themselves, and perhaps justifiably, they have in some unions banded together and formed secret organizations and cliques inside the unions.

There, through lodge or church influence and sometimes through intimidation and by physical violence such as slugging, etc., they succeed in electing members of their ring to responsible offices. In this manner the employer is reached

and the average employer is usually very willing to have the president or other high official of a union become a foreman or straw-boss. The foreman with the club of unemployment hanging over him, regulates the hiring of employees so as to give employment only to members of his clique, or to those whose actions, economic and political, he can dictate.

In this way employers are able to control the union and to nip in the bud any Socialist or revolutionary action on the part of its members. Keeping a few men on the payroll who are not the most competent as workers but who are willing to assist in stifling any revolutionary tendencies, is recognized as a good business investment by crafty employers.

This condition has been exposed and men have been fined and expelled from unions, but it has not resulted in the elimination of the evil. The point is that the evil lies within the organization itself. A man may be a Christian, a Jew, a Mohammedan or what not; he may swear upon a stack of bibles or by the beard of the prophet; if he is kept out of employment long enough and has some one depending upon him for support who gets impatient on days which should be pay-days, that man is apt to accept employment upon terms which otherwise he might not even consider. And this will continue to be true until the unions reduce the hours of work sufficiently to give employment to all their members or until the other alternative is reached—annihilation.

The tendency with many unions is to establish homes, old age pensions, mortuary benefits, accident insurance, etc. The necessary funds must come from the dues of the membership. It cannot be obtained from God, from whom Baer of the Reading Railway said he received his. The tendency toward unemployment and the constant increase in dues inevitably brings about loss of membership. The man who is compelled to give up his membership in a union, through inability

to obtain sufficient employment to enable him to pay dues, doesn't usually retain a very great amount of respect for that union. In fact, most of them are willing to act as strike-breakers and to accept employment on non-union jobs. The epithet "scab" is a very weak barrier to put between a hungry man and a job. Many men have been compelled, against their wills, to obey the first law of nature. Many men, who by nature desire the association of their fellow-workers for their mutual benefit, have scabbed. They must not be called degenerates. The degenerates are those who are opposed to improving the condition of the working class either by economic or political action and who never join any working class movement unless forced to.

Trade unionists admit this very reluctantly, but the majority of them are thoroughly aware that a craft strike is suicidal. Even the strike on the Harriman lines, in which a number of crafts engaged simultaneously, and in which the demands are very mild indeed, may result in the defeat of the men. The trainmen, station men and telegraphers remained at work. Had they struck with the rest it is doubtful if the strike could have lasted one week. The men know this to be true.

But there is another point to be considered, namely: If a union of all railroad employees were advocated, it is quite probable that the trackmen and section hands might demand recognition. No one will deny that the men who build railroads and keep them in repair are as essential to the operation of a railroad as the most lordly "skilled mechanic." It may be objected that it requires less time to learn to handle a pick and shovel than it does to handle an engine. So it does but let us remind you that it requires a greater expenditure of energy to juggle 90-pounds-to-the-foot rails than it does to pull a throttle. The fact of the matter is, no one ever pulled the throttles or waved signals on a railroad where there was no road-bed or rails. Now, why should there be such a difference in wages? The engineer receives about \$200 a month and the trackman about \$40.

Superior intellect, daring, endurance, etc., cannot be advanced as an answer to

this question, because motormen are running three and four car trains at high speeds too, for from \$60 to \$80 per month. Then where does the difference lie? Perhaps it is because the trainmen can be depended upon to stay at work and break the strikes of other employees. One of these days when the trackmen discover themselves and their true economic position they may pull off a strike in which they will win. When they realize how they have been exploited, not only for the benefit of the "skilled mechanics," there will be some routes over which trains will not be run—unless they have wings. They surely never will go on wheels until a settlement is made with the "shovel-stiffs."

For a time Americans practically abandoned common labor but for reasons already mentioned many of them are being forced back to it. Furthermore, many of the so-called Cholos, Dagos, Hunkies, Niggers and miscellaneous white trash which go toward the makeup of the Universal Brotherhood of Man, are being contaminated with the spirit of revolt and with the idea that they have a right to live. Personally, I have infinitely more respect for the "foreigner" who knows enough to cut an inch off his shovel when his wages are reduced, than I have for the craft unionist who will remain peaceably at work and assist in breaking the strike of another craft! These men will soon organize and nothing short of a readjustment of the entire economic system will prevent it! But when this organization comes it will be as the expression of discontent on the part of an enormous body of aroused workers and not as a business institution which aims at being a job trust.

Very few craft unions are holding out any inducements to non-unionists to join their respective organizations. In fact they have none to hold out. They therefore dicker with the employers and promise to furnish more efficient help and by demonstrating that it is to the ECONOMIC INTERESTS of the EMPLOYER, induce him to sign contracts that none but union men shall be employed by him. He fires his INCOMPETENT non-union help. These, in turn, are compelled to join the union and are then

furnished to some other union employer as COMPETENT help. Jonah swallowing the whale isn't a circumstance compared to this.

Nothing seems to be accomplished by it for the working class as a whole, and seldom is any advantage gained by the craft. Under our present form of organization the real strike is impossible and the boycott illegal. Will we then turn to political action?

It is true, absolutely and undeniably, that some of the very best thinkers and revolutionists in the world are today members of craft unions, but very few of them are leaders or are even allowed to take any prominent part in trade union affairs, so when Socialist politicians dicker with trade union leaders, they must necessarily deal with the men who are "safe, sane and conservative" enough to meet employers of labor and transact BUSINESS with them like BUSINESS MEN. Now, where is there any difference between a Socialist politician who dickers with labor leaders who dicker with bosses, and a politician who dickers directly with the bosses without any labor leader to act as go-between?

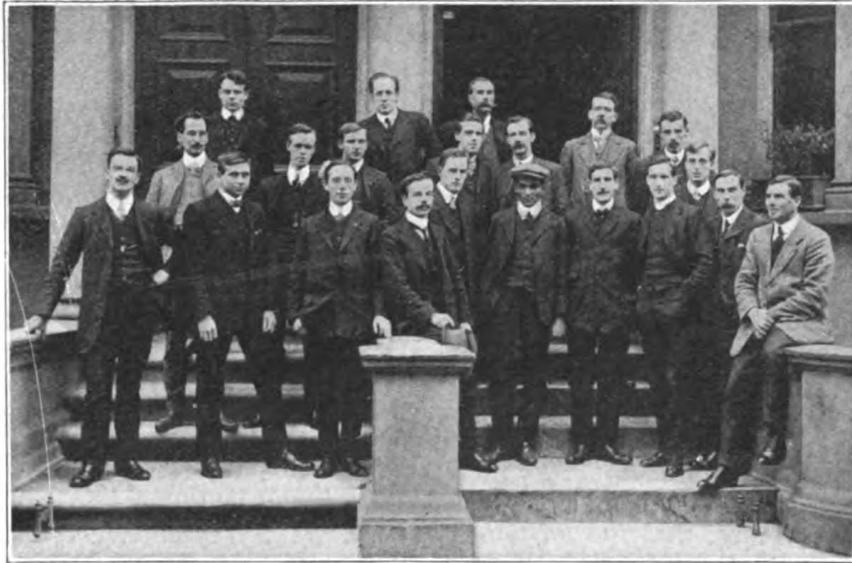
On the economic field the craft union places craft interests ahead of class interests and because of its form of organization can never become revolutionary, without first wiping out craft lines. Its attitude on the political field has already shown itself in demands that the political party which gains its support must adopt a craft-conscious platform, and not one which could by any stretch of imagination be called an expression of CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

The A. F. of L. has a voting strength of about 750,000 to 1,000,000. This cannot be controlled by one present big leader so as to give a solid vote for any party. Neither of the old parties would truckle to the A. F. of L. four years ago, beyond a pitiful reform promised by Bryan. Why? Because it takes at least 10,000,000 votes to elect a president. It is also very doubtful if the class-conscious workers could be induced to support a party whose platform was dictated by the A. F. of L. and an alliance of any political party with that organization would undoubtedly repel more votes than it would

attract. As a purely vote-catching scheme it must therefore be a failure. But the mission of the Socialist Party is not mere vote-catching. Its mission is the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery. That end can be accomplished by united industrial and political class action. This end can be achieved only through education. We cannot cater to nor compromise for cliques or crafts, but must adopt a platform at the coming national convention which will make it plain to the whole working class that the Socialist Party is the party of the working class.

Some of the Socialist papers which are dominated by craft unionists have actually declared against industrial unionism or have said that the Socialist Party is only political. If this stand is taken by the party as a whole, it will cease to be a factor with the working class. No political party whose candidates were controlled by a militant organization which would compel those who were elected to do something for the benefit of the working class would ever be permitted to take the offices unless backed up, by an industrial organization which could paralyze every industry in the nation. This the craft unions cannot do. No two of their contracts expire on the same date.

Of course, if we only advocate reforms which are of more benefit to the capitalists than to ourselves our candidates will be welcomed to official positions. Some near-Socialist politicians seem to understand this and are therefore advocating capitalistic reforms; national, state and municipal ownership, old age pensions, homes (shacks) for workers, etc. These reforms look good to many craft unionists and will be supported by them. The leaders say these are conservative reforms. "Yes, reforms, that's the thing for us," say the safe and sane. And so it will continue as long as the craft unionists can get a little higher wages than the unorganized worker. It does not matter to him if he produces \$15 in value per day and only gets \$4 for his share. He believes in the 8-hour day and a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. He wants the whole world to distinctly understand that he believes in pack-train methods in this express-train age.



STUDENTS AT LABOUR COLLEGE.

# A Workingmen's College

BY

GEORGE W. SIMS

**S**OME of your readers may recollect my previous article on "A Workingmen's College," which appeared in your columns in August, 1909. The further progress of the movement there outlined is of sufficient importance to our movement the world over to justify the publishing of this page of the history of the Working Class Movement in England. For the benefit of those who have become subscribers to the REVIEW since the former article appeared a brief summary of it may not be altogether superfluous.

In February, 1899, a college for the training of workingmen was founded in Oxford, England, by two Americans, Mr. Walter Vrooman and Dr. Charles Beard. Speaking of the purpose of the institution at the inaugural meeting Mr. Vrooman said: "We shall take men who have been merely condemning our social institutions and will teach them how, instead, to transform those institutions so that in place of talking against the world, to refashion it and to co-operate with the power behind evolution in making it the

joyous abode of, if not a perfected humanity, at least a humanity earnestly and rationally striving towards perfection." The place was practically owned by Mr. Vrooman, who chose the students, appointed the staff and nominated the council. Among the first appointments to the staff were Mr. Dennis Hird, M. A., and Mr. Alfred J. Hacking, M. A., of whom more will be heard in the course of this narrative. After the lapse of a couple of years Mr. Vrooman returned to America and no financial provision having been made for the carrying on of the institution, the question of funds for this purpose became of paramount importance. Private subscriptions were felt to be of too unreliable a character, so a more systematic attempt to obtain the support of the labor organizations in England was begun. The drawback to the success of such an appeal was obvious to some from the conditions laid down in the charter of incorporation of the college, which said that the control and teaching were to be of a non-partisan character. At this time and

up to 1910 the council of the college consisted of university men, with a few "safe" labor leaders, the latter never more than 5 out of a council of 20. So that the "impartial" nature of the control and teaching can easily be understood. In spite of all this the then vice-principal of the college wrote in 1900: "We shall be quite content if we have a Labor college, no more and no less."

On these lines of appeal to the trade unions, and with the powerful backing of the Parliamentary committee (the Executive) of the Trade Union Congress, many trade unions were won over to the support of the college, so that in time most of the students in residence were supported there by scholarships from their unions. It is not strange, therefore, that the advancing years brought with them to the college a more militant type of student. The University of Oxford, which in the early years had ignored the college, except when it condescended to sneer, gradually became interested. This interest was not in any way lessened with the rather sensational rise of the Labor party in the Parliamentary elections of 1906. The chancellor (Lord Curzon) and vice-chancellor paid official visits to the college. The students were sounded as to their views on grants of money from the university and offers of university careers. But the bait was refused by them. The college authorities, most of whom were university men, as has been shown, were not, unnaturally, sympathetic to the suggestions. Their positions served them in the matter, as they were a perma-

nent body, while the students were temporary residents in Oxford—mostly one year, at the most two-year scholarships—and having left the college had no means of keeping in touch with developments as a body. There was one stumbling block to any assistance from the university; this was that Ruskin college had no examinations or tests of any kind, a fatal barrier to the university designs. This was removed in 1908 by the institution of a test for students known as revision papers, since supplemented by conditions of study which permit of students resident in Ruskin college obtaining diplomas in economics and political science at the university—needless to add—from the capitalist standpoint.

In the meantime—1907—private classes were formed by some of the students for the study of Marxian economics. In that year, also, Mr. Hird took as his text-book in sociology for the second-year students Franklin's "Socialization of Humanity," published by Kerr & Co. This latter step becomes of immense importance to the participators in this movement we are sketching, since in 1908 started the students' connection with the publishers of this REVIEW as big purchasers of their publications, a connection which did much to clarify their (the students') views, and in no small measure contributed to that theoretical understanding of their class interests which led to the militant educational movement soon to be described. In 1908—under the able leadership of Noah Ablek, now a member of the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation—the classes in Marx-



GROUP OF TEACHERS' AND STUDENTS.

ian economics grew in popularity, and before the year was out they had a larger membership than the official lecturers on any subjects except Mr. Hird's. The introduction of the revision papers, before mentioned, led to a big struggle between the students and the college executive—the students claiming that this was the first step towards Oxford university—but the students were defeated and the revision papers established.

Under these circumstances the students and ex-students in October, 1908, formed an organization called the "Plebs" league, with the following object, viz.: "To bring about a definite and more satisfactory connection between Ruskin college and the Labor Movement. Its methods are: The holding of an annual meet and the issue of a monthly magazine. All students, ex-students and sympathizers are eligible for membership. Mr. Hird was appointed editor of the magazine. He was immediately summoned before the Executive committee of Ruskin College and asked for an explanation, which not being considered satisfactory a sub-committee was appointed to inquire into the whole matter. This sub-committee, which reported to the Executive committee on November 17, 1908, and whose report was adopted, described the "Plebs" league as "capable of being an organization whose object would be to force the Executive to move in a direction in which it would not be desirable to go." Mr. Hird was ordered to sever his connection with the league and magazine. This report was signed by Mr. Richard Bell, M. P., Sir William Markby and Professor Lees Smith. The Executive committee, on receiving this report, considered that the question "should be dealt with as part of a wider issue." They appointed what is now known as the "Committee of Enquiry," whose report was followed by the dismissal of Mr. Hird in March, 1909. The strike was ostensibly caused by the dismissal of the principal, Mr. Dennis Hird, and naturally the personal factor loomed large in the controversy. But the dismissal of Mr. Hird was only an attack on the point of view of the students, which in this case was represented by him.

In taking this drastic action, the dismissal of Mr. Hird, the college executives were

no doubt relying on the personal influence of the labor leaders on the college council to save them from any loss of trade union support. They were soon to be undeceived. The strike of the students attracted immense notice by reason of the boom afforded it by the press—"copy" being scarce at this time—the trade unions were aroused by stalwart supporters of the students among the rank and file, and 12 unions withdrew their students. The strike was eventually broken, but the students authorized the writer to become their representative and organizer for the establishing of a new college, owned and controlled by labor organizations, and whose teaching in social science should be from the labor point of view. Some influential supporters came to our assistance with promises of finding the rent of premises for a year or two to enable us to have the time necessary to approach the trade unions for their support. Knowing the difficulty of securing premises in Oxford against the active opposition of the university we kept our financial prospects secret, and to allay suspicion we published in the July number of the *Plebs Magazine* a list of subscriptions for the new college movement, amounting to £4 2s 5d. While the supporters of Ruskin College were making merry over the smallness of this amount and asking our supporters when we were going to "divide up," suitable premises were secured and the Central Labor College became an established fact. The chagrin of our opponents can easily be understood when they discovered how they had been "sold." Petitions were got up against our remaining in the premises we had secured and presented to the ground landlords—St. John's College, Oxford—who sought an injunction against us in the High Courts of Justice for a breach of contract entered into by them with our direct landlords. Having no money we decided not to fight the case and consented to leave the premises by March quarter-day, 1910. We managed, however, to retain possession of the premises until March, 1911, and then only left to suit ourselves. The taking of premises, however, served our purposes of the movement—that of having a college to which we could appeal to trade unions, cooperative and Socialist societies to send students.

Active propoganda by our friends among

the South Wales Miners secured us one student to start with—Monmouth, Western Valley District—before the inaugural meeting for the official establishment of the Central Labor College, held in Oxford, August, 1909. Our very good friend, Professor Lester F. Ward, specially made the journey to England to be present. Three meetings were held on the Bank Holiday Monday, the last of the series being the most enthusiastic meeting it has ever been my lot to attend. A provisional committee, trustees and staff for the college was elected by the earlier meetings, and it was decided to open the college for students to take up residence early in September, 1909. This was done. We opened with 20 students, mainly on scholarships of six months offered by the college executive from funds subscribed.

In the meantime propaganda was fast and furious. A hornet's nest aroused around one's ears was child's torment to the forces we set in active opposition against us, to say nothing of the secret antagonism of labor leaders and drawing-room Socialists. We boldly based our propaganda on the class struggle; declared for Marxian economics as the *only* economics for Labor, and proclaimed that history was a record of the conflicting interests of classes based on the prevailing mode of production. Education was necessary for the workers, *but* it was not any and all education, it must be education of a particular kind, since it was needed for a particular object, viz., to achieve their emancipation. University education in social science was in the interests of the master class. The Central Labor College, recognizing the class character of education in this field, taught sociology, history and economics from the workers' point of view, and just as the university was controlled in the interests of the master class, so must education for the working class be controlled by the workers, hence the establishment of the Central Labor College. With labor leaders being "honored" by universities with degrees and other mystic symbols of capitalist "learning," such a propaganda as we were carrying on aroused little sympathy and much antagonism among labor officials. But our success among the rank and file has been phenomenal, having regard to the fact that our efforts have been curtailed by want of funds and has really been mainly confined to the voluntary efforts of our supporters

in various parts of the country. We started the college at a period, also, when the Labor party itself was more Liberal than Labor, more concerned about the success of Lloyd-George's budget (land-tax) than about Socialism, weak or strong. Against us was raised the cry of being an Industrial Union movement—because some of us were known to be Industrial Unionists—and this charge, it makes us smile to think of it now, was one which caused many to give us the cold shoulder; it certainly was our opponents' strongest weapon then. But times have changed since then and now Industrial Unionism is no longer possible as a weapon against us—it has almost become a respectable doctrine.

With all our success in propaganda, curtailed as it has been for reasons given above, we have had many anxious moments. More than once we have been actually short of cash for students' meals, rent day has caused us much heartburning, too, and at least three times we have had to seriously consider whether it would be possible to continue the college work. The last of these, in March, 1911, was the most serious crisis of all, but the students in residence rose to the occasion by signing a bond guaranteeing rent to the tune of £90. The difficulty then was to find sufficient cash to enable us to keep going over the remainder of the term, as with the new term additional Trade Union scholars practically guaranteed our future stability. At the same time, on the initiative of Mr. Hird, a rent fund was started among our supporters which has since realized over £200. At this time we left the original college premises to take a house at a smaller rental, but Oxford was once more roused against us and we were given notice to quit. After vainly endeavoring to get other premises in Oxford—most of the land is owned by the colleges of the university, who refused to allow their lessees to accept us as tenants—we were compelled to seek fresh fields and pastures new. The Executive of the college decided to remove to London, where, by the generosity of friends we have been enabled to purchase premises of a size which will permit of our growth.

There are at present 20 students in residence. The college has seven trade unions supporting it with students. Three of the unions are the college trustees. Now that we have secured permanent premises and

our financial support is of a more permanent character, we shall be able to carry on a more systematic and permanent propaganda, and this is all that is really needed to assure adequate support to the college by the trade unions and Socialist bodies. Fortunately the present feeling in the Labor organizations is favorable to militant propaganda and the movement grows by what it feeds on. Marx is good diet for the production of revolutionaries.

So far I have dealt almost entirely with the college itself, at home one might say, but this training of students in residence is not its only work—I am almost tempted to say not its most important work. Tuition is given in subjects taught at the college by correspondence, over which department Mr. A. J. Hacking, M. A., presides. The college also provides teachers for outside classes, we call them provincial classes, wherever the workers themselves are prepared to organize such classes. They must be self-supporting, including the salary of the teacher, there are about 8 such classes already in existence, and others are in process of formation. Our friend, W. W. Craik,

of the Railway Servants Society, an active participant in our movement since 1908, took the first of these classes in Rochdale in 1910. They have been a great success and I am of opinion these classes will in future be the most important part of the college work. Friend Craik is now a permanent lecturer at the college and has been acting secretary since last June; his presence there will insure an understanding at headquarters of the needs of this phase of the college work, especially valuable since he will take part in the raising of future outside lecturers.

Finally, apart from our own direct labors, we have been able to do something for the working class movement here in general by advice, etc., on literature. Kerr & Co. will soon be a household word in English Labor and Socialist homes. We help the sale of their literature and the sale of their literature helps us, and both help on the movement. This is at it should be. Greetings to the readers of the REVIEW, and more power to the elbows of the militant working class propagandists of America generally.

## Plain Talk to Wage Workers

From

**Social Democrat, Auckland, New Zealand**

You, Mr. Worker, are a wage-slave by reason of the fact that you are reduced to the condition of a proletariat. In other words, you are divorced from the land and the instruments of production and distribution, and possess nothing but your power to labor. To enable wealth to be produced for your sustenance, it is necessary to have access to the land and the machinery of production and distribution worked upon the land; and it is at this juncture, Mr. Wage Worker, where you are brought face to face with a condition of affairs that reduces you to a form of slavery, namely, wage-slavery. The means whereby you must work to en-

able you to live are owned by private individuals, known as the Capitalist class, and it is due to the conditions and circumstances arising from such ownership that compels you to sell your only commodity—Labor power—to the class who monopolize the earth's resources, and are, therefore, owners of the jobs. It is in this particular process where you are exploited of the greater portion of the wealth which you, and you alone, produce, and is due to the before-mentioned private ownership. True, it is you are paid wages (when you are lucky enough to find a boss who will employ you), but those wages at best are only sufficient to

keep you at the bare subsistence level, and in a condition for the reproduction of your kind. The position you are more and more brought face to face, Mr. Worker, is whether you as a class are going to continue to allow the few to own the means whereby the necessaries of life are produced, for the aggrandisement of the few and the impoverishment of the many, or, are you, as a class, going to stand erect in the majesty of your manhood and decree, by your united voice and action, that the system of private monopoly, with its manifold evils, shall be put an end to?

It is up to you, Mr. Wage Worker, to get the dust removed from your grey matter, and do a little—just a little—thinking.

Realize, if you will, that it is you, and you alone, who operate and control the entire mammoth machine of production, and that it is upon your energy and vitality that the complex mechanism of modern life depends, and that without you not one train could run, nor one ship plough the main. Is it not a most remarkable and wonderful spectacle that you, who constitute the greater proportion of the population, should continue to allow this exploitation, and go on toiling and moiling from the cradle to the grave like so many beasts of burden?

There is no reason why you should remain a wage-slave class any longer, Mr. Worker, if you would but realize your mighty power and exercise it. With but one blow of your intelligent and well-directed power you could set yourself for ever free.

Whilst you allow a few to own and monopolize, so long will you remain a subject class. Arbitration Courts will not save you. Advance to Workers' and Settlers' Acts will not save you. Insurance schemes and all other palliative legislation will not save you from the yoke of oppression and exploitation. Nothing

short of social ownership of the earth and the machinery of production will deliver you from the quagmire of Capitalism.

Industrial and political unity is the weapon you must forge and use to set yourselves free.

The all-important work which you are confronted with at the present time is to get together and become organized in the shops, offices, mines, fields and workshops; in short, in the places where you, as a class, are remorselessly robbed of the greater part of the wealth you produce.

Get together! and marshal your forces for the final struggle which must eventuate between you and your exploiters.

The exploiters are a useless, parasitical class and few in numbers; you are a useful and necessary class, and great in numbers. Get together! and organize your economic and political might for the specific purpose of revolutionizing the material basis of society; from private to collective or common ownership. Get busy organizing upon the same basis your boss organizes. Organize as a class upon the basis of the class struggle with one purpose and one aim in view, namely, to destroy the wage-slave system. Get together now and discuss the ONE BIG UNION proposition, which means, "One Union of all workers in an industry, all industries in one Union."

Get together! and engender the fighting spirit instead of crawling to the boss per medium of the Arbitration Court. It will also be more in keeping with true manhood.

Get together! and *demand* what is yours by virtue of your organized might! Get strong and sensible enough to *take and hold* what truly belongs to you. This accomplished, you will have performed your mission, and have abolished the wage-slave system, and with it your own servitude. Get busy, and do it now!



# EDITORIAL

**The Victory at Lawrence.** The hungry, ill-clad laborers of Lawrence, led by a few veteran members of the Industrial Workers of the World, have won a notable victory, as related elsewhere in this issue of the Review. The outcome of this struggle is a splendid vindication of the tactics for which William D. Haywood and his associates on the Review have long been contending. The successful fight at Lawrence was a typical example of DIRECT ACTION, using the words in their proper sense, and not in the slanderous sense to which they have been perverted by the office-seekers who have tried to drive Haywood out of the Socialist party. These thousands of textile workers at Lawrence were nearly all disfranchised. At the polls the few of them who could vote were hopelessly outnumbered by the hangers-on and the dupes of the capitalists. All the powers of government were for the time being in the hands of their masters. Already on starvation wages, they were threatened with a further reduction. They resorted to DIRECT ACTION; in other words, they STRUCK, they stood together, and they won. Not only did they win what they asked for themselves, but other employers in the same industry took warning and raised wages to avert strikes. One most gratifying feature of this struggle is that in the presence of a common enemy, we Socialists forgot our factional fights. While the Industrial Workers of the World were in direct charge of the struggle at Lawrence, the Socialist party contributed the greater part of the funds needed to keep the workers from being starved into submission. Not only this, but the party press, especially the New York Call, turned the limelight on Lawrence so that the brutalities of the local authorities, which were designed to help the employers, had a contrary effect. And Congressman Berger worked hand in hand with Haywood and gave invaluable assistance in exposing to the American people through public hearings at Washington the hypo-

critical pretenses of the tariff-protected mill owners who had claimed to be paying high wages to American laborers in return for the tariff on imported cloth. The battle that has been won is only a beginning. Its importance lies in the fact that winning tactics have been discovered and have already received the virtual endorsement of the Socialist party of America. Industrial Unionism is no longer an untried theory. Henceforth its progress will be swift and sure.

**The British Miners.** In England Industrial Unionism is in the front of a far greater battle, and as we go to press a tremendous victory seems almost at hand. Eight hundred thousand miners hold England in a state of siege and are treating with the British government on equal terms. Some gain in wages is certain, but this is insignificant compared with the splendid awakening of the British working class, and the sense of conscious power which thrills through the lately inert mass of laborers. Not only in England, but on the continent of Europe the working class is growing into an organic power before which nothing can stand. And all signs indicate that America will not be far behind.

**The Socialist Party of America.** The monthly dues received at the national office of the Socialist party during February, 1912, indicate a membership of 123,034 members in good standing, as compared with 73,869 members in February, 1911, a gain of nearly 50,000 in a single year. This fact, taken in connection with the splendid response of the party to the appeal of the Lawrence strikers, is evidence that the Socialist party is easily the most important weapon of the working class in this country. This being the case, it becomes the duty of every clear-headed revolutionist to join the party if not already a member, and help shape its tactics. In the year 1904 a platform was adopted which to many revolutionists seemed unscientific and middle-class rather than proletarian in its spirit. Hundreds of the most active and ablest work-

ers left the party at that time in protest. Some of them have since returned; the others should come back at once; they are needed. Moreover, thousands of young men have during the last eight years become clear-headed revolutionists; taught by the all-compelling machine process and by the study of the great Socialist writers, yet have hesitated to join the party because perhaps the members whom they have happened to meet act more like office-seekers than like revolutionists. To these young men we urge the necessity of joining the party and joining it now. Inside your work of propaganda and education will be doubly effective. Never mind if here and there the party may seem to degenerate, as just now in California, into a political machine allied with reactionary and possibly corrupt labor officials. These mishaps are only incidents of growth. The party as a whole stands unreservedly for the revolution, for the overthrow of the entire capitalist system, and this underlying spirit will yet be reflected in the tactics of the party. No matter if a few middle-class reforms slip into our programs now and then; all such cheap thunder will be deftly stolen by the capitalist politicians, and the reforms, if not dangerous to capitalism, will be enacted by these same politicians. And still the Socialist party will be growing in numbers and growing in revolutionary spirit. We of the Left Wing, who want no offices, who aim only to voice the unerring instincts of the laborers in the great Machine Industry of the twentieth century—we are fighting a winning fight, because the resistless forces of evolution are with us. Come inside the party and help. The revolution is almost here and the Socialist party will be one decisive factor in hastening it. Join the local where you live, if you know where to find it; if not, ask the state secretary where you can find the nearest local. Here is a list of the state secretaries with their addresses:

Alabama, Emma F. Connolly, Box 55, Birmingham.  
 Arizona, W. S. Bradford, Room 3, Irving Bldg., Phoenix.

Arkansas, Ida Callery, Huntington.  
 California, F. B. Meriam, 715 San Fernando Bldg., Los Angeles.  
 Colorado, A. H. Floaten, 1430 Monroe St., Denver.  
 Connecticut, S. E. Beardsley, 102 Orange St., New Haven.  
 District of Columbia, Edwin F. Ludwig, 423 G St., N. W., Wash., D. C.  
 Florida, A. C. Sill, Ruskin.  
 Georgia, Max Wilk, General Delivery, Augusta.  
 Idaho, I. F. Stewart, Nampa.  
 Illinois, J. O. Bentall, 205 W. Washington St., Chicago.  
 Indiana, James Oneal, 309½ Ohio St., Terre Haute.  
 Iowa, J. J. Jacobson, 1127 11th St., Des Moines.  
 Kansas, S. M. Stallard, Box 268, Ft. Scott.  
 Kentucky, W. Lanfersiek, 506 Washington Ave., Newport.  
 Louisiana, W. F. Dietz, 924 Iris St., Lake Charles.  
 Maine, Norman W. Lermond, R. F. D. No. 1, Thomaston.  
 Maryland, A. B. Claxton, Hyattsville.  
 Massachusetts, James F. Carey, 14 Park Square, Room 7, Boston.  
 Michigan, J. Hoogerhyde, 92 Monroe St., Grand Rapids.  
 Minnesota, T. E. Latimer, 305 Lincoln Bldg., Minneapolis.  
 Mississippi, W. A. Knight, R. R. 2, Hattiesburg.  
 Missouri, William A. Ward, 10 Ohio Bldg., St. Louis.  
 Montana, Alma M. Kriger, P. O. Box 548, Butte.  
 Nebraska, Clyde J. Wright, 419 S. 11th St., Lincoln.  
 Nevada, J. E. Taylor, 301 Odd Fellow Bldg., Reno.  
 New Hampshire, Michael B. Roth, 452 Pine St., Manchester.  
 New Jersey, W. B. Killingbeck, 62 Williams St., Orange.  
 New Mexico, Mrs. Lurlyne Lane, Alto.  
 New York, U. Solomon, 239 E. 84th St., New York City.  
 North Carolina, Wm. T. Bradford, 720 Spruce St., Winston-Salem.  
 North Dakota, H. E. Thompson, Box 717, Minot.  
 Ohio, Joseph C. Schawe, 121½ E. Town St., Columbus.  
 Oklahoma, R. E. Dooley, Indiana Bldg., Oklahoma City.  
 Oregon, Chas. H. Otten, 506 Buchanan Block, Portland.  
 Pennsylvania, Robert B. Ringler, 628 Walnut St., Reading.  
 Rhode Island, Fred Hurst, 1506 Westminster St., Olneyville.  
 South Dakota, M. G. Opsahl, Sioux Falls.  
 Tennessee, J. E. Voss, 778 Eastern Ave., Jackson.  
 Texas, Ed. A. Green, Rockdale.  
 Utah, Peter J. Holt, Box 477, Salt Lake City.  
 Vermont, Mary R. Sanford, Bennington.  
 Virginia, I. L. Burgess, 3613 Huntington Ave., Newport News.  
 Washington, Frans Bostrom, Box 491, Everett.  
 West Virginia, H. W. Houston, Parkersburg.  
 Wisconsin, E. H. Thomas, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee.  
 Wyoming, John Ramsay, 309 5th St., Rock Springs.

Lose no time in joining. The party platform when adopted by the May convention will be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership, section by section. There will be a hot contest in the convention between office-seekers and revolutionists for an opportunist or a proletarian platform. No matter which side wins in the convention, the membership will have the final decision. So if YOU have been standing outside criticising the Socialist party for being "bourgeois," now is the time to come inside and add your strength to that of the comrades who are trying to make it proletarian.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN



PIT BOYS IN ENGLAND ARE HAVING A STRIKE HOLIDAY.

**Another Battle in England.**—The working class of England may be a bit slow in learning Socialist theories; nobody can accuse it of being slow in learning to fight the good fight against the capitalists. When Keir Hardie addressed the recent congress of French Socialists he could speak with justifiable pride of the progress made by the English workers during the past year. And no doubt he spoke the exact truth when he said: "This progress is due to a combination of industrial and political action. The progress of the one does not exclude the other. We fight with two weapons, the strike and the vote."

But it is on the industrial field that the English workers are really at home. In Parliament their representation is feeble and wavering, but on the industrial field of battle they advance with a solidarity and determination which are irresistible. It is significant that at the moment when we see in Germany the most magnificent political victory ever gained by the working class England gives us the most awe-inspiring exhibition of the economic power of the workers. The classic land of the trade union is again assuming its old position of leadership. It must be record-

ed where all after-generations can read that the toilers of old England have been the first to bring a capitalist class to its knees. And while the Germans were striking terror with the ballot the English were striking greater terror by the simple and ancient method of quitting work.

The present great coal strike began at a moment of discouragement. The struggle of the cotton spinners had just ended in a compromise which was a virtual defeat. The cotton spinners had been locked out on December 27 because 300 of them in one little mill had refused to work with a pair of non-unionists. The lockout involved 250,000. The fight was for the closed shop. On January 19 an employer was able to say: "We've got the beggars back at last." They have gone back under an agreement which provides that the non-union agitation is not to interfere with the working of any mill for six months, and after that there is to be no strike without due notice given. That is, the employes have sworn away their right to insist upon union shops. They have not been defeated; they have given up the fight. Of course they had

been scolded and deceived by the capitalists' press, by the government arbitrators and, in part, by their own leaders. They are not to be blamed. But they did capitulate ingloriously.

That was on January 19. Less than ten days later the English coal miners voted, 4 to 1, to go on strike. In all industrially developed lands the coal industry is the one most absolutely essential to social life. It is basic in a peculiar sense. Without coal the factories cannot be worked and the trains cannot be run. Without coal our whole social structure falls to pieces. Coal is quite as necessary to our form of life as are water, air, and food. But to the people of England coal mining is even more vital than to any other nation. In 1909 the production amounted to 263,774,312 tons. This product had a value of more than half a billion dollars at the pit mouth. Something like 40,000,000 tons of it were exported. But what gives the production of coal its greatest importance is the fact that England is dependent upon water transportation for its food supply. Leave the ships without coal and the English starve.

There are employed in and about the English coal mines more than a million workers. Their greatest grievance is that many of them, working at the prevailing wage, have been unable to earn enough to live on. Coal miners are paid by the ton, and their return depends largely on the sort of vein they are working, the conditions under which they work and the method of weighing. Premier Asquith acknowledges officially that the men have proved to him that many of them have not been able at the present rates to make a living wage. What they want is a minimum wage of five shillings a day, surely not an extravagant demand.

The strike was brought about in the slow and orderly British way. The vote of the rank and file was taken toward the end of February. The strike was decided upon. Then a month's notice was given to the employers. On February 29, in due and proper season, the walk-out took place. By the following day fully a million miners were on strike. Immediately factories began to close down, railways cut down the number of their trains, vessels were left in harbors. With-

in a week it was estimated that 500,000 additional workers had been thrown out of employment. Food prices rose higher every day. The country had had a month in which to prepare for what happened, but a few days of the strike showed the nation helpless without its coal miners.

The support given by workers of other industries and other countries has been, for the most part, only a matter of promises. The transport workers of England have declared their willingness to strike rather than carry scab coal. The German miners are ready to strike to enforce demands of their own, so they are naturally ready enough to go out if German operators undertake to supply the English market. Here in America there have been statements given out by officials of the United Mine Workers which indicate that a supporting strike has at least been thought of. On the other hand, English factory employes who have been thrown out of work by the strike are not exhibiting the sort of class solidarity that wins. There is constant talk of their bringing pressure to bear upon the miners in order to induce them to compromise.

But the most significant effect of the strike has been on the government. Labor has had representatives in Parliament for many years. But no government has ever dreamed of granting them anything so radical as a minimum wage law. To be sure, a minimum wage law which bears no relation to the value of the product turned out or to the prevailing cost of living is not exactly revolutionary. But it is at least an acknowledgement of the worker's right to live so long as he is working. It is an attempt to set a limit to the extent of exploitation. Any attempt of this sort indicates a great advance in public thought with regard to the right of the working class to life. No doubt the long years of Socialist agitation in England have done much to popularize the principle of the minimum wage. But agitation has had little effect on Parliament. Within a day after the strike was begun Premier Asquith had secured the promise of more than 60 per cent of the coal operators to introduce a minimum wage providing all the operators could be brought into the agreement. The Scotch and South Wales operators

refused their consent. Within two days the Premier announced that the government was prepared to introduce a minimum wage law to apply to the coal-mining industry. It was at this point that he received an illuminating surprise. He called in the committee of the men and asked them to call off the strike with the understanding that the government stood pledged to push a minimum wage law through Parliament as rapidly as possible. The men replied with great politeness that the strike had been called by the rank and file of the miners and it would go on until the minimum wage was a fact. Promises didn't go. The Premier asked them if they would submit their own wage proposition to a discussion at which operators, miners and government should be represented. Then the men used the phrase which has been consecrated by generations of employers, "Nothing to arbitrate." There is our proposition, said the committee in effect, it has been passed upon by the rank and file; this is all we have to say.

As the REVIEW goes to press the strike is still at its height, but there is a general feeling abroad that it will be settled soon. The fact that the striking miners have scared the government into supporting them and that 60 per cent of the operators have agreed to the principle of the minimum wage gives the workers of the world a sure hope for a victory. The capitalists, on the contrary, find it difficult to disguise their consternation and chagrin. "What has become of the spirit of real liberalism, we used to see in England?" cries the Paris Temps. "Never before has any government so utterly disregarded the claims of a body of business men, who are responsible to their shareholders for the conduct of their business."

To this Mr. Asquith can truthfully reply that he has been coerced. Nobody has ever accused him of doing anything for the working class if he wasn't forced to do it.

And the present state of affairs throws a ray of light through all the vexed problems of working-class tactics. When the toilers get ready to take anything the government is brimming over with eagerness to give it. There are more ways than one of bringing a government to terms,

**Italy. The Movement Finding Itself.**— Usually there is nothing more deplorable than the division of a working-class movement. Yet it is difficult to see how anything but good can come of the separation of groups which is now taking place in the Socialist party of Italy. Some account of this separation has been given in the February number of the REVIEW. The most recent reports indicate that it is steadily becoming more unmistakable.

The division, it will be remembered, is between the two groups of Reformists. One group, led by Bissolati, has steadily supported the ministry in spite of the war against Turkey. The other, led by Turati, has refused to follow Reformist principles to this extent. When it really came to a definite choice between the working class and the government this latter group proved to be revolutionary at heart.

The break in the parliamentary faction is now complete. On February 22 the Socialist deputies decided by a vote of 17 to 14 to rise from their seats along with other supporters of the government in honor of the Italian soldiers who have fallen in battle. Hereupon the minority of fourteen took matters in their own hands and remained away from the session at which this patriotic demonstration was to be made. As a consequence of this act of rebellion they were forced to form a separate group of their own. At the present moment there are, then, two distinct and antagonistic Socialist groups in the Italian house.

The executive committee is to meet and to take the matter up. The committee, however, has no power over the Socialist deputies. The matter can, therefore, not be definitely settled without a special congress of the party. Until such a congress takes action things will probably remain very much as they are at present. And at present, although there has been no official recognition of a split in the party, a division has actually taken place.

**France. The Party and the Union.**— The Socialist Party of France finds itself again face to face with the problem which is eternally forcing itself upon us. Though this problem was not down on the program of the party congress, which met at Lyons on February 18, it forced itself into the discussion and became the

overshadowing issue. On December 2 comrades Compere-Morel and Chesquire addressed to the Chamber of Deputies, of which they are members, a severe criticism of the policies and tactics of the Confederation General du Travail. They declared sabotage the weapon of anarchists and expressed the conviction that the labor union as such has no part in the revolutionary movement of the working class. Its business is, according to their statement, to secure for the workers the best possible conditions within the capitalist system. The task of overthrowing this system is, they maintained, the work of the Socialist party acting on the political field.

The discussion was long and violent. All of the old war-horses of the movement took part. The comrades under attack, Compere-Morel and Chesquiers, defended themselves by maintaining that the policy of direct action keeps the French working class disorganized. Wherever this policy is adopted, they said, the Confederation General declines in numbers and power. The Socialist party must appeal to the whole working class, not only to the minority which can be brought together in an organization which stands for such a policy as this. Therefore they had considered it their duty to speak openly in criticism of the Confederation. Their position was defended by Comrade Guesde and others.

Comrade Vaillant led the attack. In the main he opposed the two Socialist deputies in question, not for saying what they did, so much as for making any public criticism of the Confederation. The party congress held at Limoges adopted

a resolution declaring that party and Confederation should respect each other's autonomy. An attempt to dictate to the union organization was, said Vaillant, a plain breach of the intent of this resolution. Dormoy replied more directly to attacks made upon the Confederation. It is not true, he said, that this organization is stagnant. During the year 1911 it grew from 320,000 to 365,000. At present it is progressing satisfactorily, according to his statement, and at any rate, criticism and attempts at dictation on the part of Socialists cannot be of any assistance to it.

Finally Compere-Morel introduced a resolution which is worth reproduction as a statement of the position of the pure-and-simple political Socialist on the question of unionism: "Union, or industrial, activity completes itself within the limits of the capitalist system and can, therefore, not be self-sufficient. In its very nature it is defensive or reformistic in character. Only political action, whether carried on through the ballot or by means of insurrection, can be in its essence revolutionary and thus adapted to carry on the work of expropriating the expropriators."

When this resolution was read Vaillant cried, "If we adopt this we shall be separating ourselves from the C. G. T.!" and Jaures echoed, "This would mean civil war within the working class!"

The delegates were evidently unwilling to take a stand on this proposition. It was referred to a resolutions committee and buried there. What was reported out and accepted was a non-committal reprimand of Compere-Morel and Chesquiere.





Eugene V. Debs

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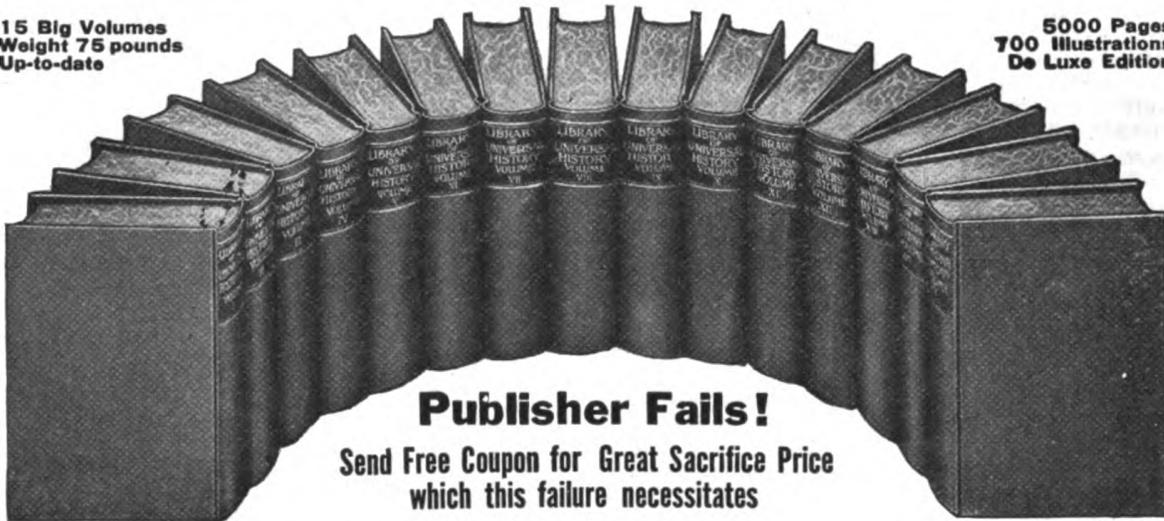
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# The Labor Struggle

**Economics and Politics.** There is one point in connection with the Lawrence strike that seems to have been overlooked in the scuffle and we want to throw the spotlight on it now. The Socialist party as an organization hopes by means of votes to capture the legislative powers of government and then pass laws in the interest of the workers. The action that would be most appreciated by the workers would be a reduction by law of the hours of labor. Well, the Massachusetts legislature tried that. In response to pressure put on by the labor unions and upon assurance that "industrial peace" would be secured thereby, they passed a law reducing the hours of work for women and children from 56 to 54 hours a week. That is as good as a Socialist legislature could do for a start.

What happened? The capitalists of the textile mills duly reduced the hours—but—BUT—they reduced the pay of the workers at the same time. So the workers had to strike in order to secure to themselves the benefits of a law passed in their behalf. In other words, to enforce *political action* they had to employ *direct action*.

Suppose Socialist legislatures are elected in several states and they immediately pass desirable labor legislation. What is to prevent the capitalists from retaliating by immediately reducing wages? "But," our trustful parliamentary brother will say, "the capitalists could be prevented by law from reducing wages, too." If that is so, who is going to stand at the elbow of the boss and see that he puts the right amount into the pay envelope?

The truth is that political action not backed by the solid economic power of the workers, organized not by craft but by industry, is a pipe-dream, and the sooner we Socialists come out of our power-of-the-ballot-box trance the better.

**How to Manufacture Scabs.** "I would also favor the discussion and consideration of the question of compelling new members to serve apprenticeships and minimize the number of apprenticeships as much as possible, making the apprenticeship as long and difficult as possible, thus preventing an influx of new members, which would again bring about a repetition of the present condition of unemployment." This is not an utterance of Sam Gompers or other hide-bound unionist, but of a Socialist official of a trade union. Could any better method of creating scabs be thought of than that proposed here? In it is all the snobbishness and selfishness of the usual Gompers-Mitchell brand of unionism. The idea is to protect our own little jobs at all costs and keep out the rest of the working class. Of a truth, some of the worst reactionaries in the

labor movement are those trade unionists who call themselves Socialists. Their Socialism is good only on election day.

**The Unthinking Telegraphers.** Now here come the Commercial Telegraphers with a loud demand for "government ownership." Are they so anxious for the gag law under which all federal employes now suffer? Do they so crave the dose that has been handed out to the railway mail clerks? Don't they recall Taft's little hint to the effect that it is possible to consider a strike of federal employes treason against the government and that "offenders" can be "punished" as traitors? "Punished" in this case was the substitute for the word that Taft hesitated to use—"shot."

**Pat a Convert?** Well, it may be all right, but it looked mighty queer to read about Pat McCarthy, that rank old capitalist tool, patting the Socialists on the back and putting in a kind word for the party at the California Building Trades convention. After being kicked in the face by his old friends after they had no further use for him, is Pat now to become a "comrade"?

**The Proletariat Is Stirring.** If on reading the daily papers it seems to you that we are living in a turbulent and chaotic world just now, get out your old "Communist Manifesto" and read it over again. You will realize afresh just what is the matter. As we see how the revolt of the miserable wage slaves of Massachusetts, England and Germany is making government officials run around in circles and utter loud cries, how Congresses and parliaments are set by the ears, how lords and masters turn pale and utter low moans, we are reminded of those words of Marx: "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." These, indeed, be stirring times.

**In Line with Progress.** Local 72 of the International Union of Steam Engineers, at Los Angeles, has come right out for industrial unionism and passed a resolution calling on all unions of the A. F. of L. to do the same. In consequence, these progressive workingmen are meeting with the same sort of abuse from their officials that the early propagandists of the idea met with in the Socialist party. Let the stand-patters howl. Industrial unionism cannot be stopped any more than the assembling of the workers in big industries by the capitalists can be stopped. It must prevail.

# NEWS AND VIEWS

**From Branch Five, New York City, 440 Members in Good Standing.** Whereas, In the course of the discussion in the Call, arising out of nominations for the N. E. C., Comrade Spargo has made allegations against the motives and policy of the Charles H. Kerr Company, and has charged Comrades Haywood and Bohn with propagating the policies of the Anarchists, which makes them ineligible for membership in the Socialist party, and

Whereas, The charges against the Kerr Company are, if untrue, grossly libelous, and those against Comrades Haywood and Bohn, if false, are either made in ignorance of the opposing policies of Socialism and Anarchism, or are inspired by malicious intent to slander, and

Whereas, Comrade Hunter has, so far as the Kerr Company is concerned, made public a statement to the same effect, be it

Resolved, That Branch Five (Local New York) calls upon Comrades Spargo and Hunter to publish forthwith proof in support of their statements and allegations; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the New York Call, the Chicago Daily Socialist, Milwaukee Leader and Social Democratic Herald, International Socialist Review, Pittsburgh Justice, New Castle Free Press and San Francisco Revolt.

(Signed) A. S. BOYD, Rec. Sec'y. Branch 5.

**From Local Indianapolis, Ind.** The following resolution as adopted by Local Marion County is not meant as a personal attack on the comrade mentioned, but rather as a general protest against the growing tendency of comrades high in the councils of the party demanding salaries far out of proportion to that received by the general membership. Local Marion County unanimously endorsed the following resolution, copy to be sent to the national office, Comrade Spargo and the party press:

Whereas, It has come to the notice of Local Marion County that one W. A. Stout, manager of the Central Lyceum Bureau, a private enterprise, is applying to the various locals of the Socialist party for speaking dates for Comrade Spargo at the flat rate of \$50 per lecture, and

Whereas, The wage is far above the average wage paid to even the most skilled mechanic holding membership in our organization who have the bills to pay and would have a tendency to react on the workingmen joining an organization paying such sums to advance the propaganda of the party doctrine; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Marion County in regular meeting assembled denounces the policy of influential members using their connection

with the party to bleed the membership for such enormous fees, and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the national office and the party membership in general to discourage this tendency wherever the opportunity presents itself.

(Note—The literature used in connection with the offer does not bear the union label.)

WM. JACKMAN, Sec'y.

**Good for New Zealand.** Several days ago we received in the same mail an order from Comrade Bloodworth of Auckland, New Zealand, for \$70 worth of books and a bundle order for 50 REVIEWS a month and the cordial greetings of a Red from over the water. Things are simply booming in New Zealand and the labor party seems to have drawn the lines more clearly between the revolutionists and the reformers than in many other countries.

**Best Yet Seen.** Enclosed find money order for one year's subscription to the REVIEW. I saw this paper with much pleasure, which for get-up and contents both is the best Socialist monthly I have yet seen.

P. DEYS, Johannesburg, South Africa.

**Likes the Review.** I notice the attacks made on the REVIEW and its staff by the narrow-minded Socialist politicians, which in my estimation is a disgrace. As a true exponent of revolutionary Socialism the REVIEW stands out as the foremost, and I won't trade the REVIEW for the whole bunch of Socialist periodicals published in the United States. Go right ahead with the good work. The working class wants bread and not political jobs. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the right thing for me and my fellow slaves. Yours for the Revolution,

A. LAZIER, Detroit, Mich.

**The Movement in Illinois.** Illinois is not among the states where Socialism has had a spasmodic or mushroom growth. Neither is Socialism growing only in spots. The fact is that the sentiment is almost evenly distributed throughout the entire state and the sentiment is great.

Last spring we elected Socialists from the Wisconsin line on the north to the Missouri and Kentucky line on the south.

Up to 1908 the movement was stronger in Chicago than outside. But since that time the workers in the state at large have taken hold in a most splendid manner until today the membership is quite evenly distributed. There is now a paid-up membership of 6,000, with over 300 organizations doing active work. New locals are chartered at the rate of two and three every week.

There are five daily Socialist papers in the

state, over a dozen weekly and several monthly. The state paper issued by the party, the "Next Step," has a circulation of over one hundred thousand.

Illinois has had an average of about four organizers in the field during the last three or four years. Of course only one comrade, Comrade F. T. Maxwell, has been regularly engaged. The others have been routed several months at the time.

The present outlook is the brightest in the history of the party in the state.

The campaign is already on and a definite plan proposed by the state secretary has been adopted by the executive committee.

The plan provides for the usual speakers and organizers and the customary distribution of literature.

In addition thereto the plan has two distinctly new features.

#### 1. The use of slides.

Three or four sets of slides will be used by good lecturers who can present the cause of the workers to both ear and eye.

(1) The Milwaukee slides, showing the salient features of the Socialist administration.

(2) The Panama Canal slides showing the possibility of huge undertakings by the people, also showing how the workers get free housing, free hospital service with full pay while sick, furniture, food and clothing at cost and in a definite way bring out the Socialist features of the Panama project as well as showing the unjust influences of capitalism.

(3) General Socialist Slides. These will deal with housing conditions of the workers, their shop conditions, their pay envelopes, strike scenes, contrast of hovels and mansions, accidents and other facts that show the horrors of capitalism and the need of Socialism.

#### 2. The use of automobiles.

In order to reach the small towns all over the state at least three machines will be put to use. One is already at the disposal of the party. Serviceable machines can be bought for about \$300 each.

Two men will go with each car. One must be a first-class speaker.

It is planned to make county by county radiating from the best organized point to every village in the county. Five or six towns can be made in the daytime and a large town in the evening.

Two or three volunteers will be taken along from locals. Convenient and appropriate pieces of literature will be prepared. All except the driver will get out as they reach a town and leave a package of literature at every house. The driver finds a location for speaking and rigs up the machine with the signs. Then he drives around town and with a megaphone announces the meeting. In about fifteen minutes the speaking begins. After the speech is over a collection is taken, books sold and names of interested workers secured and sent to the state office. If conditions are ripe a local can be formed.

The next town is then made in a similar way and so on till every town in the county is covered. Then to the next county and the next till every county is covered.

There are 102 counties in the state. By starting three automobiles the first of May averaging three days to the county, every county can be covered once and over half of them can be covered twice.

There are several senatorial districts where the Socialist candidates can be elected. Towards the windup of the campaign all the machines and all the speakers and stereopticon lecturers will go into those districts all together and take the whole territory by storm.

This in short is the plan. The comrades are taking hold fine and it looks now as if we may take the spin off the capitalists by the square yard.

In the meantime we are building up the organization for the solid work of education and class action on both the industrial and political field.

J. O. BENTALL, State Sec'y.



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THIS AUTO WAS USED TO BRING IN SCABS.

**A Strike in Australia.** The Lithgow (New South Wales) ironworkers have been on strike twenty-three weeks, because their employer, Hoskins the union smasher, dismissed one of his employes. It has been for years the set purpose of this Australia ironmaster to make all he could in business out of the Federal Government and at the same time withhold from his workers as large a portion of the surplus value of the wealth they created as possible.

But early last year when industrial troubles began in Lithgow the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW showed up in its columns the scandalous treble bonus which Hoskins was extracting from the Government on every ton of pig iron, of manufactured iron and of steel which his firm produced. An expert commissioner, W. Paul, was brought out from England to inquire into the working Hoskins' contract with the Australian Federal Government, with the result that the contract has been canceled.

During the course of the present strike some of the men enraged by the jeers of the scabs (for whom Hoskins had provided a temporary "scab hotel" at the blast furnace) attacked the works with a shower of stones, burnt one of Hoskins' motor cars, which had brought scabs into the town under cover of the night, and threw the scabs' clothes and bedding into the "cooling lake." Three workers have been imprisoned by a "labor" government for this outbreak, while many more were heavily fined.

At Christmas time these fines had to be paid; and the women and children of Lithgow

must have had a merry Christmas, for besides the financial pressure of a prolonged strike, they were robbed by legal process, by a "labor" (?) Government their own class had put into power! But the workers of Australia are still full cry after "Step-at-a-Time Political Laborism," which puts into power shrewd politicians whose aim is through arbitration acts and wages boards to tie the workers' hands behind their backs, and thus destroy their greatest industrial weapon—the strike.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

**Lasted Only a Few Hours.** Enclosed find another order for REVIEWS. I found the right boy and he sells the right magazine. The first 20 lasted only a few hours, and many asked for them after they were all gone. I only wish every worker could read the March number. I hope to increase sales till we have to use the freight cars instead of the mail.

COMRADE HARPER, Indiana.

**They Didn't Last Long.** I started my boy out with the bundle of REVIEWS you sent and they didn't last till he got down town. Send me forty more copies.

COMRADE RICHARDSON, California.

**Using the News Stands.** Comrade Huebeger of Minneapolis orders 100 copies of the REVIEW and remarks that he is "going to put some in every news stand in the Fifth ward. I intend to take all unsold copies off their hands as soon as the next copy is issued. I hope the comrades in the other wards will do likewise, as all the news stands will take them on those terms." Indeed they will. Some-

thing is urgently needed to counteract the poison of the capitalist magazines with which the news stands are loaded. Why not the REVIEW?

**All Sold Out.** Please find check enclosed for 20 more copies. The first ones are all sold out.  
COMRADE ANDELMAN, Boston.

**From Utah.** The average membership of the Socialist Party in Utah during the year 1910 was 263; during 1911 it was 611. The banner month for receipt of dues money during 1911 was September, when 861 due stamps were sold. That record was exceeded in the month of February this year, when 977 due stamps were sold.

We now have one organizer in the field, and have had organizers—sometimes one and sometimes two—steadily employed since January 29, 1910. It is safe to say that we have had an average of one meeting under state auspices every day. The sound revolutionary literature sold can not even be estimated. Add to this that the locals have employed speakers in addition and sold literature and with the literature the revolutionary labor unions have sold, there are figures to stagger the capitalistic philistines.

There is now published one Socialist paper at Helper, Utah, and the name is the People's Press. There is a movement on for starting a chain of papers under some central management.

The general condition of the party in the state is excellent. We look for an increase of membership to two thousand this year and hope to be able to keep two or three organizers in the field all the time.

As to how many votes we will get, that is immaterial. What we want is organization and education. Nor do we expect to have a perfect organization composed of angels, but rather to spread the propaganda to every nook and corner in the state and let the internal development of intelligent membership follow. To that end we will discourage all possibilities of factionalities and sometimes brush technicalities to one side for the sake of unity.

When the votes are counted next November there will be some ten or twenty thousand and many members of state legislature of our party will be elected.

P. J. HOLT, State Sec'y., Utah.

**Growing in Tennessee.** In 1906 this state was organized and the present state secretary was elected in 1909. There were only four locals at that time and three members at large. In February, 1912, we organized four new locals, making a total of forty in the state. We have forty-four members at large. Our vote has grown from 1,354 in 1904 to 4,571 in 1910. In the Tenth congressional district in 1911 we polled 2,000 votes. Grundy county expects to carry that district for Socialism. We hope to poll 40,000 votes at the next election. We are laboring under financial difficulties, but we are growing all the time.

Jos. E. Voss, State Secretary.

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**The Socialist Outlook in West Virginia.** It is impossible to write of the political situation in this state without enthusiasm. The apathy of recent years has given place to a marvelous awakening among all classes of voters. The seed sown by the early agitators has taken deep root in our soil and is bearing abundant fruit. The dues paying membership of the Socialist party is about one thousand. We have ninety-three locals in good standing. Our party press is a development of the last two years, and we now have the following papers: The Labor Argus, Charleston, edited by C. H. Boswell; the Clarksburg Socialist, Clarksburg, edited by E. H. Kintzer; the Wheeling Majority and the West Virginia Socialist, both of Wheeling and edited by Walter B. Hilton; the Plain-Dealer, Cameron, edited by William E. Lang. A movement is now on to start several other papers during the coming campaign.

Several towns in the state have elected Socialist mayors and other officials. Star City, Hendricks, Adamston, Miama and other towns have been swept into the Socialist ranks. All indications point to our carrying at least five counties in the coming election. Our state government is located at Charleston, Kanawha county, and the political piracy that always characterizes the doings of the politicians that infest the seat of government has polluted that community beyond description. The voters there are in revolt. The generals of the old parties find themselves without an army. The Socialists have set themselves the task of electing the entire ticket in that county, especially the legislative ticket. Our enemies freely admit that we have a splendid fighting chance. At Clarksburg, Harrison county, the situation is intensely interesting. It has attracted the attention of all of the lyceum lecturers. The industrial workers of that section are intelligent and progressive, and during the last two years they have been coming into the Socialist movement in battalions. This is another county that is almost certain to land a full Socialist ticket.

At Wheeling there is the same widespread response to the call of Socialism. The voters are organizing the entire county, and there is little doubt but that we will secure at least a portion of the ticket in that county. One of the most gratifying things about the West Virginia movement is the utter absence of factional strifes and disruptive tactics. Some slight differences do indeed exist as to minor matters, but there is no bitter or serious breaches in the organization. On the whole complete harmony reigns. The personnel of the movement is exceptionally high, and the movement is revolutionary to the core.

This is a war-born state, and it has a population that illy wears the collar of industrial servitude. When it seceded from Old Virginia it placed upon its coat of arms the motto: "Montani Semper Liberi" (Mountaineers are always free), and the sweep of the Socialist



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movement over the mountains and valleys indicates that we are going to translate those words into a reality. We send greetings to our comrades of other states, and we say to them that the coming election will show that we have been in the thick of the battle.

HAROLD W. HOUSTON, State Sec'y.

**Education in Pottsville.** Pottsville and vicinity are carrying on a spirited campaign and Comrade Con Foley predicts a big surprise when next the votes are cast. A new Socialist paper—The Hope of Socialism—has been started. The Pottsville friends call their campaign the Educational Method. They would rather win one real permanent Socialist than get forty fluke votes. They are placing Socialist literature in the hands of the working class. Two thousand eight hundred names have been put on the Appeal mailing list and 250 names on the subscription list of the REVIEW. Every barber shop, dentist's and doctor's waiting room and every other public place where men and women pick up something to read, is furnished with sound Socialist literature. The Pottsville comrades say all they want to do is to let people know what Socialism is and the whole working class will be with them. Good for Pottsville. That is the kind of work that sticks. The educated workingman and woman who becomes Socialists will stay Socialists till we win out. The next time another local has an idea as good as Pottsville's, please spring it on us so that we can put our readers next to the new way.

**Education in New Hampshire.** Unless all signs fail, the approaching election will witness a decided increase in the number of votes for Socialism in the state of New Hampshire. Years of hard propaganda work are beginning to tell and slowly but surely the truths of Socialism are breaking through the wall of conservatism that surrounds the people of the old Granite State.

A good indication of the changing sentiment is the fact that five cities, namely: Manchester, Dover, Keene, Concord and Berlin, were able to accept and make a success of the National Socialist Lyceum course of lectures.

The party membership is growing. We now have over five hundred members and will undoubtedly enter the campaign with about seven hundred.

The state convention will be held in Manchester, April 18, and among the actions taken will probably be the placing of a man in the field to devote all of his time to Socialist work until after the national election.

There is also some talk of issuing a weekly state paper at least for a few months prior to the election. The chances of electing any officials are slim, but in several representative districts we will make the old party candidates extend themselves. The movement in New Hampshire is small but united. There are no dissensions. Our interest centers in the growth of Socialism, and we propose to contribute materially to that growth on election day.

MICHAEL B. ROTH, State Secretary.

## Invest Where Fortunes Are Being Made

### Houston—Coming City of the South

Houston has grown from 45,000 to 105,000 in seven years. Conservative men predict that the city will go to a half million population within 10 years. During the past two years there has been more money invested in new building in Houston than any other city of its size in the United States. Seventeen railroad trunk lines center here and interurban lines have been completed and projected, that will make this the interurban center of the southwest. The government is spending \$2,500,000.00 on the ship channel here, which will make Houston the greatest southern port. Millions upon millions are going into new skyscrapers, magnificent hotels, steel mills, and the city has 300 factories now, with more coming. A new Union Stock Yards are to be built at once and millions to be spent on the great railway and ship terminals around the port. The Rice University, with an endowment of over \$9,000,000.00, opens this year.

### One of the World's Great Seaports

The completion of the Panama Canal will make Houston the greatest trade center in the entire south. Houston's port is 500 miles nearer the rich agricultural district of the middle west than any other seaboard town in the United States. This rich territory will pour its enormous volume of raw and manufactured products into this city for distribution to all parts of the world.

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Harry Sibble Beats all Records in the Sale of Socialist Literature. During the year 1911 he sold in British Columbia and some of the cities between the province and Seattle the grand total of 9,475 pieces of Socialist literature, and in addition gave away or sold at a nickel apiece about 10,000 copies of Victor Berger's speech on the wood tariff. All in all, he landed about 20,000 good hits for Socialism in that neck of the woods, which is going some, and is a record not equaled by even some of the biggest lights in the revolutionary firmament. "How do you do it, Harry?" I asked. "Oh, I don't know; I just keep moving around and showing the books into the hands of people wherever I see a crowd." If a convention is to be held Harry is on the spot with a bunch of books that he thinks will do the most good. Methodist conferences, revival meetings, political conventions, trades union assemblies, Quaker meetings, spiritualistic seances, it is all the same to Harry. At one of the latter he was sitting patiently at the back of the hall waiting his chance of doing business, when the medium hailed him. "You, with the bundle of books, there is a man called Marx, Karl Marx, who wants to say to you that you are doing good work and that the movement is getting along all right." At a Quaker meeting he once visited, the spirit moved no one to speak for an hour and a half, but before he went away Harry had five dollars in coin in his pocket in exchange for books. The Saturday crowds are a bonanza. Armed with 150 copies of Cotton's Weekly or 100 REVIEWS, he will mingle with the crowd and sell out. He sold 100 copies of the February REVIEW in two days. He considers he ought to sell at least 200 papers or magazines between 1 p. m. and 8 p. m. on a Saturday afternoon in a town of 30,000 people. Being a wanderer, it might seem hard for him to get the books and magazines for sale, but he has working arrangements with locals, news dealers and news agents whereby he clears out for them all Socialist books and papers that linger on the shelves. Last summer he picked up cheaply a thousand copies of "Merrie England" that was being held at the customs for duty. He sold them all in a few weeks in Vancouver. He will wander along the streets with his bundle in one hand, a package of books in the other, and his pocket bulging with more. He is well known so soon as someone wants to know what he has got. Then the sales begin, hands and pockets are emptied and the bundle is drawn upon. The outlook for 1912 is rosy. Up to the end of February he has about a thousand more sales to his credit than at the corresponding date last year. Then we are probably on the eve of an election, so during the excitement Harry anticipates an extra demand which will boost his record still higher. F. DUNDAS TODD.

In a Hurry. Enclosed find money order, for which please send me an additional ten copies of the REVIEW. Sold my regular number of 20 in a hurry this time.

COMRADE BROWN, Denver, Colo.

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**Boycotting a Socialist.** Comrade Ed Weinstein, manager of a successful Socialist news stand on the northwest corner of Sixth and Market streets, St. Louis, Mo., where all the best Socialist publications were displayed and sold, is being made the victim of capitalism in a somewhat new way. Comrade Weinstein, who is afflicted with partial blindness, has felt the need of carrying in his stock the daily capitalist papers and has found that he could thus often reach a new customer with Socialist literature. But one of the capitalist papers has refused to sell him papers, hoping in this way to drive him from his corner. Socialists of St. Louis, call around at Sixth and Market to buy some Socialist papers or the REVIEW and show the enemy how workers stand together when one of their number is attacked. Don't stop because you have one copy of the REVIEW. Buy another and leave it with your barber and at the same time help to boost a Socialist institution.

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interesting lectures, one entitled "Evolution of the Machine" and the other "Socialists at Work," which have been welcomed and enjoyed by the Socialists at many towns in Colorado. The Knight brothers have the hearty endorsement of Local Longmont of the Socialist Party, Local No. 995 of the United Mine Workers of America, to which they belong, the state secretary of Colorado and Eugene V. Debs. Comrade Williamson of Longmont, Colo., writes: "Local Longmont owes its organization and, in my opinion, its present existence and virility to them. They are thoroughly class-conscious and purely proletarian; are well based philosophically, and possess, in a high degree, that aggressive and uncompromising character which begets enthusiasm and class-consciousness and awakens the impulse to organize. Virile class-conscious organization will result from their able, forceful, quickening propaganda wherever they go. Such as they bring the revolution on apace. I most heartily recommend them to those having charge of either official or unofficial propaganda."

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**THE NEW ZEALAND ELECTION.**

We had eight candidates in all opposing capitalism and not politicians. Five of this number were nominated by their respective branches of the N. Z. S. P., the others by the N. Z. F. L. Personally I am opposed to an industrial organization entering the political arena, but I am just a unit, not the federation.

Our campaign was an educational and not a vote-catching one, fought from beginning to end on uncompromising clear cut revolutionary lines. This will probably account very largely at any rate for the seemingly low vote given to one or two of our sturdy comrades. For instance, you will notice, in returns I enclose and which are officially given, that Munro at Dunedin West received only seven hundred and fifty-six votes, whereas, at last election when he stood as labor, *so-called*, that is to say before he became a Socialist, he received well over two thousand votes.

This is not at all discouraging, but just as it should be. We now know the exact number in that electorate who really want Socialism and know how to get it. Seven hundred clear heads realize that labor rule means nothing for them, only the perpetuation of a life robbed of all pleasure and everything else worth while.

For Christchurch South, the same way be said. J. Thorn at last election stood as Socialist Labor, not meaning by this the same as is understood of a party by that name in America and elsewhere. Thorn was simply a restless sort of individual groping in the dark if you will. He claimed to be an Evolutionist. He often went out of his way to tell us he was not a Revolutionist. A step at a time was his message. Thorn too, I understand, has since then seen the light and moved forward in the right direction.

Webb, our comrade at Grey, the Federation nominee who scored three thousand votes, appears to have startled the complacent do-nothings. They simply do not know what has gone wrong with their dear people, or so they say, but doubtless they will find out at next election when Sir A. R. Guinness the Speaker of the House, will lose his seat. Comrade Hickey gripped the master the second time at Ohinemuri. This is really making working class history. Such a thing was thought impossible by the masters.

Savage of Auckland Central, "Industrial Joe" many fondly call him, because of his untiring advocacy for all workers of one industry joining in one union and linking up with other workers of all industries thereby forming one big union of all industrial workers, got in with all the big money boys of this city. Prohibition boys, brewery boys and boys of all sorts, yet he threw them all off in a masterly manner excelling one who at last election topped the poll for New Zealand. This surely is going some, considering also his unmistakable attitude adhered to throughout the campaign. "We are after the world wealth for the world workers, or in other words Industrial Socialism; if you don't want that, don't vote for me."

was his straight out message clearly given at every meeting held. So we can truly say this is going some, and considering also that three years ago instead of having eighteen hundred solids behind him as now, he could not possibly have had many over eighteen.

Robertson the Federation candidate for Otaki, fought remarkably well, but no better than the others. Each did his best. Robertson managed, with the assistance of every Socialist in New Zealand, to throw two of his opponents in the first struggle and repeated the dose on the others in the second round in a most convincing style, which entitled him to go to the Wellington Talking shop and talk to the old fossils sleeping or walking, not only in the name of Ataki electros, but also in the name of the N. Z. F. L., and the N. Z. S. P. His duty is clear, to shun all items of interest to the master class and bring forward every measure possible, consistent with the interest of the Great Working Class. This our candidates must do or the rank and file will show the world that their cause, and not men comes first.

## What Is a Man?

That is a very old question and there have been many guesses at it. Man is a thinking creature, but before he became a thinker he was an animal. Gradually he developed—evolved, as we say today—and became a complex being. In his upward growth he passed through many different stages and changes. What the nature of that evolution has been and the mysteries concerning himself that still remain are the considerations taken up by M. H. Fitch in his book.

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Though never extensively advertised, this was one of the books most in demand throughout the recent Lyceum Lecture Course successfully conducted by the Socialist party, showing that many people had discovered the book for themselves and had told of its merit. It is probably the best and most comprehensive statement of the evolutionary theory of man and his brain extant. It is a book for the student who would know and understand.

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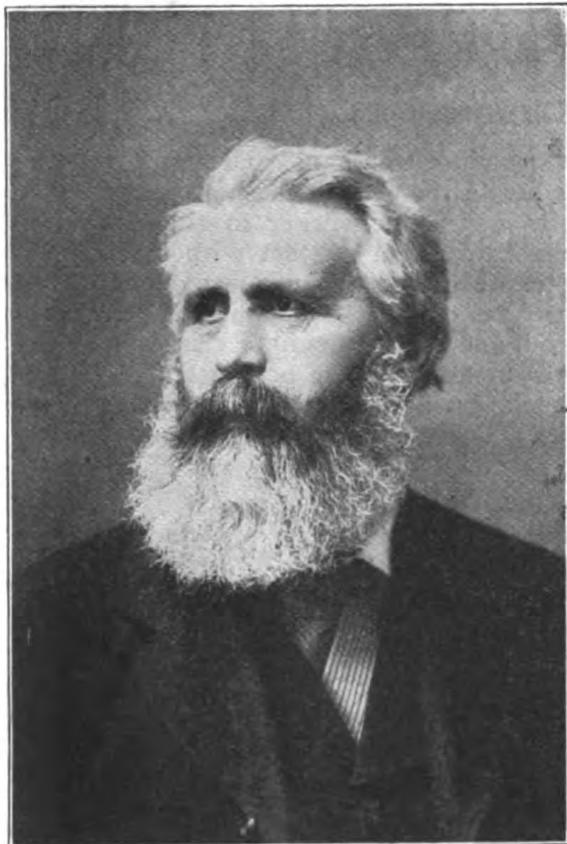
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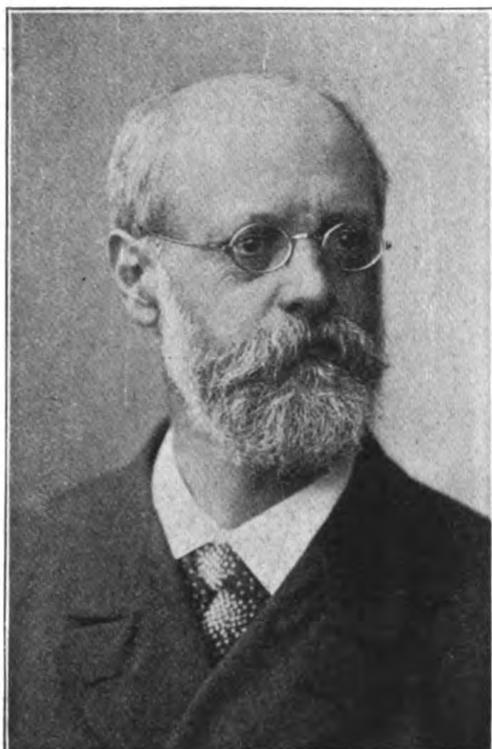
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