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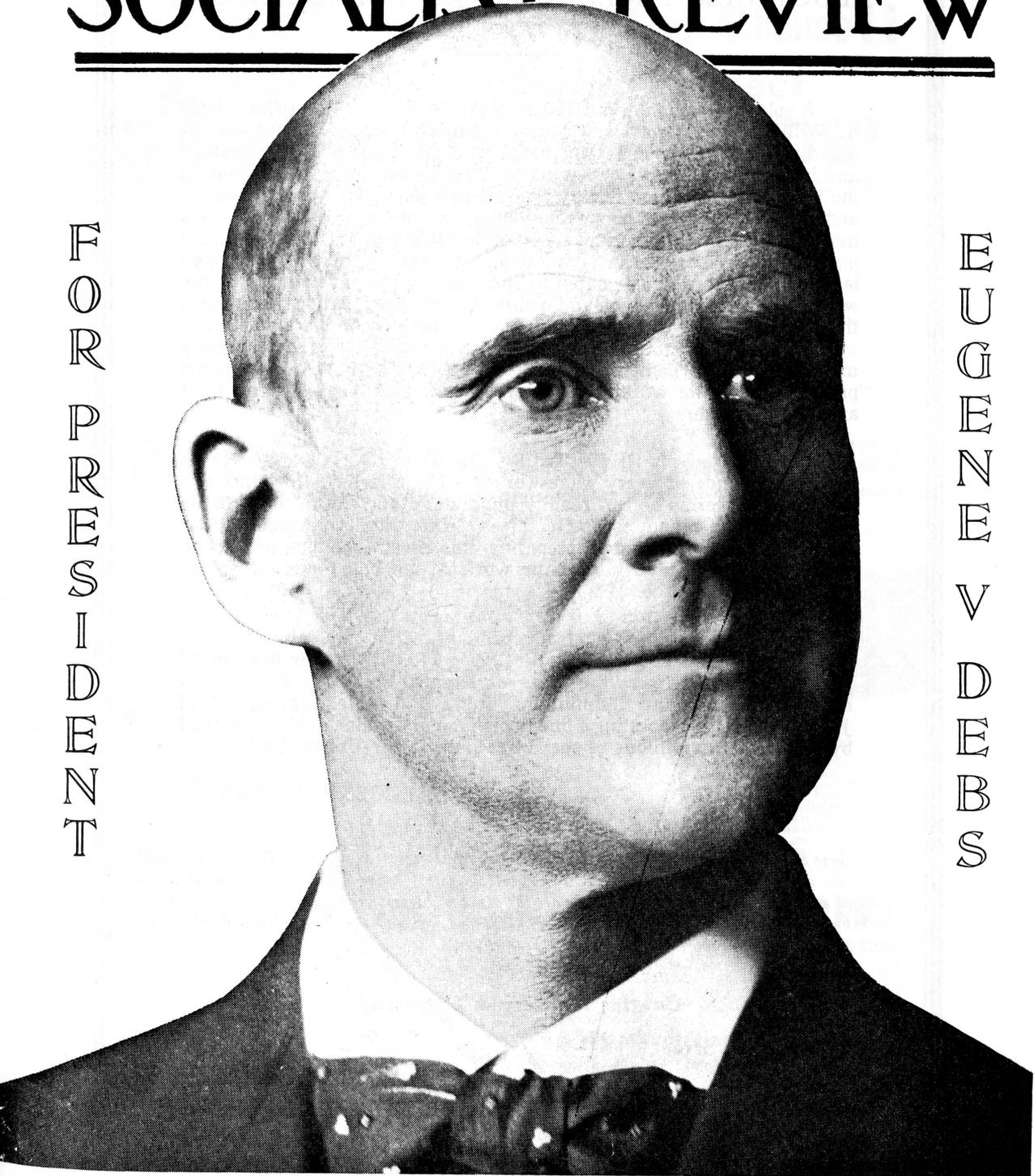
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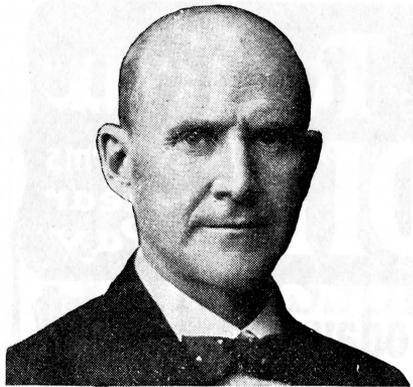
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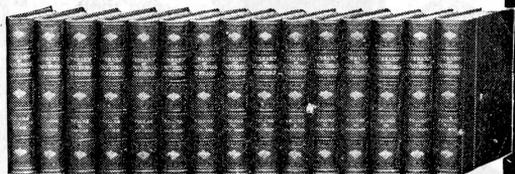
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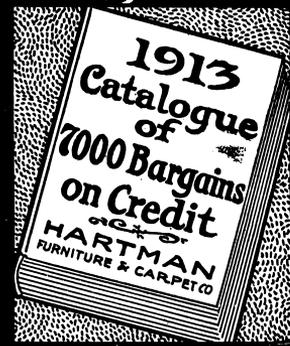
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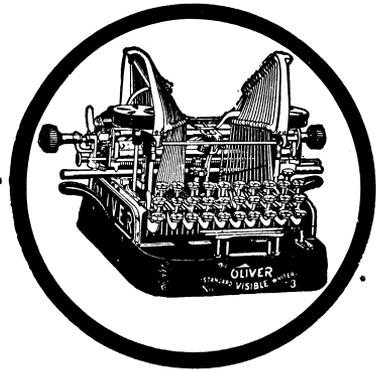
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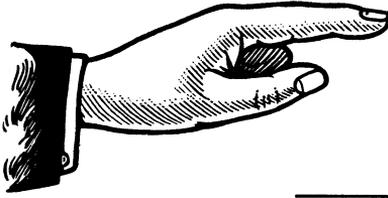
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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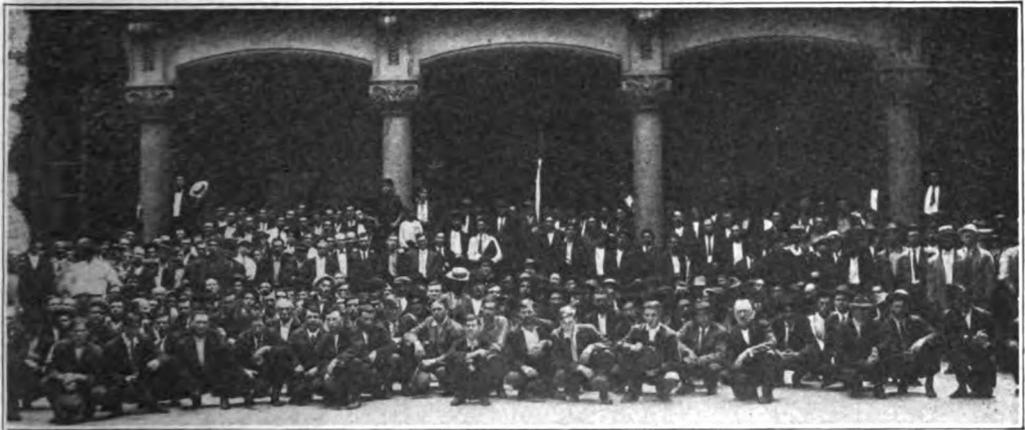
Mother Jones

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XIII

OCTOBER, 1912

No. 4



STRIKING MINERS AT THE STATE HOUSE IN CHARLESTON.

The Battling Miners of West Virginia

By EDWARD H. KINTZER

Socialist Candidate for State Auditor of West Virginia.

WEST VIRGINIA is living under martial law in the mining war that has been raging in that state for several years. Mother Jones, the veteran of many labor battles, is the central and inspiring figure. In her eightieth year she is today leading the fight in the strike, which started last April. In her characteristic way, she has more than once defied the military authorities who are making and executing the mine-owner-made laws. When informed that the militia were endeavoring to ar-

rest her for what they called inflammatory speeches, she said: "If they want the chance, I will give it to them. I'd just as soon sleep in a guard house as in a hotel."

At Pratt and Holly Grove Junction guard houses are being filled with miners for the slightest offenses. The militia has taken control, making and executing the laws without regard for the civil code, in all favor to the mine owners, just as have the judicial courts since Capitalism has ruled in the mining industry.

Martial Law Welcomed.

Fierce were the conflicts of 1897 when Eugene V. Debs led the striking miners in the Fairmont district and in 1902, when Mother Jones played a prominent part in that great strike. But never before has any part of the state been under martial law.

When it came it was welcomed by the strikers, for they had suffered such outrages at the hands of a private army in the employ of the coal barons that anything was preferable—even death—to a continuation of the horrors they had perpetrated.

Governor Glasscock appointed a commission to "examine" into the private army system and the wages and working conditions of the miners. The United Mine Workers demanded that the intense over-capitalization of the companies also be considered.

Later the governor issued a proclamation, ordering the mine guards and the strikers to lay down their arms. This was resented by the strikers who claimed that if they obeyed this order the guards would not and they would be helpless before armed thugs. In reply to this proclamation Mother Jones led 10,000 miners to Charleston, where they demanded that the governor order the mine guards out of the region. She declared that he would be to blame for any trouble that might follow if the guards were not sent away. So horrible had been the acts of the guards that the miners were ready to kill on sight.

America has no better example of the conflict between the two important economic classes than this one in the Kanawah coal mining district. Here Capitalism has mocked the sentiment of the founders of the state and by force of a private army abrogated the constitution this new state adopted. Born in the stress of a civil conflict over a question of bondage, the native coal miners of West Virginia have never learned to submit tamely to an interference with their liberties.

And yet no people have been more thoroughly exploited than the workers of West Virginia. Mine workers that have been on strike since April are desperate over their frightful condition of starva-

tion and disease. Yet every one is loyal and will die rather than submit to the mine guards.

Mine Guards Cause War.

Who are these mine guards? Thugs, assassins, brutes in human guise, traitors, rapists, the lowest form of man. For several years the coal barons of West Virginia have tried to break the union of the miners and prevent further organization by establishing a private armed force of mercenaries. They succeeded only in preventing additional organization, not in crushing what was in existence. Nor could they destroy the solidarity of these fighters. No armament, no guards, nor their unbearable tactics could destroy the spirit of revolt among these miners. It only fanned the flame as was evidenced by the battle at Mucklow.

When forbearance ceased to be a virtue these miners purchased rifles and ammunition. Secretly and openly, too, these arms were acquired. Not worn out and unserviceable guns, but modern rifles that would shoot straight to the aim. Any unusual disturbance, such as the discharge of firearms and cries of distress would be reason for taking these guns from their hiding places, and away these minutemen would march through the night to learn the cause of the uproar.

On the morning of July 25, more than 2,000 miners congregated at Holly Grove. They declared that they could no longer suffer the outrages of the guards. They planned march by stealth up Paint Creek under cover of darkness, going through the brush to Mucklow. Their objective point was the rendezvous of the murderous army. They discovered them in the tippie house, where they had fortified themselves by machine and gatling guns. So close did the miners come to the tippie that they could hear the swearing and commotion over the gambling games. How to get all at once was the question. A quick decision was made. Knowing the force of runaway loaded coal cars, it was planned to release a few that were standing on the incline for the morning's dump.

Away they were started down the track at a tremendous rate. Above the noise



MOTHER JONES SPEAKING AT STRIKE MEETING ON THE LEVEE—CHARLESTON.

of loud talking came the din of something doing. Their knowledge of surface work at the mines suggested the feat. Hurrying to the switch the track was set to derail the cars. This was done just in time to save the lives of the guards. Out through the side of the tippie shot two loaded cars that left nothing in their wake.

This was the signal for the battle. A few of the mine guards who rushed out to learn the cause of the damage moistened the dusty platform with their blood. Any light was the target for the miners who had gone behind boulders and trees on the hillside where they were comparatively safe while shooting.

All during the night the valley was kept flashing with shooting and roaring of rifles and machine guns. All Friday and Friday night the situation remained the same. More than a dozen men were shot

to death and a score or more wounded. What the outcome would have been had not several companies of militia arrived to put an end to the fighting is a matter for conjecture. Despised as are the militia when called for breaking a strike, they were welcomed by the miners. It is said that the battle was started to secure the presence of the militia and the withdrawal of the guards.

Continuing critical situations between miners and mine guards brought the substitution of civil for martial law. The military court is disposing of cases with rapidity that suggests a terrible bias and rancor. The findings by the court in fifteen different cases have been sealed and sent to Governor William E. Glasscock for approval. Glasscock was aspirant for vice-president of the Bull Doze party, one of the "seven little governors" who started the Roosevelt boom.

Will the men get justice from this half-baked faker? No, indeed. He, like the original Bull Dozer, is only a vote catcher. He is playing for political preferment, and since economic and political power are synonymous, he is with the capitalist class who "made" him governor.

What the working class think of Glasscock is exemplified in a resolution in the Socialist Party Convention, adopted at Charleston, within the shadow of the Capitol building, condemning him for being false to his oath of office.

Guards are Responsible.

The strike which started last April is the outcome of the treachery of the coal barons. At the Cleveland joint conference of operators and miners an agreement was reached providing 5.26 per cent advance in wages. When the agreement between the operators and miners of the Kanawha district was made it was based upon an advance of one-half of this wage increase. When the miners arrived for work they were informed that no advance would be granted. A strike followed although the unions had but few of these men as members. There was a solidarity shown that was complete even though no rations were in sight while the strike lasted.

Ask any coal miner in the strike district on Paint and Cabin creeks what caused the feud now in operation, and invariably the reply will be "the mine guards." Further questioning will bring the statement that "they are the governor's Bull pups."

The mine guards go armed with Winchester rifles, and the depredations they practice are intolerable. Recruited by the Baldwin-Felt's private detective agency of Staunton, Virginia, they are the usual type of men that undertake such damnable work. Most of them have criminal records. They are seasoned for strong arm methods, which are used upon the women. They furnish an illustration of how the capitalists have the workers divided so that they are either gagged by production or starvation, or else employed in opposing the organization and triumph of their class, by serving in private detective and military forces.

The leader of the guards, Ernest Gou-

jot, is a murderer. He was one of a gang that shot to death three women, seven children and twenty men in the West Virginia strike of 1902. He was paroled from the State penitentiary. While killing he was serving the capitalists; therefore they operated the political offices to allow him to escape the law. After having been paroled he joined the Baldwin murdering association, and since the introduction of the guard system he has been working diabolical schemes upon the toilers and their families.

Cruelty of Guards.

On one occasion, while making the rounds of evicting families of miners who refused to work for the company, under conditions no chattel slave owner would hazard upon private property, Goujot and his gang came to Tony Seviller's cabin. Mrs. Seviller was in bed. She was about to become a mother. Handling her roughly the guards ordered her out. She pleaded to stay. "My God! can't you see I'm sick? Let me stay until my baby is born."

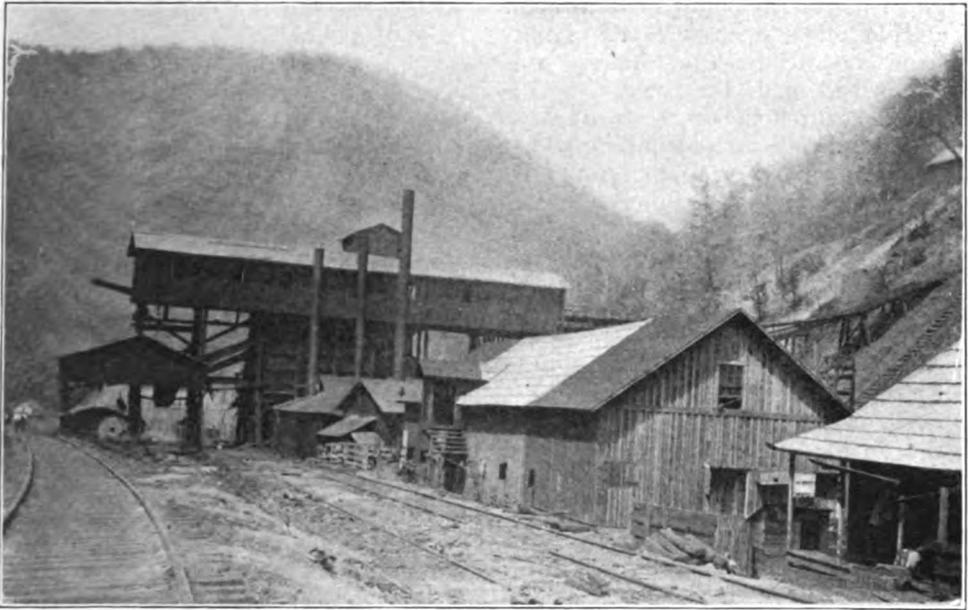
"I don't give a damn," shouted Ernest Goujot, ordering his men to evict her from the shack of a home.

A short time afterward the baby, condemned to life, saw the light of a day through rents in an improvised tent in which there was no preparation for the stranger's arrival and no sanitary and medical attention for the mother.

Evictions without notice from places that are dignified by being called shacks has been the cause of much bitter feeling against the guards; particularly for the manner in which the miners' scant belongings were thrown through windows and doors. Whatever of value could be easily taken away was appropriated by these curs.

Hundreds of families have thus been evicted without statutory requirement, without a moment's notice to vacate the hovels owned by the mine companies. They are living in tents in the open fields, where the mortality from contagious disease due to having no sewerage and from the burning heat is appalling. Here the women are easy prey for the ravishing guards.

Everything in the mining camps is



A TYPICAL COAL TIPPLE.

owned by the mine companies, houses, lands, stores, highways, schools and every approach to these; even the use of the postoffice has been denied the strikers. Where mail is not withheld there is a strict censorship. The mails are opened

to learn their contents. Especially are Socialist periodicals withheld from these men.

The use of churches which stand on "company property" are denied the strikers. At Mucklow the guards took ad-



MINERS' "HOMES."

vantage of a funeral being held to evict without resistance the bereaved family and friends in attendance at this sad rite. The guards had made the rounds and arrived at the church as the body of Mrs. Robinson was being carried out.

"This church belongs to the company. You won't have any more funerals here," a guard shouted.

Returning home these people found their belongings scattered, battered and broken, lying outside of the houses. That night they camped in an open field where they are still living, hoping the guards will be driven away.

To prevent children of miners using a little church for Sunday school the mine guards stationed a machine gun with its forbidding mouth directed toward the door. When the children arrived they became frightened and ran to tell their teacher what they saw. Miss Winfrey came with them to the church.

"Please take the gun away until after Sunday school," she begged of the guards.

"You folks ain't got any right to come here," was the reply. That church has not been used since.

These are but a few instances of the mine guard's deviltry among the women and children. Others of outrage and rape might be recited but are too shocking in detail to enumerate.

While the two-day battle at Mucklow was raging, additional mine guards were rushed to Holly Grove, where the families of the miners were living in tents. The guards attacked these women and children, driving them into the waters of Paint creek and off into the woods. Thus with the tactic of the savage, they hoped to decoy the men to the defense of their families from their stronghold on the mountainside at Mucklow.

Send the Politicians Here.

In this situation the pure and simple politicians could learn a lesson in tactics. It is one of the unusual conditions in America's industrial wars, in which are engaged men who understand the importance of political action, but who feel how hopelessly lost they would be to depend solely upon this in the present crisis. Many of these strikers are members of the Socialist party. To suggest to them that sabotage or other than political acts or taking a timely vacation from work would exclude them from the sacred circle where politics is crowned king, would cause them to question your sanity.

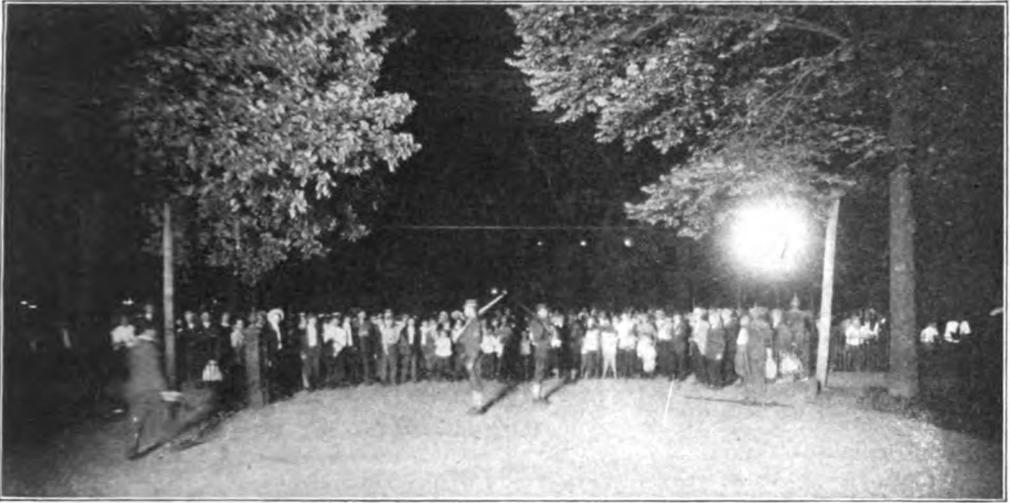
Nor are the miners alone in this fight. There is a bond of sympathy between workers in the region that is worthy of note. It is an example of the class consciousness that is permeating industry all over the world.

The railroaders who haul the mine guards understand that they (the mine guards) are not spying upon them; that it is the miners who are being hounded, but their hatred for the guards has precipitated several fatalities.

Dead bodies of two guards were found under a structural steel bridge, apparently having fallen while walking the ties. Yet it is the boast of train crews that they loathe these human bloodhounds. Numer-



MINE GUARD SUTPHIN SHOT IN SHOULDER ON WAY TO THE HOSPITAL.



GUARDS BARRING MINERS FROM MEETING IN "OUR OWN" CAPITOL BUILDING.

ous such circumstances have come to light.

The favorite position of the guards while traveling the coal region is to perch themselves on the pilot of the engine. On one occasion three guards boarded the pilot. The engineer of the freight train was particularly hostile to them. He opened wide the throttle and went at a speed that none of his crew knew the

train to make before. But they understood. Anything that could happen was welcome. Sharp curves had no terrors for the engineer. What this mad race meant might only be guessed at. Whether or not what happened was by design or accident, all the miners and most of the railroaders considered it more than just. Rounding a curve, with the complacency of the guards taxed to the utmost, the



HEADQUARTERS OF MILITIA AT PRATT. TENT MARKED X SHOWS WHERE COURT MARTIAL SITS.

strain upon the crew being unusual, a cow attempted to cross the track. The guards say there was plenty of time to slow down and allow her to cross. The engineer declared that it was impossible unless he unbuckled his train. Result: Before the bovine could wink her tranquil eye she was unrecognizable, with quantities of her blood, hair and what-not covering the three guardsmen, who were otherwise unharmed. A hasty bath in a nearby creek restored the appearance of the guards, and with knowing winks among the crew, the train moved on.

Politics Preempted.

Only those who understand the industrial conditions of West Virginia, particularly among the miners, where organization is less than in other states, and where working conditions are so bad and the pay so small that they are used to break coal strikes in other sections of the country, can appreciate the plight of the miners.

The politics of the state are completely under the domination of Democratic ex-Senator Henry Gassaway Davis and the present senators, Watson and Chilton. Watson resigned the presidency of the Consolidation Coal Company, the largest producer in West Virginia, to become a senator. Chilton is a corporation lawyer and mine owner. The recent petition signed by citizens and presented to the senate, charging both Watson and Chilton with purchasing their seats, is the beginning of a case that promises even greater exposures than the Lorimer scandal.

The Republicans, until losing control in 1910, were the dominant political party. The late Senator Stephen B. Elkins, son-in-law of Democratic Boss Henry Gassaway Davis, was the Republican boss. Politics with such men is no hobby. It is a business. Their interests needed protection. When the son-in-law lost, the father-in-law won. When Senator Elkins died the first action of the West Virginia legislature was to proclaim his son, Davis Elkins, senator for the unexpired term.

When one is correctly informed of the conditions, the wonder grows that these miners can restrain themselves as they

have. But the answer is: Socialist agitation and competent leadership.

Harold W. Houston, the most prominent Socialist in West Virginia, State Secretary of the Socialist party, has been engaged as attorney for the miners. Called into this industrial fight after having been nominated for governor, Houston tendered his resignation to assist labor's cause. He was the nominee for governor in 1908, and is an able fighter in the ranks of the working class, having won distinction through many engagements on the stump and in legal action.

That he understands working class tactics none but his opponents will deny. He is a real "red." When called upon for a speech in convention following his nomination for governor, Houston struck a chord of revolutionary thought that is still vibrating, and has assisted the miners in their present crisis in keeping them free from compromise and political entanglements. His maiden speech in this campaign was on industrial unionism,



HAROLD W. HOUSTON.



FLASHLIGHT OF MOTHER JONES ADDRESSING—PROTESTING AGAINST THE GUARD SYSTEM.
A MONSTER MASS MEETING AT COURT HOUSE

pointing out the fallacy of craft unionism. He made it clear that he was not bidding for the votes of union men that do not know the position of industrial Socialists. Nor did he ask the workers to hold in awe capitalist-made laws.

"Having been behind the scenes," as he expressed it, "when the 'sacred' laws of our land were being twisted to suit the occasion, I can have little respect for capitalist-made law." He particularly referred to the judge-made law that is invoked in nearly every strike.

Having proved his fidelity and worth as a fighter the miners insisted that he accept the nomination for prosecuting attorney of Kanawah county. They argued that in such capacity he could serve them best.

"Deluded people," some may say, "they will be counted out of a majority." Not so. The workers understand the situation and are preparing for such an emergency. Watchers will be stationed at

the polls. If any treachery is detected a signal will bring an armed force of miners to demand their rights in no uncertain terms. They are prepared to carry the election and secure the political powers of the county in which the state capital is located.

Since Mother Jones has been among the workers in the strike district, speaking to them on the necessity of organization for concerted action, the atmosphere is clearing and the hope of the toilers is increasing. Recently, while speaking to an immense audience, she said: "We feel tht the time is near at hand when the red flag of Socialism will float triumphantly over the citadel of capitalism. When that day comes the working people will no longer have to beg a job of some boss, for all will collectively own the means of production and distribution, which will insure for one and all the way to get the necessities and luxuries of life."

DEBS' SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

“IT IS with a full sense of the responsibility it imposes and the service it exacts that I accept the nomination for president tendered to me by the Socialist party of the United States. Personally I did not wish the nomination. It came to me unsought. It came as summons to service and not as a personal honor.

“Every true member of the Socialist party is at the party's service. The confidence of his comrades is to him a sacred trust and their collective will the party's law.

“My chief concern as a presidential candidate is that I shall serve well the party, and the class and the cause the party represents.

SOCIALIST PARTY DIFFERENT.

“The Socialist party is fundamentally different from all other parties. It came in the process of evolution and grows with the growth of the forces which created it. Its spirit is militant and its aim revolutionary. It expresses in political terms the aspiration of the working class to freedom and to a larger and fuller life than they have yet known.

“The world's workers have always been and still are the world's slaves. They have borne all the burdens of the race and built all the monuments along the track of civilization; they have produced all the world's wealth and supported all the world's governments. They have conquered all things but their own freedom. They are still the subject class in every nation on earth and the chief function of every government is to keep them at the mercy of their masters.

“The workers in the mills and factories, in the mines and on the farms and railways never had a party of their own until the Socialist party was organized. They divided their votes between the parties of their masters. They did not realize that they were using their ballots to forge their own fetters.

“But the awakening came. It was bound to come. Class rule became more and more oppressive and wage slavery more and more galling. The eyes of the workers began to open. They began to see the cause of the misery they had dumbly suffered so many years. It dawned upon them that society was divided into two classes—capitalists and workers, exploiters and producers; that the capitalists, while comparatively few, owned the nation and controlled the government; that the courts and the soldiers were at their command, and that the workers, while in a great majority, were in slavish subjection.

“When they ventured to protest they were discharged and found themselves blacklisted; when they went out on strike they were suppressed by the soldiers and sent to jail.

"They looked about them and saw a land of wonderful resources; they saw the productive machinery made by their own hands and the vast wealth produced by their own labor, in the shadow of which their wives and children were perishing in the skeleton clutch of famine.

BEGAN TO THINK.

"The very suffering they were forced to endure quickened their senses. They began to think. A new light dawned upon their dark skies. They rubbed the age-long sleep from their eyes. They had long felt the brutalizing effect of class rule; now they saw the cause of it. Slowly but steadily they became class-conscious. They said, 'We are brothers, we are comrades,' and they saw themselves multiplied by millions. They caught the prophetic battle-cry of Karl Marx, the world's greatest labor leader, the inspired evangel of working-class emancipation, 'Workers of all countries, unite!'

"And now, behold! The international Socialist movement spreads out over all the nations of the earth. The world's workers are aroused at last. They are no longer on their knees; their bowed bodies are now erect. Despair has given way to hope, weakness to strength, fear to courage. They no longer cringe and supplicate; they hold up their heads and command. They have ceased to fear their masters and have learned to trust themselves.

"And this is how the Socialist party came to be born. It was quickened into life in the bitter struggle of the world's enslaved workers. It expresses their collective determination to break their fetters and emancipate themselves and the race.

"Is it strange that the workers are loyal to such a party, that they proudly stand beneath its blazing banners and fearlessly proclaim its conquering principles? It is the one party of their class, born of their agony and baptized in the blood of their countless brethren who perished in the struggle to give it birth.

"Hail to this great party of the toiling millions whose battle-cry is heard around the world!

DOESN'T PLEAD FOR VOTES.

"We do not plead for votes; the workers give them freely the hour they understand.

"But we need to destroy the prejudice that still exists and dispel the darkness that still prevails in the working class world. We need the clear light of sound education and the conquering power of economic and political organization.

"Before the unified hosts of labor all the despotic governments on earth are powerless and all resistance vain. Before their onward march all ruling classes disappear and all slavery vanishes forever.

"The appeal of the Socialist party is to all the useful people of the nation, all who work with brain and muscle to produce the nation's wealth and who promote its progress and conserve its civilization.

"Only they who bear its burdens may rightfully enjoy the blessings of civilized society.

"There are no boundary lines to separate race from race, sex from sex or creed from creed in the Socialist party. The common rights of all are equally recognized.

"Every human being is entitled to sunlight and air, to what his labor produces, and to an equal chance with every other human being to unfold and ripen and give to the world the riches of his mind and soul.

"Economic slavery is the world's greatest curse today. Poverty and misery, prostitution, insanity and crime are its inevitable results.

"The Socialist party is the one party which stands squarely and uncompromisingly for the abolition of industrial slavery; the one party pledged in every fibre of its being to the economic freedom of all the people.

"So long as the nation's resources and productive and distributive machinery are the private property of a privileged class the masses will be at their mercy, poverty will be their lot and life will be shorn of all that raises it above the brute level.

NEW PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

"The infallible test of a political party is the private ownership of the sources of wealth and the means of life. Apply that test to the republican, democratic and progressive parties and upon that basic, fundamental issue you will find them essentially one and the same. They differ according to the conflicting interests of the privileged classes, but at bottom they are alike and stand for capitalist class rule and working class slavery.

"The new Progressive party is a party of progressive capitalism. It is lavishly financed and shrewdly advertised. But it stands for the rule of capitalism all the same.

"When the owners of the trusts finance a party to put themselves out of business; when they turn over their wealth to the people from whom they stole it and go to work for a living, it will be time enough to consider the merits of the Roosevelt Progressive party.

"One question is sufficient to determine the true status of all these parties. Do they want the workers to own the tools they work with, control their own jobs and secure to themselves the wealth they produce? Certainly not. That is utterly ridiculous and impossible from their point of view.

"The Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties all stand for the private ownership by the capitalists of the productive machinery used by the workers, so that the capitalists can continue to filch the wealth produced by the workers.

"The Socialist party is the only party which declares that the tools of labor belong to labor and that the wealth produced by the working class belong to the working class.

"Intelligent workingmen are no longer deceived. They know that the struggle in which the world is engaged today is a class struggle and that in this struggle the workers can never win by giving their votes to capitalist parties. They have tried this for many years and it has always produced the same result to them.

"The class of privilege and pelf has had the world by the throat and the working class beneath its iron-shod hoofs long enough. The magic word of freedom is ringing through the nation and the spirit of intelligent revolt is finding expression in every land beneath the sun.

"The solidarity of the working class is the salient force in the social transformation of which we behold the signs upon every hand. Nearer and nearer they are being drawn together in the bonds of unionism; clearer and clearer becomes their collective vision; greater and greater the power that throbs within them.

HOSTS OF FREEDOM.

"They are the twentieth century hosts of freedom who are to destroy all despotisms, topple over all thrones, seize all sceptres of authority and hold them in their own strong hands, tear up all privilege by the roots, and consecrate the earth and all its fullness to the joy and service of all humanity.

"It is vain to hope for material relief upon the prevailing system of capitalism. All the reforms that are proposed by the three capitalist parties, even if carried out in good faith, would still leave the working class in industrial slavery.

"The working class will never be emancipated by the grace of the capitalist class, but only by overthrowing that class.

"The power to emancipate itself is inherent in the working class, and this power must be developed through sound education and applied through sound organization.

"It is as foolish and self-destructive for workirgmen to turn to Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties on election day as it would be for them to turn to the Manufacturers' Association and the Citizens' Alliance when they are striking against starvation wages.

"The capitalist class is organized economically and politically to keep the working class in subjection and perpetuate its power as a ruling class. They do not support a working class union nor a working class party. They are not so foolish. They wisely look out for themselves.

"The capitalist class despise a working class party. Why should the working class give their support to a capitalist class party?

"Capitalist misrule under which workingmen suffer slavery and the most galling injustice exists only because it has workingmen's support. Withdraw that support and capitalism is dead.

"The capitalists can enslave and rob the workers only by the consent of the workers when they cast their ballots on election day.

"Every vote cast for a capitalist party, whatever its name, is a vote for wage-slavery, for poverty and degradation.

"Every vote cast for the Socialist party, the workers' own party, is a vote for emancipation.

"We appeal to the workers and to all who sympathize with them to make their power felt in this campaign. Never before has there been so great an opportunity to strike an effective blow for freedom.

"CAPITALISM DOOMED."

"Capitalism is rushing blindly to its impending doom. All the signs portend the inevitable breakdown of the existing order. Deep-seated discontent has seized upon the masses. They must indeed be deaf who do not hear the mutterings of the approaching storm.

"Poverty, high prices, unemployment, child slavery, widespread misery and haggard want in a land bursting with abundance; prostitution and insanity, suicide and crime, these in solemn numbers tell the tragic story of capitalism's saturnalia of blood and tears and shame as its end draws near.

"It is to abolish this monstrous system and the misery and crime which flow from it in a direful and threatening stream that the Socialist party was organized and now makes its appeal to the intelligence and conscience of the people. Social reorganization is the imperative demand of this world-wide revolutionary movement.

"The Socialist party's mission is not only to destroy capitalist despotism but to establish industrial and social democracy. To this end the workers are steadily organizing and fitting themselves for the day when they shall take control of the people's industries and when the right to work shall be as inviolate as the right to breathe the breath of life.

"Standing as it does for the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery, for the equal rights and opportunities of all men and all women, for the abolition of child labor and the conservation of all childhood, for social self-rule and the equal freedom of all, the Socialist party is the party of progress, the party of the future, and its triumph will signalize the birth of a new civilization and the dawn of a happier day for all humanity."

The Dynamite Job at Lawrence

By

PHILLIPS RUSSELL



BREEN'S PLACE OF BUSINESS.

THE McNamara brothers, workmen, planted dynamite and drew a life term for it.

John J. Breen, a respectable undertaker, planted dynamite and drew a fine of \$500.

The Lawrence and Boston capitalists who instigated the plot, are allowed to roam the streets at will.

Ettor and Giovannitti, workmen, have been in jail for eight months.

But it is not true to say that "there is one law for the rich and another for the poor." There is simply no law at all for the rich—its whole force is held in readiness to fall like a ton of brick on the poor at the proper time.

The great Lawrence strike began on January 11, 1912. After the first commotion a monotonous lull followed in which nothing of importance occurred but during which everybody's nerves were tense. Suddenly the Boston newspapers, led by that sheet of infamy, William Randolph Hearst's Boston *American*, began to ap-

pear with hints, innuendoes and intimations that the strikers were importing large quantities of dynamite into Lawrence. Headlines continued to become bigger and blacker till finally almost at noon on January 20, respectable residents of Lawrence were appalled by the hideous news that large gobs of the deadly explosives had been "found" scattered all over Lawrence. One batch was "discovered" in a house occupied by a Syrian tailor, another in a shoe shop next door to a printery operated by a friend of Joseph J. Ettor, who up to that time had been the most conspicuous figure in the strike, and a third had been uncovered in a sandbank on the edge of St. Mary's cemetery.

Almost simultaneously with the awful discovery, the Hearst paper appeared on the streets of Lawrence containing a detailed account of the find—and this despite the fact that the paper is printed in Boston and commonly takes two hours to reach Lawrence. I am told that a car-

load of these murderous sheets was waiting for "release" at the Lawrence depot, but I will not vouch for this story. It may have been simply enterprising journalism.

There was a slight hitch in the finding of the last. The police and detectives dug all around the edge of the cemetery, but came back to town and reported they could uncover nothing. But a man named John Breen, an undertaker by occupation, a politician by his own fault, and a son of a former mayor because he couldn't help it, who had interested himself in the case from patriotic motives, was able to give the police such valuable suggestions, including a diagram of the cemetery plot, that they were able to go right back and find the dynamite. This made 28 sticks in all—enough to blow up any number of houses and kill scores of people.

Two days later a gang of rough-necks arrived on a late train from Boston. They were disguised as "Italians" and announced that they were going to clean house with the mill officials. Street "riots" began coincident with their appearance.

On the last train from Boston Sunday night, the 28th, another load of the same gentry arrived, making loud threats of putting the mills on the bum, etc.

On the evening of the next day the street disturbance occurred in which Anna Lo Pizzo, the girl striker, was shot and killed. Witnesses have testified that the fatal shot was fired by Policeman Oscar Benoit, who is now special officer in Judge Mahoney's police court in Lawrence. Benoit is an old dunderhead and there is a story abroad to the effect that it was the original intention of the metropolitan police, the "gray wolves" whose ferocity far surpassed that of the local police, to have Benoit shot or otherwise injured in order to have a pretext to arrest Ettor and Giovannitti, whose influence over the militant Italian workers the mill owners greatly feared. However, if this was the plan it went wrong. Instead this obscure working girl, unknown to Ettor and Giovannitti, who were speaking in another part of town at the time, was the victim of the gun-men, and Benoit, to show how hard he was pressed by the

"mob," had to have a slight flesh cut inflicted on himself.

Despite the fact that here was a disturbance that had ended fatally, the police made not a single arrest at the time, but waited till midnight of the next day, when no strikers were around, to arrest Ettor and Giovannitti on a charge of being accessories before the fact of murder in that they "did incite, procure and counsel or command" some unknown person to kill Anna Lo Pizzo! It later becoming necessary to have a principal whom to charge with murder, they arrested poor, obscure Salvatore Caruso, who for several months has sat in his cell in the Lawrence jail pondering what it is all about.

There followed the fatal bayonetting of John Ramy, the Syrian boy, the beating up of women at the Lawrence station when the children were about to be sent away, and finally the ending of the strike on March 14.

Meantime John Breen had been arrested on a charge of planting the dynamite.



URBAN DI PRATO, THE SHOEMAKER IN WHOSE SHOP A BUNDLE OF DYNAMITE WAS "FOUND."



LOT IN ST. MARY'S CEMETERY WHERE THE THIRD LOT OF DYNAMITE WAS UNCOVERED.

mite and the case was so plain that the authorities had to convict him in order to show "the impartiality of the law." He was fined \$500, which was nearly all he got for the job, though he is said to have complained to his friends that he was promised \$5,000.

Lawrence then tried to forget about the dynamite plant and had almost succeeded in doing so when the last week in August there came the sensational news of the suicide of Ernest W. Pitman, the mill contractor of Andover, just after being summoned before District Attorney Pelletier, of Boston, to tell what he knew of the dynamite job. This was followed by the indictment of William M. Wood, head of the American Woolen Company, together with F. F. Atteaux, a dealer in mill supplies, and Dennis Collins, a dog fancier. Collins is said to have confessed that he actually brought the dynamite to Lawrence and planted one bunch of it, being paid \$50 for his trouble.

Now what was it that Pitman knew and dreaded to tell that caused him to blow his brains out? What sort of pressure was

brought to bear on him that forced him into the affair anyhow? It is practically certain that the real inside of this black and infamous plot, and the names of all the rich men who were involved in it, will never be known. It is not likely that Wood, of course, will ever be convicted and punished, though one or two of the minor individuals involved may be.

Who originated the dynamite plot anyhow and set the wheels in motion? That is something else that may never be made public but unless I am mistaken the job can be traced pretty close back to the head offices of the Wool Trust.

William M. Wood has in his employ a certain political agent whose business it is to keep the boys in Lawrence lined up on the right side. For example, one Joseph Lofthouse, a former official of the Central Labor Union in Lawrence, has been recently cruising around the cotton mills of New England, dropping a word here and there to the effect that all mill workers must boost for a high tariff on wool and cotton goods, else their wages may have to be cut. Lofthouse dropped

out of sight when a rival politician exhibited a check cashed by Lofthouse which bore the name of the American Woolen Company, William M. Wood, president.

This agent was a great friend of a certain reporter for a notorious capitalist newspaper, also of John Breen, whose undertaking establishment is a favorite loafing place for politicians of the cheap variety. The three were having a friendly chat one day during the strike when the reporter declared that things were getting slow and it was time to "start something." The McNamara case was still fresh in the public mind and it didn't take the trio long to decide that a little dynamite judiciously placed would be a fine thing, both for the mill owners and for newspaper headlines. The political agent lost no time in visiting the head offices in Boston. The rest is history.

The recent exposures, of course, have been joyfully greeted by those working for the release of Ettor and Giovannitti. They have made it plain that the dynamite job was not only framed-up for the purpose of discrediting the strikers, but for the purpose of "getting something on" these two men, and that having failed, the street riot was staged with the same end in view. It looks as if the trial, which is set for September 30, must result in the defeat of the plans of the mill owners and their legal lackeys to put these two young agitators in the electric chair.

But the workers of Lawrence are not going to put their faith in any alleged fairness of the courts or impartiality of justice. Too often have they seen how that sort of thing works out. They intend to call the attention of the mill owners to their desires by touching them on a very sensitive spot—that inhabited by the pocketbook. Tell your lawyers and courts to free Ettor and Giovannitti or we'll stop work, is their demand.

It is remarkable to see what effect the first hint of a general strike has had. Its stimulating effect has been wonderful. The mills here have orders ahead until January next and the last thing they want just now is an interruption in production. But that they will get it seems certain unless they make it mighty plain



SYRIAN HOUSE ON OAK STREET WHERE UNDERTAKER CONFESSED HE HID SEVERAL STICKS OF DYNAMITE.

that Ettor and Giovannitti are to be freed.

Lawrence isn't what it was. You will understand that when the Socialist party members there tell you that before the big strike they had about 17 members, couldn't get a crowd at a street meeting, and had to give their literature away. Now they have nearly 300 members, can get a crowd of a thousand to a meeting and sell their literature like lemonade on a hot day. The I. W. W. has 10,000 members where it had 600 before.

And finally it ought to be repeated again and again that no labor, Socialist or radical organization should fail to get in this fight by sending their contributions to William Yates, Central building, Lawrence, Mass. **If the prosecution wins and Ettor and Giovannitti are convicted, then a precedent will be set by which any speaker whose remarks are followed by any unrelated disturbance in any part of the city in which he appears, can be convicted and given the extreme penalty.** That is why Ettor and Giovannitti are fighting the battle of the whole working class, regardless of organization or affiliation.

WALL STREET AND THE ELECTION

By JOHN D.

WALL Street has already elected Woodrow Wilson as president of the United States. Financiers pick him as a winner because it is generally understood that J. P. Morgan will vote for him. Morgan has never picked a loser as far as Wall Street can remember, and at the present time the betting commissioners in the street are trying to place a great deal of money on the governor from New Jersey. Besides Morgan, Jacob H. Schiff, the head of the international banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, will vote for Mr. Wilson, as will James Speyer, whose interests in Mexico are very extensive. Mr. Speyer practically controls the railroads of that country and believes that the election of Mr. Wilson is a splendid thing for his investments. Samuel Rea, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, is also a supporter of Wilson, and William E. Corey, former president of the United States Steel Corporation, will also vote for Mr. Wilson. The National City Bank crowd, which means Rockefeller, is divided. Some of the officials will vote for Taft, and some for Wilson, but none of them are interested in Teddy's candidacy.

On the other hand, Roosevelt is not without his supporters in the financial district, and aside from George W. Perkins, his campaign manager, Judge E. H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation; Otto H. Kahn, Schiff's partner, and Ansel Oppenheim, of Chicago, who represents big railway interests, are all in favor of the Bull Moose candidate. The latter, in an interview a few days ago, said:

"The wild wave of Socialism in this country has got to stop. It is an attempt to do today what is only done by the slow law of evolution. Signs are not wanting in both hemispheres that things have gone ahead too fast. What twenty years ago was looked on as radical Socialism is

actually here today, but the reaction is setting in."

Perkins says that he is supporting Roosevelt for the reason that he wants to give his children a decent country to grow up in.

Taft will receive the support of the old line conservatives in Wall Street, but no money. Last month William Barnes, Jr., chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York, sent out letters asking for funds for the Taft campaign to Wall Street bankers, but it is understood that his returns are of a shoestring character.

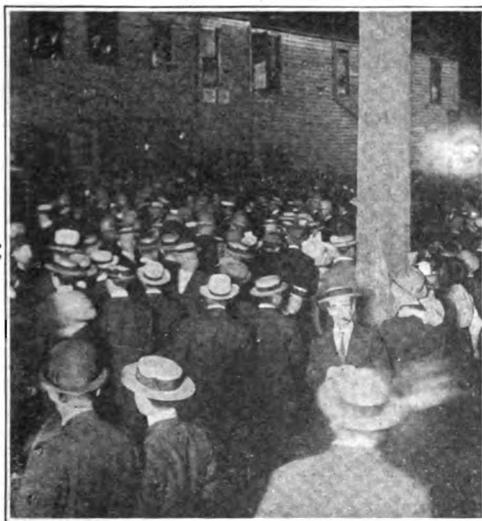
Regarding the Socialist party financiers are strongly of the opinion that Roosevelt's candidacy will take thousands of votes away from Eugene V. Debs, their standard bearer. As a matter of fact, they say that everything that Debs stands for Teddy will, on paper, and that he has the American people buffaloed to where they believe he is the only truthful man in the country. Perkins told the writer that the Bull Moose program was to take up the high cost of living for a campaign argument and to pound away on the tariff in order to educate the people to a realization of how protection works to the interests of the manufacturer and to the detriment of the consumer. He cited the American Woolen Company as an illustration of what the tariff means in this country, and believes that his program is a winning one.

All in all, this is the first time that Wall Street has been divided in the way it is this year, and while it is true that no matter whether Wilson, Taft or Roosevelt wins, Wall Street knows that it wins anyway. The street is looking for a big business boom following a big crop yield, and really at the bottom is indifferent to the outcome of the campaign next November.

The Streets of Pittsburgh

BY

JACOB MARGOLIS



FLASHLIGHT OF FREE SPEECH MEETING.

TO MANY Pittsburgh appears as one of the most conservative labor centers in the United States. Being the center of the steel and coal industries it is supposed to be

continually boiling and sputtering, and when these manifestations are not apparent many think that the city is asleep.

The first indication in a long time of any outward animation was brought about by the Free Speech Fight. The cause is not definitely known. Some have ascribed it to the Flinn Machine, that notorious political organization of machine politics, which even in Pennsylvania is malodorous. Others ascribe it to the Catholic church, and because of certain circumstances in the immediate neighborhood of the Free Speech Fight there seems at first blush to be some

justification for this.

I am inclined to believe that the cause is a more profound one and that the objection of the authorities to the Socialist party holding their meetings at Kelly street and Home-

wood avenue in the city of Pittsburgh is merely one of the significant details of the whole situation.

Those who live outside of the city and know of Pittsburgh by report must necessarily get many erroneous impressions of it. Pittsburgh is a gigantic workshop where the greatest number employed are unskilled. Craft unionism, although it makes a pretense of being strong in the community is in truth very weak. The mining industry which is supposedly organized under the American Federation of Labor is not a craft union at all. The essential character of Craft Unionism in



The eleven men and nine women who suffered imprisonment for being Socialists and maintaining they had a constitutional right of free speech.

this industry is lacking because it is not an organization based upon the skill of the workers employed. In the steel mills the greatest number are unskilled. In the Westinghouse industries the vast majority are actually unskilled workers. In addition to these facts the Homestead Strike of 1893 gave to labor of the Pittsburgh district such a severe blow that it seemed hardly possible that labor would ever again be able to hold up its head and battle with capital.

The great industrial establishments in Pittsburgh although they proclaim in and out of season their unalterable and undying love for the American nevertheless have in practice the seemingly inconsistent habit of employing the "Hunky." The mines of the Pittsburgh district are operated by "Hunkies." The mills of the Pittsburgh district are operated by "Hunkies," and most of these "Hunkies" are not citizens and have no vote. This apparent sleep of Pittsburgh is not a sleep at all although these workers cannot

make big displays by electing Socialists to office.

The Pittsburgh Free Speech Fight has a more profound significance therefore than we would think at first blush. Homewood is one of the residential districts of the Westinghouse industries. It is a peculiarly militant district. The branch of the Socialist party at this point is known as the most revolutionary in Allegheny county and their meetings on the streets have been along industrial lines. As long as they confined themselves to the discussion of politics it seems that they were not molested but as soon the character of the subjects discussed, changed, the authorities discovered that it was high time for them to put a stop to the whole business. They found no difficulty whatsoever in "cooking up" an excuse. It was no difficult matter to persuade or intimidate a few weak-kneed business men to make affidavit that their business was being interfered with and scarcely any pretext at all was needed. With the complaints of these business men in their

pockets they felt justified in refusing the speakers a permit for the corner of Homewood avenue and Kelly street in the city of Pittsburgh.

Free Speech is a valuable asset. To be deprived of it means that secret methods must be employed and the latter are hardly ever successful. It goes without saying that it is well nigh impossible to carry on an effective propaganda when the power of granting or refusing a permit to speak on the street is left to the discretion of a police official who may object to the cut of your coat or the color of your necktie. This is apparently what has happened in the city of Pittsburgh. They do not like the distinctively "red necktie" that was being worn by those who spoke at the corner of Homewood and Kelly.

Meetings had been held on this same corner for three years without any very strenuous objections being raised, but a very strong wave of industrialism has been passing over the city and many of the "red necktie" wearers of Homewood were stricken with the revolutionary fever and once having been stricken they proposed to contaminate and infect everyone who came in contact with them. Our overzealous and solicitous police officials, the preservers of the peace, health and morals of the community, immediately proceeded to place a strict quarantine and insisted that no meetings could be held in any populous section because perchance this contagious might spread and do irreparable damage. They were told to go to Kelly and Lang avenue, where not even as many as five people pass in as many hours.

The first hostilities broke out on August 3d last, when Comrades Merrick and McGuire were arrested for speaking with a permit. The quarantine was already on but unknown to the comrades, and they proceeded to talk Socialism, for which disobedience they were arrested and fined. Immediately after this the permit was revoked. The ardor and enthusiasm of the comrades did not abate in the least. They concluded after deliberation that they would hold a meeting at the corner of Kelly and Homewood despite the failure to procure a permit. They had met



IN JAIL.

at this place for three years and felt that if it were lawful to meet for three years it was lawful to meet for three years and one week. But the police officials thought otherwise and the comrades not having the "legal and holy" permit were arrested to the number of twenty. At this meeting, on August 3d, there were approximately ten thousand people in this quiet residential district of Pittsburgh. They came there to protest against the action of the police department; to protest against industrial slavery; to protest against capitalism; to protest against tyranny. They did not protest boisterously or loudly or profanely, but rather silently and with a grim determination. They employed that great weapon of Passive Resistance. They gave the police department no excuse for arresting anybody, but the police, "eternally vigilant," "preservers of the peace and tranquility of the community," did their "sworn and bounden duty." Nine girls and women and eleven men were lodged in a cell room. The next morning they appeared before Police Magistrate Fred Goettmann and were all discharged. The magistrate told them that they could meet without a permit, for which breach of obedience



THE NINE WHO WENT TO JAIL.

The top row—Marie Lehmer, Edna Wheeler, Alice Wills, Dora Levitt, Elizabeth Hobe.
Lower row—Celia Lipschitz, Anna Goldenberg, Jenny Sapter, Agnes McAllister.

it is rumored this magistrate was removed to a different part of the city.

The comrades, still undaunted, decided to meet on the 10th of August and this was the memorable day of the Free Speech Fight in Pittsburgh. It is estimated that there were fifteen thousand people on the streets on this night. The order preserved was well nigh perfect. Some of the police had surrounded the speakers' box and as Comrade Mervis, the speaker of the evening, was mounting the stand, he was arrested. Forty-four others were arrested with him. All told there were thirty-eight men and seven women arrested that night. In the six cells of the cell room at the Frankstown avenue station there were eighty-one men, from eleven to fifteen in each cell room. It is hardly necessary to describe the conditions of this cell room. The men could neither sit nor lie down. The odors of drunken, filthy men were intensified by the complete lack of ventilation, for the turnkeys, fearing lest the men would jump out of the windows,

notwithstanding steel bars were in their way, closed all the windows.

The raid of the police was marked by several dramatic scenes that really mark the events as historical. One of these occurrences was when an automobile was brought into service suddenly and a man with a megaphone was rushed through the crowd unexpectedly and announcements made before the police realized what was being done. As a result the crowd was quickly gotten onto a vacant lot to the discomfiture of the police.

Another moment and perhaps the most dramatic of all was when, while the mounted police thought they had guarded off a block of the street, suddenly there appeared in the middle of this block from an alley a Socialist band led by a slender girl, Elizabeth Hobe, who was waving a red flag as they marched right down through this square. It did not stop playing until the players were placed under arrest and taken to the depot. As the train pulled out the tenor drummer stood on the rear platform and drummed the

Marseillaise in ridicule to the chagrin of the police.

One of the pathetic and inspiring events was when Mrs. McAllister, a woman 52 years of age and of frail health, refused to accept a forfeit which would result in her release on the night of her arrest. She refused this and insisted on remaining all night as a protest against the conduct of the police.

The girls who have been especially trained in literature hustling seized upon the assembling of these thousands to go along the street and sell JUSTICE on the street and sub-cards instead of marching in a procession.

Another view of the picture, the most inspiring, which should not be forgotten is the two hundred, perspiring, angry, foot policemen, led by their superior

officer like automatons, walking here and there, following the crowd, unable to arrest anybody for want of provocation. Then there was the beautiful awe inspiring spectacle of thirty mounted policemen filling the street from curb to curb riding through a peaceable crowd pushing them on to the sidewalks and against the buildings. The question comes to our minds, why all this expenditure of money on the part of the officials of the city of Pittsburgh? Why this terrible engine of oppression brought into play? Why was a peaceable residential district turned into a "busy metropolis"?

The fight at this writing is still going on. An appeal has been taken from the decision of the magistrate who fined Comrade Mervis twenty-five dollars for speaking without a permit. In the meantime



Group of Pittsburgh Reds who sold several hundred Reviews at the Ettor-Giovannitti protest meeting at Kenneywood Park.

the police officials feeling unequal to the task went into court and the court granted an injunction restraining all persons from speaking at the corner of Kelly street and Homewood avenue. That most pernicious instrument of capitalist law, the injunction, figures again in the struggles of the working class. When the capitalist has exhausted all his efforts along legal lines he resorts to that most potent, certain and speedy weapon, the injunction, and our judges have not been notoriously guilty of refusing to issue it when asked by the capitalist to be used against the workers. The fight is not in the courts, for the workers are not deterred by any decision rendered against them.

Primarily it is the purpose of the conscious worker to enlist the cooperation of the other workers and secondly to enlist the sympathy of all liberal minded persons. A great wave of public sentiment in a community, a great demonstration of protest is very much more effective than a court decision, and even

though the courts of Allegheny county and the state of Pennsylvania decide against the workers, they have not lost, for they have succeeded in arousing a storm of protest, have succeeded in doing such effective propaganda work by the Free Speech Fight that we can not estimate its value.

They have established a significant precedent and an arbitrary police official will think twice in the future before attempting to discriminate against the revolutionists. He will know that he has a bigger job on hand than he bagained for. More than this, it has shown to many workers the value of Mass Action, the value of Passive Resistance and the necessity for organization among the workers along all lines.

Pittsburgh has not been a particular star in the political firmament, but things are brewing here. Revolt, real industrial revolt is in the air. The Pittsburgh politician has promised many things and has never fulfilled a single promise.

The woods are full of Revolutionary Socialists and Industrial Unionists and the Free Speech Fight is merely a skirmish in the Industrial Revolt about to follow. I am satisfied that had Homewood remained a political center and not become a hot bed of industrial unionism that the trouble never would have occurred. Industrial organization is going on all the time in the Pittsburgh district rapidly enough to bring all the forces of capitalism into play against the revolutionary workers. The working class can under no circumstance lose, for in struggles like this, the worker learns what strength he possesses, who are opposed to him and what measures will be taken to injure, oppress and if necessary exterminate him.

Just at the time when public opinion was at its highest pitch in Pittsburgh over this fight Bill Haywood came into the Pittsburgh district and on Sunday, August 25th, there was a giant Ettor Giovanitti protest meeting at Kennywood Park which was attended by at least 15,000 people. The weather was ideal and the grounds overlooked the great Steel



HAYWOOD AT KENNYWOOD PARK.



PART OF THE CROWD AT KENNYWOOD PARK.

Trust plants of the Edgar Thompson steel plant and American Steel & Wire Company at Rankin, on the opposite bank of the Monongahela and in the distance the



ITALIAN SOCIALIST BAND AT THE BIG MEETING.

historic battleground of labor—Homestead. This great auditorium in the midst of these industrial plants was the ideal place for the discussion of the latest development of industrialism. Haywood spoke twice and his speeches were most

remarkable and made such a deep impression upon the audiences that the moral effect will be felt for years and quite possibly the suggestions made there will shortly result in a great general strike throughout the Pittsburgh district.

"HIS HONOR" GETS HIS

The following is a stenographic report of Jack Whyte's speech before Judge Sloan, of the superior court of San Diego County, California, on being asked: "Why sentence should not be passed." He was fined six months and is now at San Diego County jail on a bread and water diet. He is a member of Local 13, I. W. W., and was arrested on a conspiracy charge in the recent San Diego Free Speech Fight.

THERE are only a few words that I care to say and this court will not mistake them for a legal argument, for I am not acquainted with the phraseology of the bar nor the language common to the court room.

There are two points which I want to touch upon—the indictment itself and the misstatement of the prosecuting attorney. The indictment reads, "The People of the State of California against J. W. Wright and Others." It's a hideous lie. The people in this court room know that it is a lie; the court itself knows that it is a lie, and I know that it is a lie. If the people of the state are to blame for this persecution, then the people are to blame for the murder of Michael Hoy and the assassination of Joseph Mikolasek. They are to blame and responsible for every bruise, every insult and injury inflicted upon the members of the working class by the vigilantes of this city. The people deny it and have so emphatically denied it that Governor Johnson sent Harris Weinstock down here to make an investigation and clear the reputation of the people of the state of California from the odor that you would attach to it. You cowards throw the blame upon the people, but I know who is to blame and I name them—it is Spreckles and his partners in business and this court is the lackey and lickspittle of that class, defending the property of that class against the advancing horde of starving American workers.

The prosecuting attorney, in his plea to the jury, accused me of saying on a public platform at a public meeting, "To hell with the courts, we know what justice is." He told a great truth when he lied, for if he had searched the innermost recesses of my mind he could have found that thought, never expressed by me before, but which I express now, "To hell with your courts, I know what justice is," for I have sat in your court room day after day and have seen members of my class pass before this, the so-called bar of justice. I have seen you, Judge Sloane, and others of your kind, send them to prison because they dared to infringe upon the sacred rights of property. You have become blind and deaf to the rights of man to pursue life and happiness, and you have crushed those rights so that the sacred right of property shall be preserved. Then you tell me to respect the law. I do not. I did violate the law, as I will violate every one of your laws and still come before you and say, "To hell with the courts," because I believe that my right to life is far more sacred than the sacred right of property that you and your kind so ably defend.

I do not tell you this in the expectation of getting justice, but to show my contempt for the whole machinery of law and justice as represented by this and every other court. The prosecutor lied, but I will accept his lie as a truth and say again so that you, Judge Sloane, may not be mistaken as to my attitude, "To hell with your courts, I know what justice is."



Mayor Duncan of Butte Replies to Catholic Bishop



THE Right Rev. John P. Carroll, D. D., bishop of the diocese of Helena, has been functioning again as economic and political instructor to the working class in general, and to members of labor organizations in particular. This time he has appeared in Chicago before the convention of the A. O. H. The *Chicago Tribune* of July 22 gives over two columns of space to quotations from his address.

As a spiritual adviser and an instructor in religion the reverend gentleman may be entirely competent, but the report of his Chicago address proves him to be a bungling novice and wholly incompetent to instruct anybody in economic and political science. This address consists of warnings against something which Bishop Carroll is pleased to call socialism. But his assertions concerning the tenets of socialism are so wide of the mark, so erroneous, so ill understood and so ignorantly stated that the whole address amounts, in fact, to a warning against something that is not socialism; something that has no existence, in fact, outside the minds of a few people equally as ill-informed and prejudiced as himself.

As a theologian the bishop quite properly predicated his opening remarks on a Bible quotation to prove that with "the fall of man" God placed a curse on labor. The deity is represented as saying to Adam, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread until thou return to the

earth out of which thou wast taken." Not being a theologian, the editor of the *Butte Socialist* will not venture to dispute with the bishop concerning the fact of such a curse having been pronounced by God, though we are quite curious to know in what language God spoke to Adam; who was on hand besides Adam at the time to report the conversation, and by what rule of construction, or by what standard of justice the bishop makes a curse pronounced upon one man for a personal disobedience apply to all mankind for all time. But as students of economics we do challenge the bishop's interpretation of that alleged curse. We challenge him to prove by facts that the curse is operating today upon all men. Where is the evidence that the curse is working in the case of Mr. Carnegie, or Mr. Rockefeller, or the grandchildren of Marshall Field? These persons and all their class are eating their bread in the sweat, not of their own faces, but of the faces of hundreds of thousands of underpaid men, of anxious, starving women and of physically and spiritually deformed and joyless children. In the sweat of whose faces, let the bishop show us, are the wealthy stockholders of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company eating their bread? Certainly not in the sweat of their own faces; for they have not lifted a shovel, or whipped a drill, or fired a blast, or moved a pound of copper ore in the properties out of the earnings of which their dividends come.

It was the sweat of the men who work in and about those mines, the sweat of their hard-working women folk and little children in their working class homes; the sweat of the hard battle against poverty that is carried on in every working class home in Butte. That is the sweat in which the bread, the superior cuts of meat, the finest fruits, the choicest viands of every description that are spread on the tables of these dividend-getting stockholders of the A. C. M. Company are eaten every day. Why does the alleged curse always fall on the wage earners and never on the stockholders? When Bishop Carroll shall have learned to answer that question truthfully, he will have learned the first lesson in economics. And this is an economic question, not a theological one; it demands an economic answer. As a professed student of political economy, the bishop is challenged to answer it.

Facts in Labor History.

The bishop is off in his historical facts also. For example, he says that under paganism there was no labor trouble. We might, were we a theologian, remind the right reverend of an uprising of slaves in Egypt when, under the leadership of one Moses, several thousands threw off the yoke of bondage and won their emancipation. We might also remind him of the revolt of the working class against their tyrannical taskmasters when Rehoboam succeeded King Solomon; a revolt that resulted in the formation of a new kingdom. But not to go into biblical history, we beg to remind the bishop of the agrarian revolt in Rome under the Gracchi, and of the Roman slaves under the leadership of Spartacus; all of these were labor troubles that bore the same relation to the social and political conditions of their respective times and places that the labor troubles of today bear to modern society.

An instructor of the working class in the twentieth century, especially a self-appointed one, should be more accurate in his references to working class history than the bishop appears to be. The working class of today is more apt to be well informed on such matters than are the superficially informed clergy, and

careless statements of fact are liable to be challenged by men relatively unlettered.

The bishop makes another slip when he speaks of the mediaeval trade guilds as the creation of the church. They were the creation of the workers of that time and were the direct result of the economic necessities of that period. They bear no relation whatever to the labor unions of today. We beg to refer the bishop for further and more accurate information to the great work by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "The History of Trade Unionism," and to Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."

The Bishop's Straw Man.

Speaking of and for "the church," Bishop Carroll says "She admits the greed of capitalists is responsible for many of the ills that afflict the laboring man, but she knows that to destroy capital itself and all productive property would do irreparable harm to the laboring man himself." That is nice of the church! What would any sensible workingman think of the intelligence of any socialist who should say, "I admit that the stealing of food out of any miner's dinner pail is a hardship on that miner, but I know that to destroy the engines at the Leonard mine would throw hundreds of workingmen out of a job?" He would say that socialist had said a very silly thing; a flat, pointless platitude that meant nothing. He would be right. And that is precisely what Bishop Carroll has said in the sentence quoted. Granting it to be true that the greed of capitalists works a hardship, what in God's name has that to do with the destruction of all productive property and the hardships that such a mad act would work? The bishop, when he uttered that senseless sentence, was up to a trick too commonly practiced by clergymen and Mr. Roosevelt, and demagogues generally. He was practicing sophistry. He was putting words together and ideas together that sounded as though there was a sequence of thought when, in fact, there was no sequence, but the effect of which would be to convey the impression to his audience that what socialists propose is to revenge the ills which greedy capitalists

inflict upon the working class, by destroying capital and all productive property.

Now, either Bishop Carroll knows better than that, or he does not know better. If he knows better than the false impression that sentence was designed to produce, then he is just a plain, common demagogue and a deliberate practitioner of deception; if he does not know any better, then he is too ignorant to be the safe counsellor of men that he purports to be.

Will Not Destroy.

Socialism does not, in the first place, blame capitalists or capitalists' greed for the economic and social ills that afflict the working class. Socialism blames the system of capitalism, the system of private ownership of the necessary means of producing and distributing the wealth of society, for the economic and social ills that afflict us all. That system, according to socialism, inevitably creates the very greed which the bishop admits to be socially injurious. In the next place, Socialism does not propose the destruction of capital and all productive property. On the contrary, it proposes to conserve all existent capital—and capital is nothing whatever except productive property—and to add to that more and greater productive property than the system of private ownership of capital could possibly make profitable to its owners. The bishop is challenged to cite one standard Socialist authority in which is advocated the destruction of "capital and all productive property." He is challenged to quote from any platform or other authoritative utterance of the Socialist party, in this or any other country, that advocates such destruction. If there is in any of these any such advocacy the bishop should be able to quote it and state where his quotation may be verified. If he cannot do this, he should publicly apologize to the A. O. H. for having tried to deceive the delegates in the convention at Chicago.

The next point in his address is a gem. It is a perfect Lu-Lu of an argument and we give it in his own words:

"First of all, Socialism is economically unsound. It destroys the right of private

ownership, or, at least, limits it to consumptive goods, such as food, clothing and shelter, and it would transfer to the community or the state the ownership of land, capital and all the instruments of production and distribution.

"Who does not see that such a theory would make the life of the laboring man unbearable and deprive him of what justly belongs to him? Who would work in the field, in the factory, and the mine, if his surplus earnings were confiscated by the state? Where would be the incentive to toil, if one were not permitted to accumulate capital and make it productive?"

Another Bogey.

Inaccurate again! Socialism advocates the collective ownership only of such means of social production and distribution as have become socially necessary. For example, power looms have become the socially necessary means of the production of cloth. Socialism would have them collectively owned. But it does not follow and Socialism does not teach that my wife may not privately own her sewing machine. On the contrary, she may own her sewing machine and use it productively in any way she chooses for her own comfort and that of her family. She may use it, if she chooses, to do sewing for her neighbors. She may, if she chooses, have a spinning wheel and a loom and spin and weave all the cloth we need for our family or that we wish to give to our friends. But, if with the collectively owned looms and sewing machines that under Socialism will be available, she can obtain the cloth we need and the finished garments we need for our own use or for our gifts of friendship and charity, and get them at the cost of production, and get better cloth and garments than she and I could possibly make with the loom and the sewing machine in our little home, what object would it be to her or to me to own a loom or a sewing machine? We might keep the sewing machine for a while, just as grandmother kept her old spinning wheel and lace pillow, as relics, but the co-operative industry with its perfected machinery, its cheaper products, its improved quality of commodities, would, in time, make the private ownership of even a sewing ma-

chine ridiculous from an economic or utilitarian point of view. By the way, where are those knitting needles that mother used to click so industriously, making our socks and mittens? Why, they are down in Connecticut somewhere, built into colossal knitting machines that can knit thousands of socks in the time mother used to take knitting one.

These are examples of the ways in which Socialism proposes to do away with the private ownership of capital. No policeman will take your machine out of your house. The state owned and democratically controlled factory will produce and deliver at cost the goods that your machine and your labor can make—and better goods, too—and you will voluntarily throw the machine out on the scrap heap and will run down to the factory and swap a few hours of your labor for the goods you need for family uses.

Now, when you understand this proposition of socialism and what the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution really means to the working class, don't you see what "bunk" is all the bishop's tommyrot about the unbearable life of the workingman and his deprivations under Socialism? It would be an awful tyranny, wouldn't it, to live in a society where, instead of having to pay a profit to the owner of the woolen mill, to the owner of the railroad, to the owner of the wholesale house and to the owner of Hennessy's store for every hand-me-down shoddy suit you need for yourself or the kids, you could get them at the actual cost of the materials and the making and delivery of them to you, and pay for them by doing as much of your kind of labor as shall be equal to that cost? Gee! how you would suffer, if you didn't have to pay all those profits besides the cost as you do now!

"Surplus Earnings" Versus Surplus Value.

Then think of a bishop, who professes to know enough about political economy to be an instructor of workingmen, talking to them about the confiscation of their "surplus earnings" by the state! Workingmen get no surplus earnings, and they all know it. All they get is wages—the market price of their labor

power. But their labor power applied to privately owned machines (capital) creates a "surplus value," which is very different from surplus earnings. This surplus value is what the product which their labor power creates is worth after the cost of the raw material and all the costs of production, including wages, have been deducted, or paid. But the workers do not get any of this surplus. Who does get it? Why, bless the good bishop's smooth brain, the capitalist owners of the machines get it. Socialism teaches you that the workers create this surplus value and should have it for themselves. Socialism would give to the workers the full social value which their labors create. Socialism teaches that under the capitalist system this value is confiscated from the workers by the capitalist owners of the machines. The Socialist state would confiscate nothing from the workers. On the contrary it would stop the present confiscation by the capitalists and restore these confiscated values to the workers who create them. You see how little the bishop really knows about this subject. It is either that he is ignorant of it, or else that he is deceiving you. In either case he is not a teacher to be depended on for economic truth, however wise and good and dependable he may be as a spiritual teacher.

Instead of the unendurable tyranny the bishop represents it, the Socialist commonwealth would be the workingman's own world. Instead of reducing him to a brute, it would open to him, for the first time in history, the free opportunity for the complete development of all those human powers which distinguish man from the brute. It is the present system that is brutalizing the working class. It is the present system which is holding him in bondage, not to a crib, but to machines that fill the crib of his master. All this system gives any workingman is wages—just enough for his necessities of life. Anything more than that he enjoys is taken out of his own comforts or that of his family. The Socialist state, by freeing him from economic masters, will make him the owner of an undivided interest in every necessary tool of production in this country. He will have no

state lording it over him like a boss, because he himself will be one of the owners and with an equal voice with every other in the conduct of the industrial affairs of the nation. It isn't much of a hardship, is it, to be fed at a master's crib when you yourself are the master? Not nearly so hard as it is now to go hungry because you cannot find a master who will hire you and give you a chance to buy what you need to satisfy your hunger? Not nearly so hard as it is now when, even if you find a master to employ you, all that your labor creates above what you receive in wages goes to fill the crib of the master so full of grub that he cannot eat it all and has to waste it in order to get rid of it, while you can scarcely make ends meet, and often have to send little John and Mary off to school with their little stomachs only half satisfied?

Being the workingman's own society, a society in which there could and would be no master class, but only one class, and that a working class, it is self-evident that the citizens of that industrial democracy would not create a political power to tyrannize over them. They are tyrannized over today by the state, because the state, in capitalist society, was created by the master class for the benefit of the master class. It is the political tool by which the masters of the means of the production and distribution of wealth (social necessities) hold the workers in subjection and are able to keep them from having and enjoying the fruits of their labors.

Socialism a Free Society.

When the workers come to understand this, they will take this political tool into their own hands, change its character from a political government to an administrative one, change the laws which sanction the oppressions practiced by the masters upon the workers, change the ownership of the means of production and distribution from private to public ownership, abolish social classes and class rule and set up a real democracy. You see how absurd is the bishop's notion that such a state would be a tyranny. It would be precisely the kind of state that the majority of workers decided it

should be. And if they made a mistake at any time, they would correct it as soon as discovered. Would a people, a free people, economically free so that their means of living were certain and constant, and politically free, so that they could make and unmake the laws as their circumstances should require—would such a people tyrannize over themselves? It is absurd to even suggest it. Yet that is the absurd thing the bishop would have you believe that the Socialist state would do.

The "outbursts of indignation" of which the bishop accuses Socialists are not treasonable, as he says they are; and they are not directly against government per se. Our indignation is against the uses made of government by the master class. Our criticisms of the constitution, the laws, the courts and the entire political machinery of modern society are based on the character these all have taken as the political tools of the master class. Socialists are devoted to the principles of liberty, of justice, of democracy upon which this government was founded, but we see that the machinery of government, in the hands of the master class, has been used to violate all those principles and is today prostituted to the subversion of liberty for workers and justice for workers, and to the utter overthrow of everything pertaining to democracy. From the standpoint of the master class, and of the bishop who evidently likes what the master class is doing, we Socialists must appear to be treasonable. But to be treasonable one must be traitor to the principles on which the country is founded, and for which it professes to stand. The master class are the real traitors in the United States today, they and their followers and apologists; not the Socialists.

Capitalist "Equality."

The bishop says we have equality of opportunity in this country today. The Socialists say we have not equality of opportunity. It is a question of fact. The Socialist is willing to put it to the test of working class experience. For example: Yesterday two boys were born into the world. One was born in the New York home of a master whose income is a million dollars a year; the other in the home

of a Butte workingman whose income is one thousand dollars a year. Now, let the bishop show you that this working class baby has an equal opportunity with that master's baby to plenty of good wholesome food; to plenty of care and sunshine and fresh air; to protection against accident; to a thorough education; to the cultivation of refined and cultured tastes; to a good start in business or professional life; to the making of a living; to the securing of a wife, the making of a home and the rearing of healthy and socially useful offspring. If he can prove this equality of opportunity exists for those two boys, his case is proven. If he cannot prove it, his case is lost. He cannot prove it, and every thinking man knows he cannot. Equality of opportunity is impossible under capitalism. Socialism offers to the workingman the only program by which we can get a society where there will be real equality of opportunity. It does not ask, it does not advocate and it does not want any other kind of equality. It disowns the dead level equality which Bishop Carroll attributes to it. If Bishop Carroll does not know this, he is too ignorant about Socialism to be anybody's instructor on that subject; if he does know this, then he is a deceitful and unreliable instructor on that subject.

Equally unreliable, and for the same reasons, is the bishop in what he says Socialism would do for the home. Socialism would not destroy the home. Capitalism is destroying homes by the thousands every day.

Who Destroys the Home?

Is it going to destroy the homes of people if we have a society in which no man need be out of a job? Is it going to destroy homes, if the fear of poverty never need enter the doors? Is it going to destroy homes, if the girls and boys are never to be forced into hard labor early in life, but are to have every opportunity to acquire a thorough education and to fit themselves for useful labor to which their tastes and abilities adapt them? Is it going to destroy a home, if the mother never will have to leave her babies uncared for while she goes out to earn the living? Is it going to destroy

the home, if when a worker is injured or killed, the state will compensate the family for the loss and see that the widows and orphans do not lack the necessities of physical and intellectual life? Is it going to destroy homes, when the workers receive the full social value of their labor? Is it going to destroy the home when no woman will have to get married merely for support, and no man will have to get married merely to get a cheap housekeeper and nurse? Is it going to destroy homes, when a man and woman economically self-sustaining can meet as equals, associate together in clean, pure, wholesome, and in beautiful and refined surroundings, learn to know their mutuality in tastes and ambitions, and grow to love each other and really desire to live together as life mates and as helpers and inspirers of one another?

Tommyrot.

It is nonsense to say that the establishment of such social conditions would destroy homes. Yet it is just such conditions that Socialism seeks to establish and will establish just as soon as the working class stops listening to such tommyrot as Bishop Carroll gives them, and begins to listen seriously to Socialists, to read up on Socialism, and to learn that it is in the power of the working class to get such a society just as soon as they learn to act together.

Yes, that will be revolution, as the bishop says. But when, in the United States, did it become unsocial, unlawful and an occasion of reproach to advocate revolution? This nation was born in revolution. Its professed principles of liberty, justice and democracy are revolutionary principles. Why should it not again throw off the tyranny of class rule, reaffirm its principles with sincere revolutionary conviction, and refashion its laws and institutions to adapt them to the twentieth century and to the security and preservation of the liberties, the equities and the democratic equalities of its people? This is what Socialists want to do, and instead of this purpose being, as the bishop says, "opposed to the Declaration of Independence," it is directly in accord with that revolutionary document. Read it and see for yourself.

Religion and Socialism.

And finally about Socialism and the church. Socialism is not an enemy to the church or to religion. It leaves that subject alone—prefers to do so believing it to be a matter for individual determination. But when the church in the name of religion gets out of that field and into our chosen field of economic and political science, and begins to misrepresent the teachings of Socialism, and to hand out

to the working class economic and political teachings that are false and that have a tendency to keep the workers in ignorance and thus to hinder the day of their emancipation, then, indeed, the Socialists will and do fight back—as we are fighting Bishop Carroll's address. But this is not fighting religion or the church. It is fighting economic and political error and falsehood. If the church will foster such teachings—well, so much the worse for the church.

RESOLUTION AGAINST WAR BY HAYWOOD

A WAR with Mexico seems imminent. The United States troops have been at the border for months waiting for a pretext to begin the blood-letting.

The working people of the two countries are about to be driven to butcher one another in the interest of a handful of capitalists, oil magnates and owners of railroads, mines, ranches and franchises.

Now is the time for Socialists to act. The Socialists of England and other nations are at this moment voting on a motion proposed by the English and French delegates at the last international congress, calling for a general strike, especially of railroad employes and the producers of military supplies, in the case of a declaration of war. The motion will undoubtedly be carried, and the Socialists of this country cannot afford to wait until the final decision has been reached. Our time to act is now.

This general strike may require some time for its preparation. Immediate action is also possible. The Socialist Party should at once declare that any of its members who enlist either for this or any other threatening war, such as the impending attack on Nicaragua, ceases by that act to be a member of the Socialist party.

This action is demanded not only by the danger of fratricidal butchery but also by our duty to come, however late, to the aid of our brother revolutionists in Mexico—who might be in a far better position today if the Socialist Party had not steadily refused to do its duty in this regard up to the present time.

We hereby call upon the membership of the Socialist party and the working class generally to take immediate steps to prevent war with Mexico.

(This resolution is being voted on by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party as we go to press.)



THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN CAR MEN WHO STRUCK FOR THE REINSTATEMENT

THE CLASS WAR

BY WILLIAM S.

THE street car workers revolt in city ruled by the Steel Trust. The masters of Duluth, Minn., have sowed a tempest and now they reap the whirlwind.

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gone to pieces. The leather workers, switchmen, bakers, tile-setters, dock-workers and others all crumbled under the fierce attacks of the Duluth Business Men's Association.

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OF THE NINE MEN WHO WERE FIRED FOR ATTENDING A UNION MEETING.

IN DULUTH TOWNE

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vaded the private residence of Alex Peterson, where a meeting of the newly organized street car workers was in progress. These spotters turned into the company the names of nine workers who were fired on Sunday night.

The street car workers demanded their re-instatement and recognition of their union with a ten hour day, and ten walked out. By night 107 had joined them and strike breakers had arrived from Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Duluth is divided into two parts by an enormous point of rocks. The car barns are west about twenty blocks, in a business district, which is also populated by thousands of workers. The majority of these are Scandinavians, hardworking, sober and slow to wrath. However, on Monday evening, September 9th, three thousand working people in this district woke up from their seeming lethargy and proceeded to smash the transportation system. The attack came with such suddenness that it paralyzed the street car officials. Cars were derailed, scabs were shown the error of their ways and the fear of God was put in their hearts.

Tuesday night the workers were on the job stronger than ever. Police were powerless and Chief Troyer threw up the sponge. A few "rioters" were jailed and bound over to the grand jury. Wednesday night, September 11th, the workers boarded the cars and refused to pay fares. This was sabotage on the scabs, as they received \$4.00 a day and all over \$10.00 in fares. Plain clothes men were everywhere with their black jacks.

Not a striker has been arrested for violence. All damage to property and violence to persons has been done by a sympathetic company. On this night cars were all in the barns by seven o'clock while five thousand working people paraded the west end and not a car rolled along the rails and Duluth is considered the best street car town in the world for its size. The Socialists held the largest street meeting ever assembled on a Duluth street corner and Comrade William E. Towne made the class struggle clear.

The strikers are willing to arbitrate but not. Warren says, "Nothing doing."

Business men are feeling very much hurt because their bank deposits are dwindling. Police seem to be in sympathy with the strikers. Governor Eberhart is out for re-election and cannot see why the militia is needed. Sheriff Menning is also out for re-election and deputies are scarce. Working men have been requested by their bosses to act as deputies but there is nothing doing.

The Superior street car men went out in sympathy and the Twin Cities are on the way.

Billy McWewen, secretary of the State Federation, who "settled" a street car strike in '99 and who had until lately been favored with political appointment, is working overtime trying to "get right" on this strike.

On Thursday afternoon a meeting of business men, mayors and councilmen forced their resolution demanding that all the old men be put back to work and that the matter be arbitrated. Business men are angry at Warren for refusing to meet his men and steps are being taken to



A SCAB—HE LOOKS IT.

have him fired. Mayor Konkel of Superior, Wis., vows that if the company refuses to arbitrate the city itself will step in and run the car line. Mr. Warren refused to meet the committee of strikers, business men and councilmen.

The Socialist alderman, P. G. Phillips, opposed the arbitration resolution on the ground that it did not protect the men. He was howled and hooted at but held the floor and compelled a hearing.

All attempts have failed to get the men together; the Des Moines, Iowa, proposition will be tried, that is, the courts will interfere, restrain everybody from fighting or striking, take the management of affairs out of the company's hands, and order the men back to work.

Then the court will "order" the parties to arbitrate; again a strike will be "settled" and again the workers will be denied a chance to speak for themselves and deal with the boss direct.

Never before has such class consciousness been manifested in Duluth and while the workers will not gain much if anything, nevertheless the education, experience and class solidarity that has developed and awakened will never be forgotten. Another summer of agitation and the field will be rotten ripe for a revolutionary working class organization backed by class conscious political parties.

And this strike, mark you, may be won, not by strikers, but by the "direct action" of 5,000 sympathizers.

THE SIMPLICITY OF SOCIALISM

BY

GUY McCLUNG

SOcialism is not hard either to explain or understand.

Here is the situation: The world's people belong to or support one of the two great classes, capitalists or workers.

What have we got? Nothing. What have they got? Everything.

Now we want it. Simple, isn't it?

We demand all they've got. Why? Because they have stolen it from us. We are the disinherited of the earth and we are getting ready to take back what belongs to us. We have waked up to the fact that the few have no right to enjoy all the good things of life while the many live in want and die in misery. We have discovered that we are running a race in which they have a hundred yards start; we have entered a contest in which they have the upper hand; we are sitting around a table on which the cards are stacked; we are playing a game for which they have made the rules.

They told us in the beginning that there was a chance for all. Now we know that they lied.

We have become wise to the fact that we are the victims, the suckers, the fall-guys, in the greatest bunco game ever

invented. We put all we had into it—our health, our hopes, our strength and power to labor—but everything went merely to make them richer and stronger. The result is that they are the owners of everything that makes life worth living.

We want it back. Now how are we going to get it?

Ask them for it? They would hand us the laugh.

Buy it from them? It never belonged to them in the first place—no, we are going to take it.

Take it how? By force? No, not necessarily. By bullets? We are not so foolish. We have the power already. We far outnumber them and our brains, when used, are as good as theirs. Therefore, we will organize our power and use our brains in our own behalf hereafter instead of theirs. When the workers are once solidly united the system by which the capitalists daily rob us of the fruits of our toil will simply fall of its own weight. There will be nothing under it to support it any longer and each man will then own his job and retain for himself the value of his product.

History, Mexico, and American Capitalism

By HERBERT STURGES

THE Civil War was a war of conquest, of reconquest of the seceded states. The capitalists seemed to feel that it was necessary for them to own the government of the southern states. They could best carry on business in the whole country by owning the government of all parts of the nation. Commerce, consisting of communication and transportation, would have been greatly handicapped for the northern capitalists by the hostile southern Confederacy. While, on the contrary, commerce with the south would be facilitated by having the southern states all under the sway of the central government at Washington. In support of this purpose they held to the theory of strong powers of the central government, as against the theory of state-rights held by the democrats of the south, and worked up the sentiment of the north with such catch-phrases as "The Union forever," "The United States, one and indivisible," while, as a matter of strict constitutional interpretation, the contention of state rights was correct, and they had every legal right to secede if they wanted to. But in the face of the economic necessity of the capitalist class, which also represented the interests of real progress, the constitutional principles were as nothing.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to compel the submission of the southern states, and this had to be done by war. Whenever war becomes necessary for the capitalists the constitutional guarantees of life and property are also vain, and the sacrifice of life and property was accordingly made on the altar of Mammon. Not that this was really all "wrong." If we had been in the place of the capitalists, or of Lincoln their representative and servant, or of those who accepted the war-principle of the preservation of the Union at any cost, we too would have sounded the battle cry and fought and prayed for vic-

tory. Moreover, few of us would have been abolitionists; it is pure nonsense to think that we would have been. But when, in the course of the war, it became possible to seriously injure the southern cause by denying the legal recognition of the Federal States to the fundamental economic institution of the Confederacy, it was inevitable that there should issue a Proclamation of Emancipation. Under those circumstances, we too would have quickly changed our notions of the justice and expediency of chattel slavery. The north simply could not afford to continue to recognize this institution which was of no benefit to it, but which was the one strength of their southern opponents. So the humanitarian ideas and ideals of the abolition itself finally triumphed because of the economic necessity of the northern capitalists, taking the form of a war with the southern states in which the Emancipation of the slaves was an inevitable war move.

The fundamental reason for the Civil War was, therefore, the economic need of having one government in the country. This took the ideal form of Unionism, the idea of "preserving the Union" and of abolition of chattel slavery.

To one who understands the materialistic interpretation of past history, and especially of the recent history of his own country, there can be no question as to the real motives underlying the present moves of our capitalist government. The struggle now is not between two classes geographically separated, one industrial and one agricultural, but between hostile groups of American capitalists, and finally between hostile groups of capitalists lined up more or less solidly in two camps throughout the whole civilized world. This is at any rate the tendency in present financial history, and the unmistakable trend of events is in this direction.

It was the great service of Thomas Lawson to expose to an eagerly listening

world of Americans the workings and ramifications of the System. It took Lawson, the disgruntled insider, to do this. Today, partly as a direct result of the big muck-raking campaign, the System is regulated and slightly handicapped from free operation. But aside from these comparatively meager restrictions, it is still in full control in the business world, and in the government, except as it is opposed by its younger rival, the steel trust and its allies. When Morgan organized the steel industry he realized far more than the previous owners, Carnegie, for instance, what a big plum he had in his power. Standard Oil, and the rest of the Big System had unfortunately neglected this field of operations, and this oversight will cost them dear before the contest is ended. Next to the agricultural industry (as it is now becoming more and more proper to call it), the steel industry is the most important and the most fundamental. Founded directly upon these is the transportation system of railroads, which is in quantity of almost equal importance. Standard Oil had not neglected the railroads. But it had forgotten the steel industry. Morgan saw his chance. And, having one of two great fundamental industries of the country increasingly in his power, he considered that he would gain far more in the long run by remaining independent of the System than by cooperating with it and amalgamating with it. So the System has never been able to absorb the steel industry. Having the steel industry increasingly in his control, it was a simple matter comparatively for Morgan to build up a System of his own, "System Number Two" we should call it. Railroads can always be built; or even bought outright from dissatisfied investors and made to pay by good management. The Hill railroads belong in System Number Two. This gives number two a strong grip on the growing west and northwest. Being younger and weaker, number two has been compelled to be more energetic and more progressive. It has inaugurated in the steel industry of this country the most efficient system of exploitation the world has ever seen. American workmen were too independent, had too high a standard of

living, and had a troublesome way of organizing themselves. The Morgan system had to make money, and they had to make it fast. Standard Oil was well entrenched financially, and has never felt the economic urge as the steel trust has felt it. Necessity was the mother of invention, and the result is the present enormously efficient profit-making machinery of the steel industry, with its tremendously overworked foreign labor.

The policy of independence carried out by System Number Two has not prevented their co-operation here and there with Number One. But in general, and for the most part, the attitude of the weaker organization towards the stronger has been one of hostility, the polite and nevertheless strenuous hostility of modern business. This comes out more especially in the struggle for foreign markets and for opportunities for exploitative investments in foreign lands. This struggle for foreign privileges of the two kinds mentioned necessarily takes a political form and is thus brought out before the public. The conflict for economic opportunity has never come to a sharper issue between the two hostile groups of big business than in the present fight for the spoils of Mexico. System number one, with all its conservative practices, seems to have had the advantage over number two in the former Diaz administration of Mexico. That was to have been expected, since number one was well entrenched everywhere, and had apparently everything its own way for a while on the American continent. But Standard Oil was not smart enough to keep a careful watch over her prerogatives in Mexico. Morgan, for at least the second time, saw his big chance. The spirit of unrest in Mexico (and we well know the reasons for this and the seriousness of the situation for the exploited Mexicans), this dissatisfaction was quietly seized upon by the Morgan-Hill interests and aided and abetted in the successful Madero Revolution. It is hardly necessary to say that the aid of the government at Washington was eagerly sought by both sides in this conflict, by Standard Oil, which realized, when it was too late, that it had been taken off its guard and was in danger

of losing the advantages of a government in Mexico favorable to its interests, and by steel, which wanted to assure its victory by American intervention favorable to the establishment of a new regime. Morgan did his best to persuade Taft that the Madero revolution if successful would be more stable and more favorable to American interests in general in Mexico than the despotism of Diaz. If Roosevelt had been in the presidency, there can be scarcely any doubt that he would early have yielded to the solicitations of his friend Morgan, and given the help asked for. Taft was also begged for help by Standard Oil. Troops were sent to the border, but either the divergence of advice and the conflicting opinion of his friends as to what should be the aim of the proposed intervention or protest made by the working class against intervention, either or both of these effectually prevented intervention. Left to itself, the revolution in Mexico, appealing as it did to the working class there, and to all those who had been dissatisfied with the previous regime, ultimately succeeded. With the capitalist Madero in the seat of state, Morgan had little to regret.

But almost instantaneously events showed that the Madero administration could not be stable. That one desideratum of all the capitalists, a stable government, had not yet been provided for Mexico. System Number One, knowing that it had the real preponderance of financial strength, could not remain contented with the status quo of an administration in Mexico favorable to their rivals, System Number Two. The working class of Mexico found that their lot was not appreciably alleviated by the readjustment of things down at the capital. (We Socialists who are also industrial workers, "Reds," know that it can never be done by mere political rearrangements, even when in full sympathy with the workers.) The Madero administration was still a capitalist administration, and the veritably revolutionary elements of the Mexican revolution remained revolutionary.

System Number Two was satisfied, and wanted to have the forcible suppression

of the Orozco Revolution. This desire was shared by the capitalists who wanted to let things alone, not caring to change. But the pressure of the desultory conflict began to disturb everybody. The Mexican government was apparently unable to cope with the guerilla warriors of Orozco. The chance for Number One to recoup its recent losses was too good to be missed. This was to be done NOT BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW MEXICAN ADMINISTRATION, BUT BY THE EXTENSION OF AMERICAN POWER OVER MEXICO. The economic and political control of the United States is definitely in the hands of System Number One. It controlled the Republican National Committee, the real political government at convention time, and through it nominated its man Taft for the presidency on the hitherto successful Republican ticket. It controlled the Democratic convention, and put out a second platform and a second ticket, which if not quite what they would have preferred, was the best they could do, and the only way of appealing to popular votes. Neither platform has the least suggestion of taking the actual power of government away from national committees and houses of congress and legislatures, all of which are largely in the power of System Number One at the present time and will remain in their power as long as they have the preponderant economic strength of the country, or until the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall in national politics. System Number One's control over the national government is assured whichever of the old party candidates is elected, and whichever of the old party platforms is adopted by the country. Under these circumstances the establishment of American Suzerainty over Mexico could only mean the establishment of the preferential privilege of System Number One over System Number Two in their fight for the Mexican market, and especially for Mexican exploitative investments, the right to exploit Mexican natural resources and Mexican labor. The financial powers that be, therefore, favor intervention.

The steel trust, ably generalised by

Morgan and his field lieutenant, Perkins, is responsible for the Men and Religions Forward movement, the recent Politics Forward movement, and hopes sooner or later to obtain the support of the middle classes. By obtaining the aid of the small capitalists and artisans, the steel trust expects to gain political power in the United States and by a judicious use of this power to gain ultimately the upper hand in its conflict for economic supremacy. This is probably a forlorn hope. The middle class is itself so rapidly losing ground that any hopes based on its aid are vain. IF IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR THE STEEL TRUST TO CONTINUE AND DEVELOP ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICY OF MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY, THAT IS OF MAXIMUM EXPLOITATION OF LABOR, WHILE SYSTEM NUMBER ONE CONTINUED TO EMPLOY A LESS EFFICIENT METHOD, THE TIME WOULD COME WHEN SYSTEM NUMBER TWO WOULD WIN. But the one thing which prevents this is the attitude of labor towards its maximum exploitation. Industrial unionism, whether under that name or under the name and auspices of the American Federation, and Socialism are the two things that stand in the way of the continuance of this maximum efficiency method. It seems very unlikely that system number two can ever win in the struggle for economic supremacy or for its reflex, political control. This being true, System Number One is assured of reaping the fruits of United States control over Mexico. The end and goal of their efforts will doubtless be the complete absorption of Mexico by America. This consummation of political amalgamation will, however, probably remain for International Socialism to accomplish. The most that Standard Oil, acting through its agent, the American government, can expect to do at this time is to establish and guarantee a stable government in Mexico under the suzerainty of the United States. This is the logical aim of American intervention in Mexico. We do not mean to imply that it is either right or wrong; it is simply inevitable. Now that the Mexicans have shown that they cannot settle

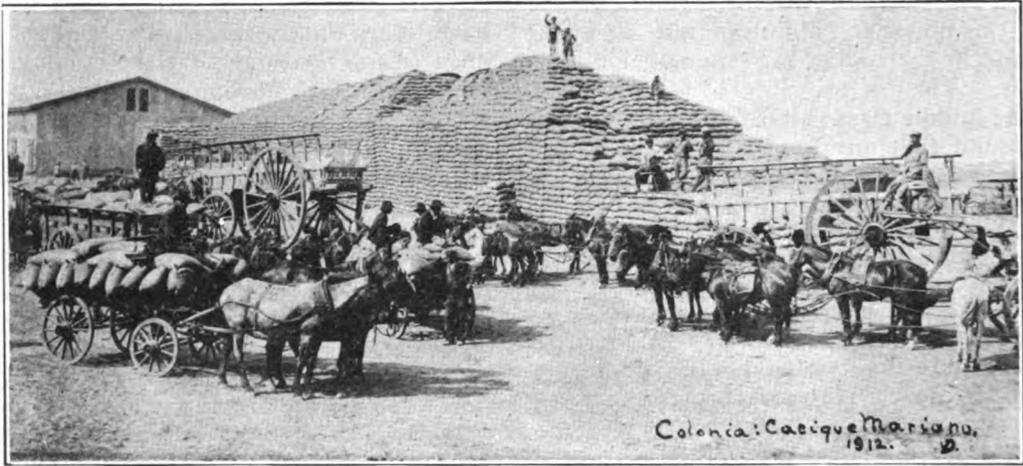
down peaceably to a capitalist government of their own, and that this capitalist government is unable to suppress armed insurrections of the discontented, the maintenance of the fairly peaceable state of affairs necessary to capitalist industry and commerce in Mexico requires the forcible intervention of a strong capitalist government. Socialist protest may serve to mitigate the horrors of war, and to induce less severity against the conquered prisoners. But no amount of working-class protest can prevent the intervention itself. This intervention is seen to have economic reasons behind it, and to be part of a complex economic struggle.

The capitalist class as a whole is still doing the actual work of the world. The conflict of one portion of the capitalist class with another is still the vitally effective class struggle which is making for actual economic progress. As one situation after another in this conflict within the capitalist class comes up for solution, one side or the other must more and more appeal for aid to the lower classes, making concessions to the lower classes in return, which will strengthen the latter in their ultimate class struggle with the former. The use of the natural resources of Mexico for the benefit of Mexicans is an end to look forward to. It will come as a result of the final class struggle, between the owners and the workers. Meanwhile Mexico undoubtedly needs industrial development, and the only ones who seem able and ready to manage this successfully, taking into consideration the whole world situation, are the capitalists of the United States. They are bound to make their terms as to the political conditions under which they will undertake this development, as well as to the profits and dividends which they will exact in payment of their managerial services. Socialists can only regret that the working class is not organized either in America or in Mexico to the extent of being able to take charge of this work and do it for the least possible expense to the actual workers of Mexico. But the fact is that we are not sufficiently organized to do this, and must leave it to the capitalists.

The lesson of the present situation in regard to Mexico is the same old lesson.

The working-class must organize, politically and industrially, in America and throughout the world. "An injury to one is an injury to all." A benefit to one is a benefit to all. Sooner or later the iden-

tity of interests of all actual workers, whether with hand or brain, in direct opposition to the interests of all owners and investors, will result in the economic and political solidarity of the working class.



A PILE OF WHEAT BAGS ON A RAILROAD STATION PLATFORM ACCUMULATED DURING THE STRIKE ON THE RAILWAY.

FARM LABORERS IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

BY

ERNESTO F. DREDENOV

ARGENTINA is situated in the southernmost part of South America and has an area of about one-third that of the United States or equal to the part that lies east of the Mississippi.

It is a comparatively young country, and in a state of rapid development. The population counts now about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and a first-class railroad system of 20,000 miles opens up a large part of the country for intensive agricultural cultivation.

The main object of these lines is to refute the wildly exaggerated statements of some bourgeois travelers or paid agents and newspapers as to the condition of

labor and the opportunities for workers and small farmers here.

Descriptive books about foreign countries are never written by workmen, but by travelers in the "observation car." Besides, book writing costs a lot of money and time, of both of which a workman cannot afford to spend much. Consequently, books of that kind are never made from a worker's viewpoint. They are therefore sophistical and misleading to him. Much more so when a gentleman of leisure undertakes to write about working conditions.

It certainly is not necessary to work in

a mine or steel mill in order to know that they require hard and unhealthy labor, nor is it difficult to know that structural work or engine driving are dangerous and responsible jobs.

But as soon as anyone tells you a certain job is easy or healthy or well paid for without himself having done the work in question, be sure that he is either a paid agent or he doesn't know what he is talking about.

Take the following case:

A good many of the harvest hands leave this country as soon as the harvest is over and come back the next year again.

A bourgeois economist will tell you that these men made such a lot of money that they can go back home and have a jolly time for the rest of the year or buy some land for the money so quickly made.

But how different this is from the truth. Those farm laborers are simply forced to leave the country till the next year in order to get work. Can anyone tell what hundreds of thousands of harvest-helpers are to do when the harvest is over in a country where there are few manufacturing industries?

Every one knows that the farmer who grows cereals has no use the rest of the year for the help he needs during the few days of the harvest.

According to another great advertisement, every immigrant has free lodging and nourishment for five days and then free railroad transportation for one time to the place of work.

How well that sounds! what does a man want more than work to start with in a new country!

But how treacherous this lie is in reality. Here is the origin of this generosity: Being a new country the big land owners looked to older ones to learn the science of obtaining cheap labor and noticed that the western farmers of the United States had a lot of trouble to get their labor as cheap as they wanted it. They also found out that the speculators in labor in the West had to pay the eastern newspapers to print articles claiming that 50,000 more farm hands were needed for harvesting, even when there were already 50,000 too many.

To do the same thing again wouldn't have been learning from the past, so the

"lords of the land" charged "their" government with securing cheap and sufficient human working power for them.

When the harvest starts and the workers are not willing to accept the low wages of the employers, the latter simply write to the Immigration Department and soon have any number of men they may want.

The newcomers who often don't know the language, nor the conditions, and who are mostly penniless, are forced to accept the offers of the employers. After a few days, when the work is over, who tells them where to find another job in the endless Pampa? When they see what it costs to live, it will be clear to them that they sold their muscle power too cheap. They soon find out that the free railroad fare works against them as soon as they have made use of that privilege.

And what are they going to do when the harvest is over altogether? Those who have money go back to their mountains in Spain or Italy to live a simple life during a few months; others work during the winter just for their keep or on railroad constructing. By far the greater part are forced to tramp over the country during the winter months.

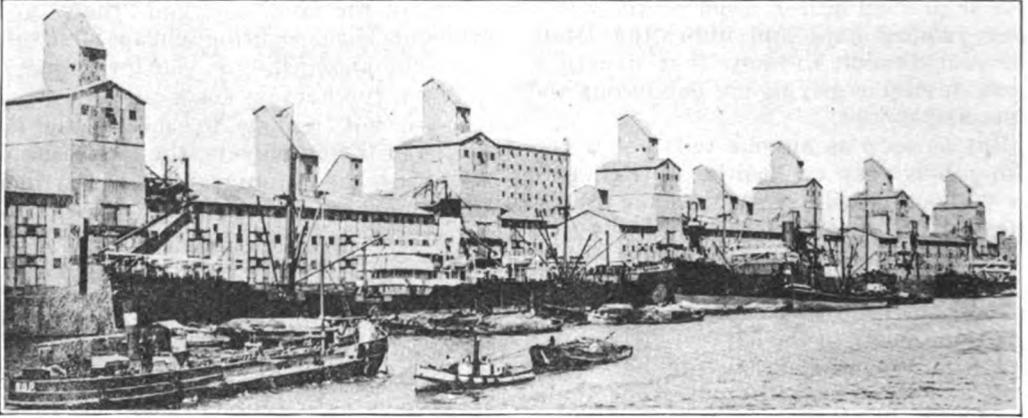
Sometimes the clamors of the land-owners and newspapers are so loud and persistent that more hands were needed for the harvest and that fabulous wages are paid in some particular railroad crossing, that thousands of workers accumulate there while only a few hundreds are needed. Whole freight trains are loaded with them in order to "get the move on."

It also happens that immigrants are sent far away to the frontier of Chile or Brazil where there is no work at all, simply to make room in the immigration hotel.

All in all that free transportation must be considered as a national strike-breaking institution.

As to the harvest work itself, it is hard here as always; to that add poor food, the great heat and bad water which can only be taken together with whisky. It is a kind of an alkaline water such as prevails in some places in North and South Dakota, which Argentina resembles very much.

The farm hands get up with the sun or even before, and start to work without



GRAIN ELEVATORS IN THE PORT OF BUENOS AIRES.

breakfast until about 9 o'clock when they get yerba mate (a kind of a tea) and galleta (biscuit) which is as hard as a stone. At mid-day they have a piece of meat cooked with rice. At four o'clock yerba mate, and again after sun-down once more cooked meat with rice. True to the tradition of the Pampa they sleep upon the ground they till.

The wages range from \$1 to \$2, and very seldom as high as \$2.50 during the harvest. During the winter months one is glad to find a job at \$12 a month. In the cities the workers are better off, the craftsmen and their helpers work only eight hours a day.

Taking all into consideration it might be summed up with the words: "If the United States are bad, Argentina is worse," and free railroad fare is one of the principal reasons. It keeps an army of unemployed to hold down wages.

As to the chances for the small farmer, one of the best opportunities he can get, is to make half part with a landowner which means that the latter gives the land and the former all the rest: horses, plows and other implements, the seed and hay; also they bring in the harvest.

That sounds fair, doesn't it?

But when one remembers that there is one good harvest against seven very bad, bad or fair ones it looks quite different. There is always something else that plays against the small farmer who grows only one kind of cereal. One year it is too wet, then too dry; then the locusts come,

or a pampero (sandstorm) covers or cuts the young plants. A few minutes of sunshine after a fog destroy their hopes for the whole year. If nothing happened and the wheat or oats are nearly ripe, a hailstorm may destroy a part or all of the harvest. The unsettled weather conditions in Argentina make small farming a gamble with one chance against seven.

As the property of small farmers usually is invested in his horses and implements the landowner gladly advances seed and money during the year. If the first year has been a failure and the tenant doesn't find the scheme advantageous, the landowner gladly ties him up by making the loans he may need on horses, etc.

The landowner may advance money the second and even the third year, and if this brings good harvest, the owner gets back all his advancements and then takes half part with the renter for whom doesn't remain much to pay for his three years' work and trouble. The renter takes all the risks and work and the owner all the rest. What does the landowner lose after a bad year? Nothing. On the contrary, the ground of his land has been worked over and has been manured with the seed for which the renter must pay.

If a renter is lucky enough to have a good and fair harvest in succession he makes a good piece of money and perhaps the foundation of his fortune; but it might also be that five years later he may be poorer than when he started.

A farm of 1,500 to 2,000 acres that

makes it possible to do mixed farming and cattle breeding will bring good returns, but 2,000 acres costs a lot of money even in Argentina.

And the moral of this story is, that it is useless in the twentieth century when capitalism is everywhere, to try to escape the capitalist claw; furthermore, today with the easy and cheap means of transportation it will not take long to overflow any labor market where fair wages are paid. The ocean trip from Europe to South America costs only about \$25.

So don't try to change conditions by changing nations, but stay where you are and work for the revolution.

Here are a few words about the recent strike of the engineers and firemen of the Argentine railroads which ended in a failure for the men.

"La Fraternidad" (brotherhood) as a craft union took recourse to craft union tactics. The "bosses" seemed to believe they could get something out of the com-

panies without fighting hard. They tried to compromise and come to an agreement without strike. The companies, of course, like nothing more than to compromise and hold conferences with the "leaders."

Their managers compromised so well and so long that they were better organized for the strike than the working men.

They hired strikebreakers beforehand and paid them without work for several weeks; transferred the natural organizers of the men out of their sphere of influence into another district; in short arranged a regular strike service.

Then the companies broke off the conference and the strike was declared the 4th of January, 1912.

The big bulk of goods accumulated on the stations, but the regular passengers and small goods service could be handled and so the bosses saved the situation.

It is clear that this is not the right way to fight and to conduct a strike and that the men had to lose. From craft-union tactics one can only expect craft-union results.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED

By Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, First President of Chinese Republic

(Translated for the Review from *Le Mouvement Socialiste*)

THE Republic is established in China, and although I have resigned the office of provisional president, that does not mean that I shall cease working for the cause. More important affairs than the duties of my first office now demand attention.

China has been subject to the Manchus for 270 years. During this period there have been many attempts at regaining its independence. Fifty years ago the Tai Ping revolution was one of these attempts, but that was merely a race revolution, Chinese against Manchu. Had it succeeded, the country would have remained under an autocratic government.

Some years ago, a few of us met in Japan and formed the Chinese Revolutionary Society. At that time we adopted three great principles.

1. Supremacy of the Chinese race.
2. Government of the people by the people.
3. Supremacy of the people in the production of wealth.

The first two principles have been realized by the abdication of the Manchu dynasty. We must now realize the Economic Revolution. That subject is the topic of general discussion today, but a majority of the Chinese people fail to understand the meaning of the term. They

suppose the aim of the regeneration of China is to make it a powerful nation, equal to the great nations of the west.

Such is not the aim of our efforts. There are today no nations richer than England and America; there is no nation more enlightened than France. England is a constitutional monarchy, France and the United States are republics, but the gulf between rich and poor in these countries is too vast, and ideas of revolution haunt the brains of their citizens. If a social revolution is not accomplished, the majority will remain cut off from joy and the good things of life. Today, this happiness is reserved for a few capitalists.

The mass of the workers continue to suffer bitterly and can not rest content. Race revolutions and political revolutions are easy to accomplish, but the social revolution is more difficult.

Only a people of great achievement is capable of bringing about a social revolution.

Some will say: Thus far your revolution has been a success, why not be satisfied and wait? Why seek to accomplish what England and America, with all their wealth and all their science, have neglected until now to attempt? That would be poor policy, for in England and America civilization is advanced and industry is in process of transformation; there it is difficult to bring about a social revolution. We have not yet reached that point in China; for us a social revolution is relatively easy; we are in a position to anticipate the coming of the capitalist system. In capitalist countries, the established interests are solidly defended and it is hard to dislodge them. In China there are neither capitalists nor established interests, hence revolution is relatively easy.

I am frequently asked whether such a revolution will require the use of military force. I answer yes, for England and America; no for China. The strike of the English miners proves my assertion, and yet that is not a revolution, but simply a desire expressed by the people to obtain possession of the sources of public wealth, and it appears that force alone can realize that aim.

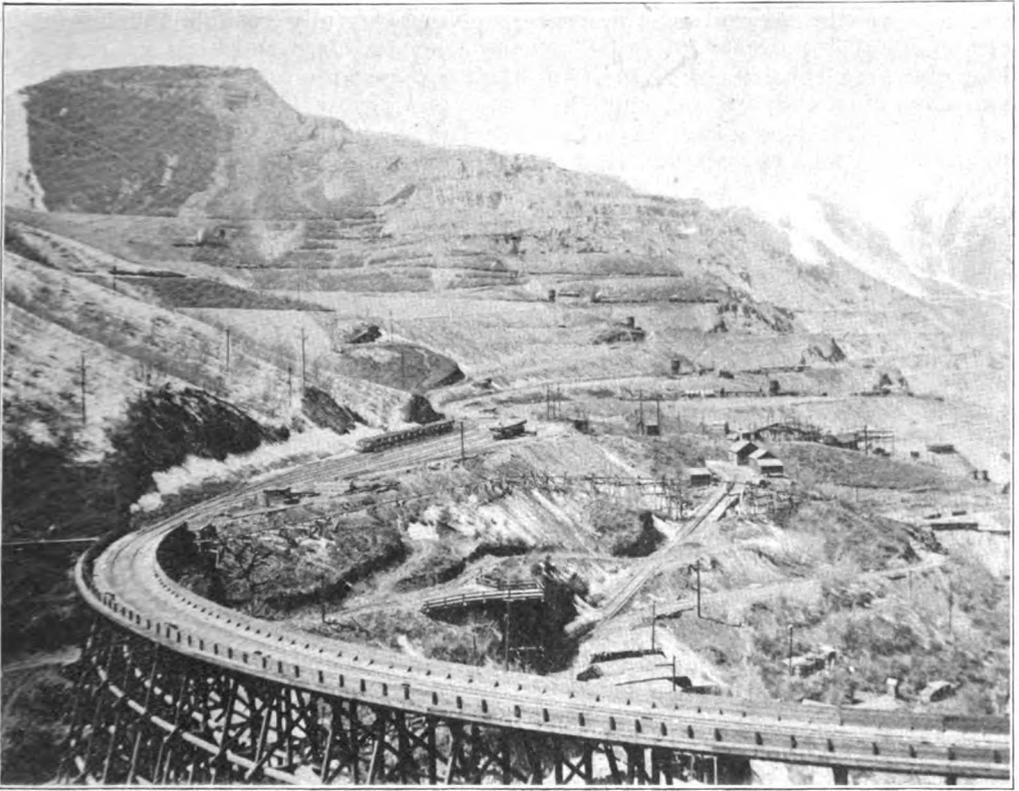
It may be that the social revolution will

be difficult to realize, but the hour is near when it will become an accomplished fact, and we can not foretell the desperate means and the danger for the state that its realization will involve.

If at the outset of the career of our Chinese Republic, we do not take thought to defend ourselves against the establishment of capitalism, then in the very near future a new despotism, a hundred times more terrible than that of the Manchu dynasty, awaits us, and rivers of blood will be required for our deliverance.

One point especially demands all our attention. It will be necessary to change all titles to landed property. That is an indispensable corollary of the Revolution. Formerly the landed proprietors paid taxes on the area of their land divided into three classes—good, medium, and poor. In future, it will be necessary to figure the tax on the land value, since the quality of the land varies less uniformly than is assumed in this division into three classes.

I do not know how much the value of real estate at Nankin differs from that on the Bund, the great street of Shanghai, but if we employed the old method, we could not arrive at an equitable valuation. It would be preferable to tax the land value, poor lands paying little, lands of great value paying much. The lands of great value belong to rich people, and there would be no oppression in putting a high tax on them. The lands of the least value are the property of poor populations inhabiting remote districts, and they ought to be subjected to very light taxes. Today the land on the Bund and the farm pay the same tax. That is an injustice. To abolish it, the tax must be figured on the land value. The value of building lots in Shanghai has increased ten thousand fold in a hundred years. China is on the eve of an immense industrial development; an imposing business will be created, and in fifty years we shall have many Shanghais. Let us be wise enough to foresee the future, and let us decide today that the increased value of real estate shall be acquired by the people who have created it, and not by the private capitalists whom chance has made landed proprietors.



NORTHWEST VIEW OF UTAH COPPER MINE, SHOWING UPPER PART OF WORKING EDGE OF PIT.

Bingham Canyon

BY W. G. HENRY

(Photos from Tom Quayle, Park City, Utah.)

SINCE reading Frank Bohn's article on Butte, the great copper camp, it has been on my route to visit the "Little Kingdom of Copper," Bingham Canyon, Utah. Comrade Bohn has interestingly described the benefits accruing to the worker through their political and industrial organization in Butte. The main purpose of this article will be to show the contempt, the poverty, the disregard of their lives and welfare in which the workers in the same industry are held by their masters because of a lack of industrial and political organization here.

Bingham Canyon is twenty-five miles from Salt Lake City in what is known as the West Mountain District. In the camp are living perhaps 2,500 people. Within a radius of three miles from the post-

office 5,000 men are working in and about the mines. It is an open shop camp. Greeks, Italians, Slavonians, Finns and Hungarians with a sprinkling of English speaking workers are employed. Of course the mine owners see to it that the fires of race antagonism are continually replenished. The Finns dislike the Greeks, the Greeks look askance at the Slavonians, the Slavonians are distrustful of the Americans and the Americans proudly flout the whole batch of "ignorant foreigners" and stand on their American birthright and supremacy. But be it known that Greek, Italian, Slavonian or American each and every man, of whatever race, gets precisely the same pay here for the same work. There is no race

supremacy on the payroll of the companies in Bingham.

The day here consists of eight hours for men working underground—and it is every bit of eight hours and for outside men—the great majority are outside men in this camp—the day is ten hours. The wages are: Common labor, \$2.00; muckers, \$2.50 to \$3.00; machine helpers, \$3.65; machine men, \$4.00 per day. The principal mining interest is the Utah Copper Company, employing about 3,000 men. Average board costs one dollar per day. The cost of living is higher than Butte, the hours longer and the wages lower. Copper is now quoted at 17 to 18 cents per pound, yet the scale of wages in Bingham remains the same as when copper brought nine cents a pound. But what can the workers expect when they are unorganized? Some of the wise ones are predicting that if copper goes higher the companies will voluntarily grant a twenty-five cent increase—merely to lull the slaves into repose.

There is another side to all this, of course. In order to grasp the situation in all its bearings let us put on capitalist spectacles and get the "business" viewpoint of Bingham. Along with their spectacles we'll take the capitalists' own statements. In the Salt Lake Tribune of August 8th the Utah Copper Company publishes its statement for the quarter ending June 30, 1912, from which I quote the following:

The Utah Copper Company on Wednesday released the report for the quarter ending June 30, 1912, and from the details of the same that came west during the afternoon it is evident that this famous premier copper producer of Utah and all the country has eclipsed all previous records, striking during the period a splendid gait by virtue of increased copper production and increased market prices for the metal.

During the quarter the company produced 28,372,038 pounds of copper, an increase of 3,442,488 pounds over the previous quarter, the cost of producing the metal being 2.127 per pound, against 8.62 cents during the previous period. The company received for its metal an average of 16.43 cents per pound.

Now carefully remove the bifocals of the master class and keep your working class eyes wide open. It is not alone in the fact of low wages and colossal profits nor in the pitting of race against race, nor yet in the brutalizing of these workers that the tragedy of capitalism becomes abysmal, but it is the toll of human life in the production of the profits required by these copper kings and barons that is appalling, almost unbelievable.

Comrade Bohn informs us that in Butte last year forty-seven miners were killed at their work. What would the miners of Butte, what would you say about a locality employing only 5,000 men in which last year 440 men were killed during their work? But then remember the workers in Butte are industrially and politically organized, while in Bingham they are not. These killings are so common that they excite no comment whatever. Their frequency has brutalized the working class along with their masters.

"Oh, yes' they bump 'em off every day," my workingman friend replied when I touched on the subject. "More than one a day goes over in this camp, mostly foreigners and of course they don't count. How many are crippled? I doubt if God knows.. See this fellow coming down the road minus an arm? That arm has been off less than thirty days. See that fellow over there on crutches? Rock fell on his foot last week. Oh, what's the use? You can see' em everywhere. I only know the history of the Americans' accidents. I don't pay any attention to these foreigners and they are the main ones who get hurt. There's no kind of record kept of accidents."

While my friend and I conversed we toiled up the narrow canyon—he on his way to the night's work, I to see and hear what might be of interest. My sight of the crippled and outworn soldiers of industry was disturbed by the sound of the prolonged boom! boom! of blasts in the struggle of men against Nature. Far up the towering mountain side were the forts, the batteries and the soldiers to be used in case of any industrial disturbances. Below in the narrow gulch were the killed and crippled heroes of the army of Labor, while far from danger in their



MINERS AT WORK.

clubs and hotels smugly and contentedly lolled the commanders of this army—the so-called captains of industry.

There is no law in Utah requiring corner's investigations of mine fatalities. An attempt was made in the last legislature to enact such law, but Governor Spry vetoed it after it had passed both houses. This nimble jumping-jack of the mine owners (Spry Bill) explained his conduct by saying such a law is unnecessary as mine accidents are rare and this law would entail needless expense upon the state and **open up avenues for reckless damage suits against the corporations.** Militant workers give this spry sprig of capitalism credit for his bold, bald frankness.

The property of the Utah Copper Company cannot rightfully be called a mine nor can its operations be called mining, at least not as mining is generally understood. Its property is a mountain and its operations consist in blasting down that mountain, loading it into a railroad train and shipping it to the smelter, there to be transformed by a certain process into copper and by a certain other process into gold. This "mine" is inverted, the apex being the top of the mountain, the various levels are marked by a regulation railroad on which are operated freight trains, hauling away the rock. Every hour of the twenty-four, every day of the year, machine drills are piercing holes in this mountain side, dynamite is tearing

greater caves and loosening up vast quantities of ore. Steam shovels load this ore into box cars at the rate of one car of sixty tons in five minutes. That's going some and you'll have to go some more to find a mine to beat this one in production and methods. Experts claim that this "mine" has \$200,000,000 worth of ore in sight.

From a "business" viewpoint Bingham is certainly a paradise; from the worker's viewpoint it is—hell.

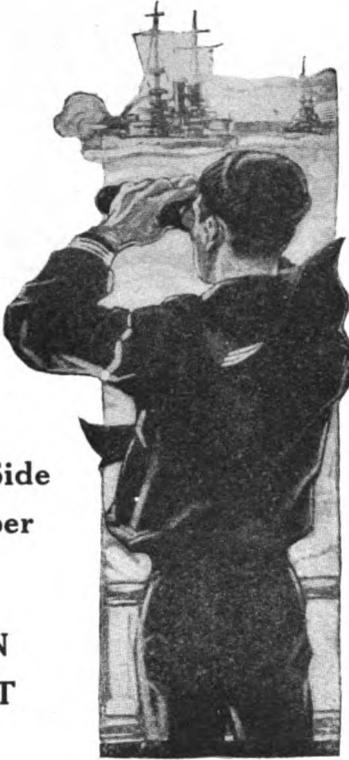
But the light is breaking. The Sleeping Giant in Bingham is beginning to stir in his slumbers. Slowly but surely the "muckers" who produce the copper are having it burned into their brains that they are getting the worst of the bargain and that somebody is somehow getting the best of them. Mass meetings have been called of the workers in and about the mines. Hundreds of workers have responded. Race prejudice is beginning to break down and a glimmer of class solidarity is apparent. "One union for all the workers in and about the mines" is the slogan in Bingham and the future looks bright for the toilers. As I close this article I learn that the mine owners have granted a raise of twenty-five cents per day to all underground men. This is a pittance and will not suffice. But if the least organized can gain such an increase without actual struggle, what could not a powerful organization of the workers in Bingham do? Wait! We shall see!

IN THE NAVY

The Other Side
of the Paper

BY

MARION
WRIGHT



IN THE argot of the sailor the injustices, hardships and humiliations which fall to him are things which were duly written on "The Other Side of the Paper," and which were, for obvious reasons, concealed at the time of his enlistment. Often a complaint in the navy is met with the jeer: "Why didn't you read the other side of the paper before you put your name to it?" This refers to the shipping articles which are signed by the recruit and which bear on their face nothing that could by any stretch of the imagination be construed to cover some of the realities of life on board a warship.

One of the first jokers hidden in the articles pertains to the matter of pay. A young man fresh from the shop with his card as machinist may enlist in the navy as machinist's mate, second class, with the rank of petty officer. His pay is about \$44 a month, and the stipulation is that he is to serve four years unless sooner discharged by proper authority. His obligation consists in swearing to support the Constitution of the United States against ALL enemies and to obey all lawful orders of

his superiors. (If a man is found to be a Socialist after enlisting in the navy the word "Socialist" is written in red ink opposite his name on the enlistment record.) In return for his services he is to receive board, bed and medical attention free, a \$60 outfit of clothing and \$44 a month. But the "other side" turns up even before he gets his uniform.

In 1911 a paymaster and his two assistants were sent from the Mare Island navy yard to San Quentin penitentiary for embezzling clothing from green recruits. This had been going on for years, but at last got too strong for the old graft system. It is safe to say that 50 per cent of newly enlisted men are cheated out of from five to ten dollars worth of clothing on their first outfit. These articles are charged to the recruit and afterwards sold by the issuing officers to clothing stores which make a specialty of "Genuine Navy Goods." And let it be said to the credit of the dry goods men that their claims as to the nature of their goods are entirely correct.

Then comes the matter of pay. The recruit cannot draw his first month's wages. This money is held on the books until the end of his enlistment. This is somewhat of a jolt, but he is told that this procedure is necessary to "protect the government" in case of desertion. Then twenty cents a month is deducted for hospital fees although he was promised "free" medical attention. For a slight infraction of the numerous rules and "don'ts" a deck-court, composed of only one officer can fine the sailor from one to twenty dollars which is deducted from his next pay. A summary court martial composed of three officers may fine him his entire pay for three months in addition to confinement in the ship's prison. And although the United States government has agreed to pay him \$44 a month for four years unless sooner DISCHARGED by proper authority, the court may reduce his rank and pay to that of fireman, and still lower. Instead of discharging the man as per the articles, he is sent to the fire room or coal bunkers and compelled to serve at a lower rank and pay. Should he refuse to stand for this violation of contract and desert, a reward is offered for his capture. He has "dishonored his flag and country," and if apprehended is sentenced to a long term in prison.

"Pay day" is a perpetual thorn in the side of the navy man. He receives what money may remain due him at the will and pleasure of the captain and the leisure of the paymaster, although orders are issued from Washington to pay the men regularly once a month. These orders, like many others, are entirely disregarded by the captains. It is an old navy custom to pay on December 23, for that month so the men will have an opportunity to buy Christmas presents and send money to their families. But commanders of ships and sometimes of an entire fleet hold up the Christmas pay for no other reason than that of the section foreman who had his men lift a handcar off the track and set it back again half a dozen times, just to "show them who was boss."

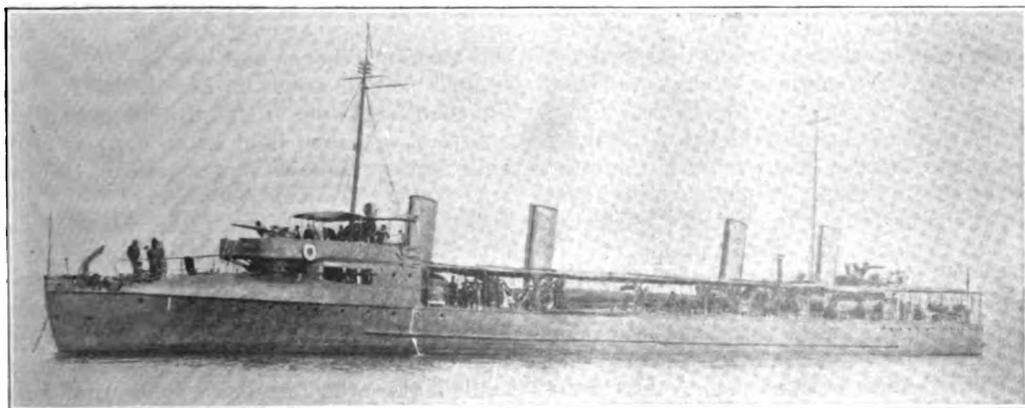
Not long ago a fleet commander held up the Christmas pay day until a storm of protest went up from the business men of the town where the fleet was lying. They sent a protest to their representatives in Washington and an order came to pay the men at once. But the commander still held out, claiming that there had been delay in transmitting the treasury check for the money. Bankers of the town then immediately offered to advance the money and the officer, very much chagrined, was forced to pay his men. He seemed furious that the men were to have a happy Christmas.

About 35 cents a day is allowed for every sailor's rations, and this fund offers a tempting field for graft to the officers in

charge. While not all officials of this department are dishonest, the enlisted men are absolutely at the mercy of any pay officer if he chooses to graft. Food is supplied to the ships by (supposedly) competing firms. Definite specifications are laid down as to the quality of the provisions furnished. For instance, beef is required to be from the carcass of the male animal of about one year old, with the usual requirements as to being fresh, free from disease, etc. However, many contractors deliver to navy ships only meat that is unfit to sell in the open market. On many ships when liver, corned beef, or hamburger steak is served the men scarcely touch it. The odor is enough to drive them from the tables. It is perfectly plain that the officers who receive, inspect and have this inferior food served to the men, do not overlook the lawful requirements "for their health." The same conditions apply to fresh vegetables, fruits, and other perishable goods.

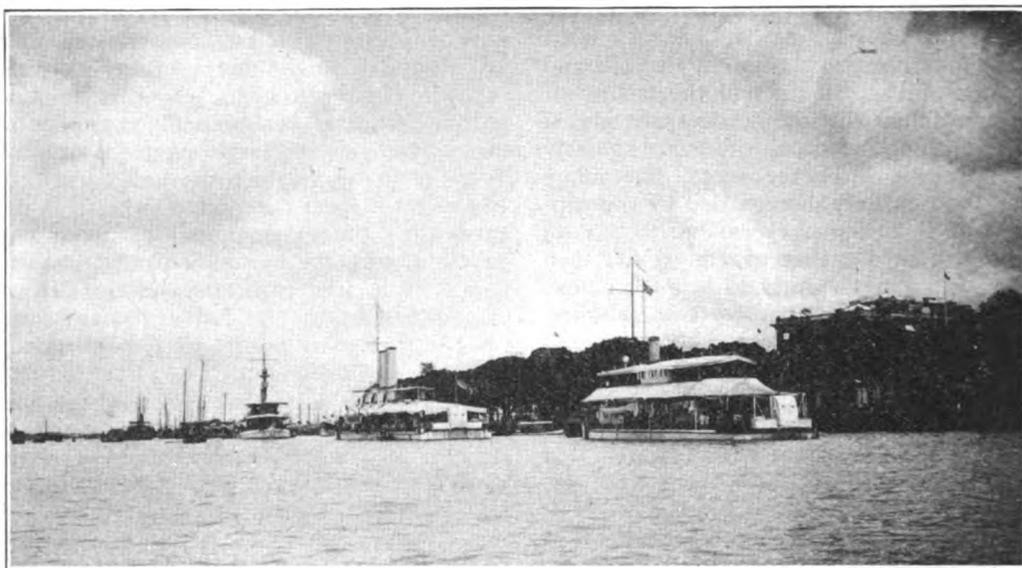
However rotten conditions may be there is no recourse for the men. A complaint is not only useless, but dangerous. There is a story in the navy of a man who took a bowl of coffee to the captain to complain for his mess of its quality. The captain sampled a spoonful and exclaimed: "That is excellent soup!" and punished the man for "making childish complaints."

Ships on foreign stations are often termed "mad houses" by their crews on account of the poor food and harsh treatment. So far from home the officers may practice any



A TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYER.

Life on Board Vessels of This Class Is so Dirty, Hot and Crowded as to Be Almost Unbearable. Every Year There Is a Fatal Boiler Room Explosion on Some Destroyer.



ON THE RIVER GUNBOATS IN CHINA.

Here Men Lie for Three or Four Years, Absolutely Cut Off From Civilization, Half Fed and Wholly Abused, "Seeing the World," and Cursing the Day That Brought Them to a Recruiting Office.

form of savagery at will, knowing that the men are helpless.

While the battleship fleet was preparing for its cruise around the world thousands of young men were landed by the recruiting officers with wonderful stories of "Seeing the World." They were not told that men were wanted to **PUSH THE SHIPS AROUND THE WORLD**. Horrors of the fire rooms and coal bunkers were not mentioned. On a fleet of small vessels of the torpedo boat class that came around the horn, terrible suffering was experienced by their crews while in the tropics. These vessels are very small and being designed for great speed their engines, boilers and coal bunkers take up most of the space. Comfortable quarters are provided for the three officers and there is scant room left for the crew of seventy men. When steaming, heat from the fires render their decks blistering hot, the broiling sun overhead makes life unbearable for the men crowded together like a gang of Russian exiles.

One of these vessels was commanded by a lieutenant who is known by every man who served him as a monster. His crew was driven to desperation and at one time a mutiny was averted only by the fleet commander taking charge of the ship. This officer had his fire room force placed in

chains when they came off watch from before the fires. They washed the sweat and grim from their bodies under a hose with irons on their wrists and ankles; climbed into their narrow, dirty bunks still ironed, and were unchained only to go on the furnace doors again. This fiendish treatment was kept up for several days because the officer imagined his men were "bucking" him. Then he carried his cruelty to refined stages by placing awnings over the part of the ship occupied by the officers and leaving the rest exposed to the blazing sun. For days the vessel steamed with the wind and the burning cinders and hot soot from her funnels settled down on her decks forcing the men back into their stifling, breathless quarters. A few, bold enough to venture under the spread awnings, were told to "*Get out! you are too near the officers!*"

Medical attention on these vessels was restricted to a small medicine box. One surgeon was assigned to the entire fleet and often a boat would steam for days alone. A fireman died on this cruise under circumstances so revolting that the doctor who attended him was dismissed from the navy. Medical attention is given at the "leisure" of the doctors.

That the "Seeing the World" promise was bitter bait thousands of suckers learned

before they finished. Many of the men never set foot on shore except to carry a heavy rifle through the streets to be stared at, marching for miles in the heat and dust without anything to eat or drink and then returning to the ship.

When going into port if a man is entitled to shore leave and any officer on board happens to "not like his looks," he can have the man placed on report for any reason and keep him on board. Or he can tip the officer of the deck to "get" the man. There are a thousand and one reasons for the

officer of the deck sending a man forward just when he is all ready to step into the boat to go ashore. Shoes not shined well enough; not shaved closely enough; clothes not brushed; non-regulation hat; collar of jumper half inch too wide—anything, everything to "get" the man and show him who is boss.

Before a young man signs away his body and soul to the naval authorities he should ask the recruiting officer to allow him to examine the OTHER SIDE OF THE PAPER.

UNITED STATES NAVY

Recruiting Station

Pittsburg, Pa.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Gentlemen: I have read your article in the September issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW entitled "Fresh Bait—Ware Suckers," by Marion Wright, purporting to give a statement of the inability of the United States Navy to secure recruits. This article was evidently written by a woman, although the name "Marion" is occasionally used by the opposite sex. If a woman, she has no actual knowledge of what she writes, and if a man, he is willfully distorting facts.

I am not a commissioned officer of the navy. I did not receive my education at the "Snob Factory at Annapolis," as your article terms the United States Naval Academy. True, I am a petty officer—a little higher than a seaman—and what must be more damning of all in the eyes of the writer of your article, I am on recruiting duty in Pittsburg, Pa. I can, therefore, speak from the actual experience of an enlisted man of the life in the navy which you try to ridicule in your article.

Your article states that the navy is unable to secure men with the same ease as formerly. I admit it. But why? Formerly the navy was composed of sailing vessels; to man them sailors were required; men who were practical seamen, who could stand their trick at the helm and reef a sail in a gale. Twenty-five years ago, steam was not the factor it is today in ocean transport, sailing ships were abundant and men were easily secured to man the few ships we had at that time.

But now the navy is composed of massive steel fortresses, the latest ships carrying over 1,200 men. No longer is it necessary to be a

seaman to enlist. The navy wants mechanics; 48,000 are already enlisted, compared to the 14,000 years ago. Of course, it is harder to secure 48,000 men than 14,000. Why shouldn't it be?

Formerly the navy accepted nearly everything that came its way—even foreigners. Now we will not accept a man unless he is a citizen of the United States. He must have a common school education at the least, be absolutely perfect as to physical requirements, and thoroughly qualified as to his professional ability in the rating in which he may enlist. The navy could easily drop its strict requirements and enlist 100 where it now enlists ten, but it will not. We desire men only of proven character and ability. Every applicant must give references and swear under oath that he has never been in jail or reform school.

At the recruiting station at Pittsburg we have an average of six or eight applicants daily who fill out the application blanks. Usually there are about five others who come merely to inquire and receive booklets or information. Of these thirty-six or fifty-eight applicants weekly, we make about six enlistments. The others are rejected because we take only the physically, mentally and morally perfect. Every recruit has the rules and regulations of the navy carefully explained to him before he enlists. He knows just what he is to meet, and why. Every organization must have its laws. Some one must govern, or anarchy is the result.

You state as follows:

"He (the recruit) takes an oath to obey all 'lawful orders,' but another part of the navy regulations, *which he is not allowed to see,*

provides that as far as his opinion is concerned, any order given by a superior is lawful."

That paragraph is absolutely false.

The recruit takes oath to obey the lawful orders of his superior officers, but if he considers them unjust he may go to the commanding officer for an impartial decision of their merits. A "superior" is any one higher in rank than the person ordered, every one from the captain down is amenable to discipline. The navy regulations are posted all over the ship in frames. Over the drinking fountains, in the crews quarters, everywhere the man may go he is confronted with this reminder of his conduct. In every ship's library there are a number of copies of the "Blue Book" or Naval Regulations, and an enlisted man may and does draw these books and read them at his leisure. Thus, it is plainly seen that there are no parts of the regulations that are not made public.

The constitutional right of trial by peers is no more violated in the navy than in civilian life. Who has not seen in any city court room a judge (who is certainly not the peer of the accused), sending men to the workhouse without a trial by jury—not even stopping to hear the man's defense? Officers sit on court-martials and pass sentence. But this sentence must be forwarded to the admiral in charge of the fleet for his approval before it can be executed. If a sailor desires, he can appoint any member of the ship's company as his counsel, or he can secure the services of a civilian lawyer to defend him.

All officers are *not* educated at Annapolis. Paymasters, paymasters' clerks, surgeons and some marine officers are appointed from civil life. All these officers sit on court-martials. In addition a seaman can rise to commissioned officer. There are today several rear admirals who were once enlisted men. Twelve warrant officers are examined yearly for promotion to commissioned officer. So much for that.

Privacy is as much respected in the navy as in civilian life. Cleanliness is insisted upon as is necessary, if you consider that there are from 500 to 1,200 men living in such a confined space. If an officer sees a man in dirty clothing he sends him below to shift—if his own shipmates don't see him first and tell him to. There is nothing degrading about the

process. For instance, a certain style of haircut is required in the navy—the hair is cut round at the nape of the neck and the neck itself shaved. This gives the men a neater and more cleanly appearance when the low collars are worn. Many a time I have heard an officer tell a man to get his hair cut, and instead of the haughty manner which your article would have us believe all officers speak, the order would be given this way: "For heaven's sake, Jones, see the barber today. You're getting topheavy." And Jones would willingly comply. The officers in the navy are not all cads and men devoid of human pity as you would have us believe. I do not say they are all paragons of virtue either. Could the average working man say of his bosses that every one was required to be of strict moral character, of fine education and are born and trained to be gentlemen in every sense of the word?

I have not spoken of the pay and of the numerous trade schools maintained by the navy, as even your article is forced to admit that the pay is excellent and the chances to learn a trade very good.

One thing more before I close. Your article gives the impression that only officers are on recruiting duty. At the Pittsburg Naval Recruiting Station there are no officers. At the Cleveland station there is one lieutenant and a surgeon and eight enlisted men who do the actual talking to the recruit—the lieutenant doesn't see him till he is ready to take the oath. Out of sixty-five recruiting stations in the United States—not counting naval vessels and navy yards—there are twenty-two recruiting stations that have a commissioned officer in charge and *forty-three which have only enlisted men*. And in the recruiting stations where there are officers, the recruit meets the enlisted men first, hears the enlisted men's side and he knows they know of what they speak for they have been through the mill themselves.

I hope I have made this article clear, and I ask in the interest of justice, for which your paper stands, that you will give this letter as much prominence as the article to which it is the reply.

Yours sincerely,

R. K. DANFORTH,
United States Navy.

"NEGROES AGAINST WHITES"

By COVINGTON HALL

"THEY are trying to organize the negroes against the whites!" This has been one of the chief howls raised against the I. W. W. and the Brotherhood of Timber Workers by the Southern Lumber Operators' Association and its hired thugs and assassins to justify the hyena-like deeds they are now committing against the white workingmen who must, perforce, take the lead in the struggle now raging for the overthrow of peonage in the South. "Organizing the negroes against the whites!"

This cry is raised for several purposes; first, to distract the attention of all the workers from the vital questions at issue, to turn their attention from such gross, material things as higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions in the camps and mill towns to loftier ideas and ideals, such as the effect of the "spiritual significance of white supremacy" on the whisky-soaked, fossilized brain of a gun-toting Democratic troglodyte, a human brute with whom no self-respecting negro would acknowledge his "social equality"; second, having failed to split it on craft, political, religious or other lines, to split the Brotherhood into warring factions on race lines, and thereby beat *all* the workers back into the old meek submission to peonage; third, an attempt on the part of the cave-men of capitalism to justify in the eyes of a world, that is already in revolution against their demoniac rule, the infamous and inhuman deeds that have been and are still being committed against the timber workers and their allies by the Southern Lumber Operators' Association and its thugs and gunmen.

And, first, second, third, fourth, to "Divide and Conquer."

That this is true is shown by the fact that right in the midst of the war, when the tom-toms of race prejudice were sounding their loudest and wildest alarms, John Henry Kirby and his gang have not hesitated to use black scabs against *white men* and white scabs against *black men* when they dared go on strike for human condi-

tions in the peon pens of the association. They have also used black thugs against black union men and more than one rebellious white worker, it is whispered, has met his death in the darkness of the night at the hands of a black gunman and vice versa.

More than once the association has thrown an army of gunmen around the "quarters" where lived its black slaves and dared the white peons, on the penalty of their lives, to so much as try to speak one word with them, for it was hard pressed and hard set against the "organization of the negroes against the whites," the only "whites," in this instance, seeming to be the Lumber Kings, their troglodyte managers, superintendents, foremen, suckers, gunmen and thugs. There were according to these "high born" gentry, evidently no "white" men in the union, though hundreds of them had white skins and were southern born for generations on generations.

And they were not *white* because they had grown tired of the "white supremacy" and "social equality" flim-flam, and set out to organize One Big Union of *all* the workers and overthrow peonage forever in the mills and forests of the South.

They had lost, thanks to the Socialist propaganda, the hallucination that the Lumber Kings cared anything about a lumberjack's color, race or nationality, and proceeded to organize as they were *worked*—*all together against the boss*, instead of all apart and for him as heretofore. This naturally sent the boss up in the air, and you can't blame the boss, for, for the first time in a generation the southern oligarchs saw their sacred stealings menaced by a uniting working class, which could not be tolerated; so all the methods of "chivalry" were called into play and the furies of hell turned loose on the "insolent," "upstart" workingmen and working farmers who dared to preach and were attempting to organize industrial democracy. Strange how those simple words, industrial democracy, sends the master and pimping classes into such hydrophobic anger!

But despite all the madness of the mas-

ters, all their murdering and slugging, the Union still pressed on its way, preaching and teaching the *solidarity* of labor, ever crying: "A *man's* life for *all* the workers in the mills and forests! Don't be a Peon! Be a *Man*."

Far and wide that cry is sounding on through Dixie—the shriek of the association's rifles at Grabow is echoing and re-echoing that message through the swamps, over the plains and up the hills, back into corners where otherwise it would have taken years for it to go, and the workers, startled from their slumbers, are asking each other in whispers: "Can it be?" "Is the New South, the South of labor, off its knees and on the march to union and victory, at hand?" "Is the dawn really breaking through the blackness of the long, long night?" It is, and there is no power that can stop it if our brothers of the North, the East and West will only stand by us as we

are trying to stand together, in the brotherhood of labor, regardless of color, nationality or race, in a stone wall of the toilers against the spoilers of the world.

Now is the time, not after the next election, for the negroes of the North to act. The boys in jail are there because they fought for *all* the peons, black as well as white. *Now*, and not tomorrow, is the time to save the lives and liberties of Emerson, Lehman, Helton, Burge and their associates. *Now* is the hour of vengeance and retribution in your hands; *now* is the chance and time for *all* the workers to rise against the southern oligarchy and through the might of the One Big Union, organize its cruel peon system off the earth forever. Clan of Toil, awaken; Rebels of the South, arise! Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose! You have a world to gain!



DEBS IN THE WEST

Unprecedented Crowds Eager to Hear Great Message from Gene's Lips

By ELLIS B. HARRIS

(Correspondence to The Call.)

IF THERE are any who questions that Socialism is coming and coming rapidly, a few days with the Debs party on their campaign tour throughout the great West would dispel all doubts.

North Dakota, Montana and Washington make manifest beyond question that the spirit of Socialism is abroad in the land; the hearts of the working class are being inflamed with a new hope by our propaganda.

We fully expected to find a lively interest taken in our campaign, and our expectations have not only been realized but we are amazed at the great amount of Socialist sentiment.

Debs is still the greatly beloved Comrade of old, and the entire trip is a continuous ovation.

At every stop-over place there is a host of old Socialists and many new ones waiting to escort the party to the hotel with automobiles or carriages, but they find that Debs is the same old lovable friend and companion and would rather walk surrounded by workers.

Beginning at Fergus Falls, N. D., the Socialists at every meeting place have displayed remarkable care, enthusiasm and ability in handling the great crowds surging in upon them, until it seems that every man and woman in the cities visited are fearful that they may miss this opportunity to see Gene Debs and hear the message of Socialism from its most eloquent exponent.

Every meeting has been a complete success, and when one considers the great mass of humanity to properly care for, the arrangements made, sale of literature, collections, etc., there is an unlimited tribute due the rank and file.

At Butte, Mont., the Socialist women had charge of literature sales.

At Spokane hundreds of Socialists were massed about the depot, and when Debs stepped from the train a mighty cheer resounded that could be heard blocks away. They then formed in line of march, fully 500 strong, headed by the Debs party in automobiles, and two Scotch pipers, whose music reverberated with the cheers of the marching Socialists as they wended their way through the crowded thoroughfares to the meeting place, where 3,000 people listened with rapt attention to Debs.

At Portland the Debs party was taken to the Portland hotel, one of the finest houses in the city. It is owned by the big-hearted and fighting ex-miner and former president of the Western Federation of Miners, Ed. Boyce. Through a lucky strike in a mining speculation, he is now a millionaire; but wealth has in no way changed his attitude toward the working class; he remains heart and soul for the emancipation of labor, and his welcome and hand clasp is still that of the rugged, open-hearted miner.

The opponents of Socialism did all they could to make our meeting a failure at Portland. The press was unfair in handling the advertising and broke its contract. There was a great labor picnic at one of the summer resorts, and to make matters worse, it rained most of the day. But the Socialists smiled through it all, determined and confident that their meeting should be a success, nor were they disappointed, for when Debs arrived at the great auditorium, 8,000 people awaiting him, rose to their feet and cheered, shouting his name until the huge structure fairly shook with their enthusiasm. The literature sales were large, and in addition to the admission fee a collection amounting to over \$100 was taken up.

At Oakland, Cal., it is a ride of two

miles to Pacific Park on the street cars; the meeting was held out of doors, and the night was so cold that we looked for nothing but failure, but 6,000 men and women were there who had waited an hour or more for Debs. When he arrived, he received the same tribute as elsewhere.

In addition to a paid admission of

from 25 to 50 cents, a collection of \$309 was taken up.

The whole western country is awakened to the merits of our cause. There are waiting, cheering, happy, smiling Socialists to greet us everywhere. They fully realize that this is "our year," and they are taking advantage of it every hour.



DEBS SPEAKING.

The Truth About the Babies

BY DR. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

QUITE recently many societies have been organized by philanthropists, social workers and physicians to spread knowledge on sexual matters among parents and children with the conviction that most of the sexual transgressions and sins are due to ignorance on that problem. This endeavor is certainly praiseworthy, but, just like in the anti-tuberculosis crusade, the error is committed of laying the whole responsibility upon the lack of knowledge. We Socialists realize that the present economic conditions, closely connected and expressed in the many narrow legal aspects of our present marriage system, are factors of greater importance, responsible for prostitution, sexual diseases and the long chain of misery in sex-life.

Still the importance of information on this question ought not to be minimized. Not only will it help us to conquer many perplexing problems of today; it will arouse us to the great need of the revolution to come.

While paving the way to economic freedom, leading to greater individual liberty, we must prepare ourselves for the great change coming and give our helping hand to our children, who have yet to spend their lives among the turmoil and ignominy of the present system.

The new generation is knocking at our door. We must be ready to meet its inquiries in every field of life, especially the most important and striking one, the field of sexual mystery. Sexual education of children is a burning question which troubles thousands of parents. While the scope of this article cannot cover all practical issues connected with the problem, it might be of assistance and guidance to some and serve as an introduction to a series of more practical discussions later on.

The question of sex relations and origin of life has always been a sound point

in the education of children. In that particular line of instruction children have been sinned against continually. But under the old regime of severe discipline and the healthy, invigorating country life of older days the child was less exposed to baneful influences than at present, where the street, the school, the moving pictures, open an entirely new vista of impressions and experiences.

Some parents realize the dangers surrounding their children, but utterly fail to find adequate means to counteract them; others do not comprehend even the far-reaching significance of the case and do not want to listen to facts describing the undercurrent of immorality in the lives of our children. Teachers who know more about such moral conditions of child-life dare not speak about it for fear of being misunderstood.

There is an element of impurity among school children which often does not stop at words only.

The little ones who transgress understand hardly what they are doing and are not to be blamed for it; they are only victims of tainted suggestions of older companions.

In their innocent desire for knowledge they turned at first to their parents with the old, old question: "Whence did I come? Where do little babies come from?" But their quest is in vain. At first they are told stories about "cabbages," "doctors' satchels," the store, the stork, then when it is evident that the eager little mind is not satisfied any longer with such "baby stories," father and mother try to postpone the answer, till slowly a conviction is formed in the mind of the child that something is hidden from him, which must be bad or vile, of which his own parents are ashamed. The child turns now to another source of information—either to an older child or a stranger—whose methods of instruction are usually so impure that the child

receives his first moral shock. The world will never be as pure and beautiful to him as before. But this is not all. Something worse has happened: The child has reached its first serious estrangement from its parents. It understands now why they tried to avoid its questions. Life's origin presents itself as something shameful and disgusting and the child hardly dares to meet the parents' eyes without the color of shame ascending into his face.

By and by it gets hardened, begins to seek the society of children who discuss such questions, and secrets kept from his parents becomes a natural state of affairs.

A quotation from Judge Julian W. Mack of the Juvenile Court of Chicago will prove my contention:

"What strikes one in juvenile court work is the amount of sexual wrongdoing among the very young; girls and boys from seven and a half years up; girls diseased at nine years of age; girls in groups at a school; one group of seven or eight girls, from ten to thirteen years, led by one girl, indulging with the boys in that school; another group of six or eight high school girls in a suburban town or in the country inviting boys to their houses, when their mothers were out."

He goes on to say: "But do not deceive yourselves for a moment; do not believe that it is only the children, we will say, in the stockyards district or some other district, whose people are massed together in great numbers because of their poverty, who do these things. They occur in the schools which your children are attending and on the streets on which your children are playing."

A boy in a high school near Boston, whose mother speaks frankly on these forbidden subjects, told me of discussions among schoolboys which are beyond description. I tried to supply his friends with healthy, decent literature, which was eagerly read. What astonished these boys more than anything else was that his parents talk to him on such matters. "I would not dare to speak with my mother about it," said one; "she would kill me." At the same time these boys had tried to prove to him that immorality is a natural

state, without any bad results, for "everybody is doing it." I found out that experiments were made by boys upon their sisters, who also did not dare to talk about "such things" with their mothers. We will never know the real intimate life of our children, unless we meet all their questions with frank and sincere response. No menace, no punishment, no harsh word will open the child's heart to you. Confidence is the most difficult gift to recover.

Let us confess that we also were brought up with very little knowledge on the sex question. In our times children were more sheltered from influences without and real life was not thrust upon us at the tender age of childhood, as it happens quite often now in our capitalistic state of society. The problem of sex relations is not quite clear to many of us; we look upon it as something unfortunately necessary, but at the same time beastly and degrading.

We have inherited this wrong conception probably from the ascetism of early Christianity, which in its time was a normal and healthy protest against the dissipations of the heathen world. We must shake off these prejudices; we must give access to the truth that sexual life is pure and beautiful, if not defiled by morbid and vile considerations. In extreme youth it awakens the poetry of life, the worshiping of the ideal; in riper years it evolves into the expression of spiritual harmony and happiness.

To free ourselves from prejudices we must plunge into the great mystery of nature. Here we find enough material to shape anew a normal and healthy conception on this subject.

The study of Biology presents to us the slow evolution of sexual life from its first crude appearance in cell form to the complex development work all psychological attributes of animal and human life; to follow this evolution is absorbingly interesting; every normal, healthy mind is carried away by the wonderful work of nature and no place is left for any morbid or low considerations. At the dawn of the creation plants and animals presented in their sexual activity but the crude physico-chemical attraction of dif-

ferent cells; forced by the struggle for existence to give better protection to its offspring, sexual relations attained a higher grade of development. The male and female are brought into close contact. The care for the future generation brings about mother and father love, the beginning of a home.

In human life the material and spiritual blend together and evolve in the highest forms of sex relations—passion and love.

Two qualifications are necessary, according to my experience, for the teacher or parent who intends to guide the child through the labyrinths of the sexual problem. First, the instructor must himself have a high and lofty conception of these relations; second, he ought to have some knowledge of biology to introduce to the child the subject of sex life in the spirit of scientific research, instead of morbid curiosity.

I am endeavoring in the next pages to point out in short how such biological information can be imparted to the child by easy accessible demonstrations and explanations.

It is only natural that every bright child should be curious about the sudden appearance of a new baby in the family. The dangerous question therefore is often proposed at a very tender age. While I believe that fairy stories and myths are of great help in the education of children, I strongly oppose them in connection with this question for obvious reasons.

The truth, that the child grows, develops in the body of his mother in a soft, warm little bag, should be told to the child at once. This revelation will not disturb the child at all; it will only increase his affection towards his mother. While the parents reveal to the child this wonderful story of the baby's life, they should not fail to impress the child that this little story must be kept secret. Quite often a child who announces to others this to him so beautiful and charming story is deeply vexed by ignorant persons, who see in such statement of a child a sign of moral depravity. This explanation will satisfy the child for a while. Soon the two questions, Why the baby grows in mother's body and how it

leaves its abode, begins to trouble its mind.

The parents must be ready to meet such inquiry by beginning their little stories of biology when the child is yet quite young. Some children will accept them at the age of six; others have to be more mature.

In dealing with the small child everything abstract ought to be avoided, as far as possible.

Examples of such plant and animal life ought to be given, of which the child has sufficient experience.

The fish depositing its spawn and milt in shallow water is an example easily understood by children, for every child has paid attention to the found ovi of the spawn, and they can be easily demonstrated in the kitchen. In telling the story how little fishes are brought into the world, the fact should be pointed out that the mother throws the spawn into the water and the male fish follows suit with the milt; that in the water the little ovi and sperms (tiny parts of the milt) unite, melt together; that out of this new little part the little fish is formed—at first only a large head and transparent tail to be recognized, slowly growing to look like all other fishes. (The New York aquarium is a splendid place to demonstrate this story.) I think it important that the words "ovum" and "sperm" should be used from the beginning. If the child is once used to have these words upon his lips in describing biological facts the same terms will keep their dignity when applied later on to human life. Here, then, the child is introduced to the presence of two elements in the creation of the offspring. After the story about fishes, the flower story can follow. "Where do the little seeds come from?" Like in the fish, two parts are needed, the stamen and the pistil. The stamen supplies the male (father) element, the pollen; the pistil is the mother, preparing the little ovi. The tulip or apple blossom or any plain flower can be used for demonstration. Here we can dwell upon the fact that the pollen bag enters into the little visible green ovary of the flower, melts like sugar in the ovum and is followed by formation of little seeds.

Here the importance of the wind and the bee in the promotion of plant life should be explained.

Artificial fertilization of plants can be demonstrated to some children. I mean the fact that the pollen of one variety of a flower can be carried to the pistil of another variety to produce a new flower. This would still more impress upon the child's mind the rôle of the two elements in reproduction. The great waste of valuable elements in the form of milt and spawn and pollen can now be pointed out: Millions of sperms and ovi of fishes are swallowed by larger fishes, millions of pollen bags are lost, carried away by wind or insects.

Also the fact that the little fishes and seeds are not cared for by their parents ought to be discussed. The tiny baby fish does not know his mother and has to take care of himself. Millions of these fishes are therefore destroyed and lost. It is good that each mother produces so many eggs. But it is a pity that such a great number is simply wasted.

The coming into the world of the little fish and flower is quite wonderful, but there are other ways, where nature proves more saving. Nature tried all kinds of ways and is improving all the time.

The mother bird has another way of bringing her little babies into the world. She has little ovi just like the fish and the flower, and the father has spermas growing in him, but instead of throwing them, like the fish, into the water or leaving them to the mercy of the wind or the bee, the male bird throws his sperm directly into the body of the female bird. There the little sperma swarm around till they reach the ovi, where they melt and from the two little bags the new little bird is formed. First it is so tiny one cannot see it, then it grows to a little speck. The bird is so small it cannot keep it for a long time in its body. It has to remove it from its body, "lay it," but it tries to protect it. A strong shell with a lot of soft food surrounds the tiny little speck, which is going to be the baby bird—and that is the little egg we know about.

Then we can describe how long it takes the mother bird to hatch the egg. All the dangers to which the eggs are exposed

should be mentioned to impress the child that this form of reproduction also has its drawbacks. Mother has to leave the eggs to get food, someone in her absence might remove the eggs and use them for food.

The egg should be demonstrated to the child in the state where the little chick appears as a little speck supplied with blood vessels. If an incubator is available, the child should be allowed to help about it till it sees the appearance of the chicken. The care of the incubator will furnish a good illustration as to the difficulties of protecting the egg and keeping it steadily at a certain temperature. The fact that the father introduces sperma into the mother's body will appear natural to the child as long as it comprehends the great principle of saving life-matter by it.

Now it can be pointed out that the father and mother bird know their offspring, also that the father bird knows well and is quite attached to the mother bird, and vice versa. That we find among birds a complete family life, a home, where babies are well taken care of by the mutual effort of father and mother. Many bird stories can be furnished to the children to illustrate these relations.

The rabbit and all other animals of that kind, called mammals, have a still better way of taking care of their babies. After the father rabbit has chosen his mate, the future mother, he pours his sperma into her body to give a chance to her ovi to unite with them and begin to grow. The rabbit-mother has a soft little bag, where she keeps the tiny little ovi, impregnated with the sperma. It takes them a long time to grow till they look like little rabbits, but all the time they lay sheltered in the body of the mother. The mother-rabbit has them always with her. Not for a moment are they left exposed all alone, and when at last they grow so big that it is too hard and heavy to carry them around, the babies are put out into the world and both rabbits take care of them till they grow big enough to be left alone. That is why it happens that a rabbit or a cat bring only five or six babies into the world and they all live, while a fish breeds millions and only a few are left alive. In the case of the fish

the babies do not get the care of their parents.

The cat and her kittens furnish plenty of illustration to the child as to the way the babies are carried in mother's body to be born and taken care of. Here it can be pointed out that some fathers in the animal world do care but little about their offspring, while others care more.

Every time a child has a chance to see the birth of any animal (kittens, dogs, calves, etc.) this chance should be given to him and the subject treated not with levity, as is usual, but with deep reverence. The child should get used to look upon the act of reproduction even in animals as a mystery to be admired. Animals which so often copulate in our presence should not be punished or treated with contempt. On the contrary, the act, which anyway is always noticed by the child, should be explained in a matter-of-fact voice, without the exhibition of embarrassment or needless shame.

When a little friend of mine, now a big, clean young man, was about twelve years of age, he was the happy possessor of a family of white rats. The mother had a litter of the most cunning little babies. She was self-sacrificing in her devotion and was dwindling away from the exertion of nursing a dozen strong little babes. At that time the father started to show sexual attention to her. The boy became very indignant. He discussed the question of protecting the mother from both babies and father in the most earnest way. No levity of tone could be discovered. The sexual act was recognized as a matter-of-fact affair, but his sympathy went out to the overworked mother, whom he separated from her flock and husband and thus probably saved her life.

This example I give only to point out that children accept sexual relations of animals, and later on men's, just in the spirit they are given to him. With older children different instruction can be followed. To them the idea of cell-life must be explained and then the sexual life of lower plants and animals described. The picture of the ovi and sperma of different animals should be drawn for them or pointed out in books, also the different stages of development of the animal and human being in the uterus.

If a child has acquired such knowledge gradually, under the guidance of parents or teachers, it will be prepared to accept the truth of the sexual life in man without any shock or embarrassment.

While ignorance in sex matters means a great deal in child life, it becomes of tremendous significance in the life of the grown-up boy and girl. The future responsibilities of a father and mother, the serious aspect of sex relations, should be deeply impressed upon them. The instruction must have the character of friendly discussions, not moral or religious persuasions, for only then the young man or woman will turn to the parents in time of trouble and misfortune. Nothing is more perplexing to the physician than the young girl in trouble imploring him to keep it a secret from her parents.

Many a daughter has turned in my presence to her mother with the bitter words: "It is your fault; you never told me anything."

There is a wrong conception in the mind of the public that a virtuous, innocent girl is prompted by intuition how to act in all kinds of perplexing situations; that her very innocence appeals to the chivalry of man.

I claim that the very modesty and ignorance of the girl is used as a weapon against her. Our young girls are exposed to unscrupulous advances in the shops, factories and streets; it is a question of the greatest importance to instruct them, for knowledge will be their best protector.

The pitfalls of life open to young boys in the form of prostitution is also worthy of deep consideration. The baneful results affect not only the man, but his wife and children.

It is a well-known fact that married women are just as much afflicted by sexual diseases as inmates of houses of prostitution. Thousands of children owe their blindness, their crippled limbs, their incurable mental affections, to the ignorance of their fathers.

We would not dream of permitting our children to study the laws of gravitation by experimenting upon themselves, but we consider it proper for our sons and daughters to learn the laws of sexual life

by personal experiments; we expose them to graver dangers, without a word of warning.

In conclusion, I acknowledge that de-

tailed instruction for parents is very desirable. My few suggestions I consider only as a stimulus for deeper and more thorough investigations.



REGULAR SIDEHILL HARVESTER

CAPITALIST FARMING

By GRACE SILVER

(Photos by courtesy of the Hold Mfg. Co., Stockton, Calif.)

IN the eastern states one of the pests most dreaded by the farmer is the "caterpillar." Whether or not this great engine derives its name from that many legged creature, certain it is that the giant caterpillar is annoying the small farmer more than any horde of crop destroying insects ever did. This eight ton monster is not spoiling crops; it is raising them. But it is wiping out the small farmer, because he can never hope to own it. Sooner or later the small freeholder must become one of the army of wageslaves who will guide the caterpillar, which they do not own, over the bonanza farms of some great land trust.

Your great capitalist, remember, is continually seeking new channels of investment for the dividends which labor produces.

Having gained control of the great producing industries, like coal, iron and oil, he then turns his attention to the retail trade. He acquires restaurants and department stores. He sells you your cigars and he also controls the milk supply of your cities. The caterpillar and its kindred machines give him another opportunity to invest the money wrung from labor. He will farm upon a gigantic scale. Land monopoly we have had for a generation, but the land has either lain idle or been rented to good American tenants—the landlord getting most of the crops. But today the great landholders are tilling their fields and the wise landlord realizes that he can exploit his tenantry still further by making wageslaves of them, and employing big methods of production. Modern invention has done

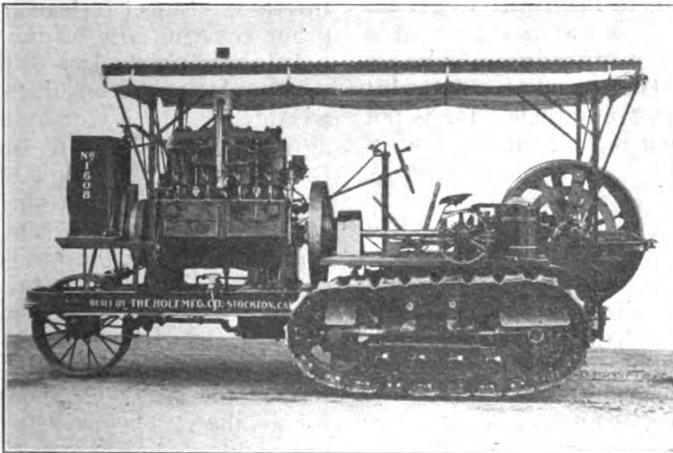
for the farming industry what had already been done in manufacture. The big machines make possible the factory farm. And those same machines render it impossible for the small landholder, or the tenant farmer, dependent on his own labor and two or three horses, to live at all.

The Caterpillar is the last word in traction engines. Its wheels run on an endless chain-belt, which in turn crawls over the ground. Where the old style tractor sank, mired and refused to work, the caterpillar glides along unchecked. It lays its steel tracks upon the shifting desert sands, doing work in places where no other power can be used. It will go down into the low delta lands, where the ground is too soft for men or horses to walk, and it will at one operation plow, harrow and seed six to nine acres per hour. Snow is no hindrance to its progress, and in the high mountains, where grades are long and steep, and the roads are rough, the caterpillar is hauling lumber, ores and other freight. Also, it will pull sugar beets. It does the harvesting, threshing and hauling, and between times it will do any other work that its owner may happen to have at hand. It will run the blacksmith shop or the farm packing house. It will furnish the power to bore artesian wells or to pump the water for irrigation purposes. Also, it will drain swamp lands. It will run flour, feed, or saw mills, barley crushers, or manufacture the ice used on the farm. If it

were attached to the latest improved milking machine, the caterpillar would not object to milking a hundred or a thousand cows after its day's work. In a word, it is more efficient than a hundred farm workers, goes anywhere and does anything, always obeys orders, works night and day, demanding no wages and no vacation, eats nothing when not working and, above all, never goes on a strike.

This is the machine that is leading the attack upon the small farmer. The wage-worker of the cities who, failing to get work, takes the advice of the capitalist politician and goes "back to the land" seldom secures any more of Mother Earth than will adhere to his clothes and person. If by any chance he does acquire a small piece of land he finds an eight-ton caterpillar there ahead of him. Not on his land, nor even, it may be, in his state; but none the less the great tractor is competing with him, flattening him out with the ease and facility of a Taft steam roller.

The homesteader with his few acres of beans, raised with aid of a sulky, or at most a three gang plow and horse cultivator must compete with the ten thousand acre bean ranch, where the tractor plows, harrows and plants at one operation, cuts, threshes, and sacks at another. The farmer who would cling to his individual holding must learn to live cheaper than the Asiatic,—he and his family must live cheaper than the caterpillar. Some are trying to do it



THE CATERPILLAR

This modern tractor lays its own roadbed and glides over soft reclaimed land, crosses deserts and alkali plains, climbs mountain roads and does all kinds of farm work.

yet. They claim that Socialism would destroy incentive.

The gardeners around Danvers, Mass., have long grown onions for the New York and Boston market. They often plant in rows too close together to admit of horse cultivation. They push little hand cultivators themselves and let the poor horses rest. With their small acreage and great amount of hand labor they will soon be compelled to compete with the onion kings of Texas who plant a hundred thousand acres of onions in a single block, and use power machinery exclusively. Perhaps they do not raise as many bushels per acre as the eastern gardener; certain it is that their profits, per bushel, or even per acre, are far greater than those of the Danvers growers.

The same thing applies to all other lines of garden truck. The "back to the land" apostle prates of the virtues of intensive farming, by hand labor, and ignores the fact that modern invention has made intensive methods possible on a million acre ranch. It is true that the great ranches do not produce as much, per acre, as some small farms and half-acre plots. The million-acre farm is not harrowed sufficiently. In many cases it is never fertilized. That is because it is more profitable to the owner to get his fourteen bushels of wheat per acre, at a minimum labor cost, than to double his expenditure for labor and increase his product by perhaps six bushels. He is not striving for a producing record; he is after profit—and gets it.

The big rancher of today is in the same position as the western cattlemen a few years ago. When urged by humane persons to feed their stock through the winter, the cattlemen replied that even if a third of their stock, or a half, starved to death, they could make more profit on those that survived than they could on the whole herd if they had to feed them in cold weather. When range land became scarcer, and the price of beef went up, the cattlemen became kind hearted and fed their stock. When the value of land increases, intensive culti-



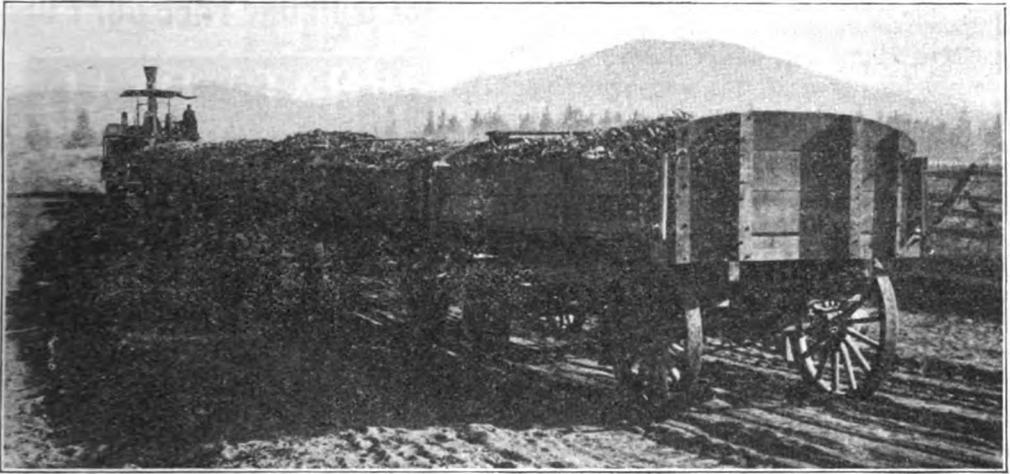
BREAKING TULE JUNGLE

No other power, horses or engines, can traverse this mass. The Caterpillar not only does this, but also pulls a roller and ten disc plows, plowing ten inches deep.

vation will be profitable on the big farms. Today, land is cheaper than labor. The tractor is of course just as willing to pulverize the soil till it is like a seed bed, as to plow, harrow once, and seed.

Nearly everyone knows that wheat can only be grown profitably on a large scale. The New England farmer has long since forgotten what growing wheat looks like. But even wheat production has been cheapened in recent years. The combined harvester, drawn by 18 to 30 horses, is being replaced by the great steam harvester, which, with the aid of eight men, cuts, threshes, cleans, recleans, and sacks the grain, covering fifty or more acres per day.

It is not only the lack of the big machines which places the small farmer at a disadvantage. His ignorance of the science of agriculture holds him back. The great farms will pay as high as ten thousand dollars a year to a trained agriculturist. His work is entirely connected with the producing end of the business. Under his direction will work a soil chemist, who will analyze soils and prescribe for them. If fertilizer is to be used, there will be no guess work about it. Nitrate will be prescribed for one field, phosphate or potash for another. They will be used always at the right spot. The soil chemist knows what a soil should contain to raise corn, or wheat, or any other crop. At least two-thirds of the fertilizer used on the average

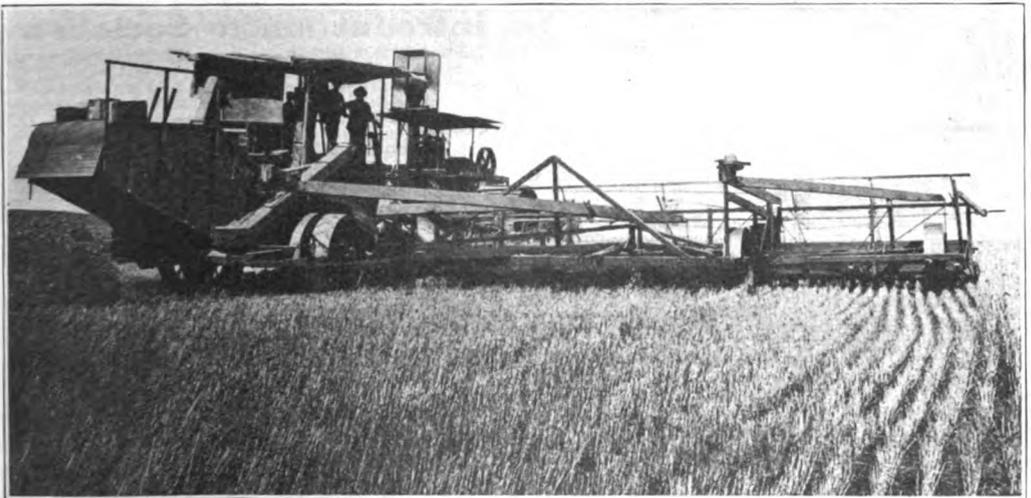


HAULING SUGAR BEETS TO THE FACTORY

farm is absolutely wasted, because ignorantly applied.

The capitalist farmer of the future will know his land as well as a ship's pilot knows currents, winds and tides. That is to say, his trained agriculturist must know these things. He does not need to know anything. While he is enjoying himself in luxurious ease or traveling abroad, the caterpillar is doing the work, putting in the crop, harvesting it, and hauling it to railroad or seaport. Wage workers, from the high salaried agriculturist and business

manager down to the humblest servants of the tractor are furnishing the brains and skill and labor power to run his farm. They are producing the food, and marketing it, and then, after the manner of other wage slaves in the cities, they will turn the proceeds over to the idle capitalist. They will guard his interests zealously, seeing that no by-product of the farm goes to waste, that no source of profit escapes. They will turn the flax seed into oil before it leaves the farm, can the green corn, and the fruit in the master's own canneries, kill and pack



STANDARD STEAM HARVESTER, REAR VIEW GRAIN SIDE

Twenty-two foot Header, with twelve-foot extension. Will cover from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres per day. It cuts, threshes, cleans, recleans and sacks the grain.

the master's sheep, hogs and cattle. They will manufacture their own ice, and furnish the electric light and power needed. And in return for doing all this, and more than this, our capitalist farmer will give them just enough wages to enable them to live and come back the next day to oil and guide the tractor.

One thing the caterpillar will do for the small farmer and the farm laborer. It will make it possible for them to organize. It will do for this class of workers exactly what the invention of power machinery did for the workers in the cities. Herded together by the hundred or thousand, working for the same master, they will discover that they belong to the great army of wage-workers, and they will for the first time understand the meaning of the class struggle. Capitalist farming is a necessary step toward Socialism in land. It makes our work very much easier.

Today the petty farmer who sees the tractor plowing 50, 80, or even 90 acres in a ten hour day, knows that his days as a freeholder are numbered. He knows that he has to add that to his other troubles, to his war with the railroads and the commission merchant and the middle man. He is not much afraid of losing his little farm, under this system or any other. He knows that he can't make enough on it to live, anyway. If he is an intelligent farmer, tenant or laborer, his only fear is that Socialism will not come quick enough to save him from—the caterpillar.

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LAND QUESTION

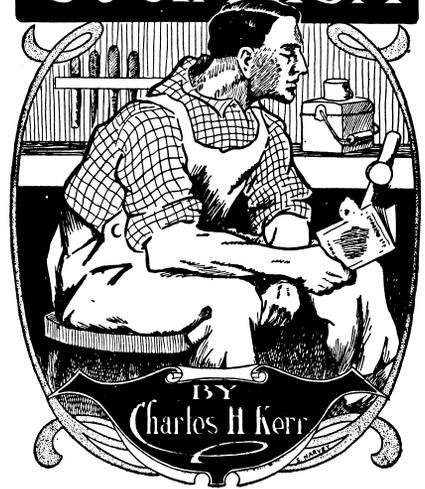
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EDITORIAL

A New Situation.—The Socialist movement of America is today face to face with a new unexpected situation. Up to this year both old parties have been obviously and scandalously run in the interest of "predatory wealth," controlled by purchasable politicians in the interest of corporation magnates who wanted to use the government as a means for plundering the "common people." The Socialist party has been the only one to oppose and expose this system of bi-party rule in the interest of the big capitalists. Thus we have drawn many supporters from outside the working class—supporters who do not understand the meaning of the class struggle, and would be repelled if they did. These men have in many cases joined the party and helped shape its policies. Together with a few ambitious office-seekers and reactionary craft union leaders, they have in some states practically controlled our movement. Where they have done so, the "literature" circulated by the party has been such as to attract reformers and to repel revolutionists. Before the Socialist convention held last May there was some reason to fear that this element might succeed in placing the party on record as standing for mere reforms. Fortunately the delegates agreed unanimously on a platform which, while it enumerated many reform measures of more or less importance, closed with this declaration:

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

The wisdom of this stand became evident a few weeks later, when the National Progressive party, headed by Roosevelt, came out for a long list of reforms, many of them practically the same as our own. This new party will evidently elect many congressmen this year, and four years from now all signs indicate that either under its own name or by capturing the old Republican organization it will sweep the country. The newspapers supporting Wilson and Taft are in nearly every case

careful to avoid any direct opposition to these reforms. It is safe to predict that every session of Congress for several years to come will put some of them on the statute books. If, therefore, the enactment of these reforms were the one great mission of the Socialist party, we might as well disband now.

Industrial Feudalism or Industrial Democracy, Which? We have now industrial chaos. Out of "free competition" a small and powerful class of privileged lords has emerged, whose power has grown so great that at the present moment they have the rest of the people, wage-workers and little capitalists alike, at their mercy. The situation is intolerable, and reforms to relieve this situation are bound to come quickly. But what then? A shorter work day is good. It will improve the physical and mental health of the laborer. But with the shorter work-day will come new machinery and new methods of production. In a few years he will probably be receiving wages twenty or thirty per cent higher than now. But he will be producing fifty per cent more wealth each day than now. The chasm between worker and capitalist will not diminish but enlarge. The storage of flood waters and utilization of water power, the draining of swamp lands and irrigation of arid lands, the building of public roads, railways and water-ways are all good. They will all provide work for the unemployed at the time and they will increase immensely the productivity of future labor. But to whom will the product of that immensely efficient labor of the future belong? To the workers or to the owners? These reforms settle nothing; they only postpone the day of settlement. They clear the ground for the class struggle by eliminating all petty questions of graft and special privilege, for the new industrial feudalism which is almost here will merge all special privilege in one general privilege, the privilege of membership in the capitalist class. Petty grafts will be abolished in the interest of One Big Graft, the graft of the capitalist class, controlling alike a highly efficient system of industry and a

government run in the interest of the owners of that industry. And this One Big Graft will presently be confronted by One Big Union of revolutionary wage-workers, who want the earth and will be satisfied with nothing less.

The Work of the Socialist Party.—These changing conditions make it evident what must be the future development of the Socialist party. If here and there it attempts to rival the Roosevelt movement as a party of reform, it will fail ignominiously and will have to start again from the ground up. Its work is to educate the working class in the principles of the class struggle, and to organize the working class on the political field. In its educational work it will yet be forced to co-operate with all labor unions which are based on the class struggle and to oppose such unions as cling to the deadly falsehood of the identity of interests between capital and labor. With most of the legislative program of the Progressive party we can have no possible quarrel, except that it does not even hint at the great task of Socialism. Our elected representatives should be on hand to criticise each new reform measure as it is matured, and to point out how far it falls short of what the class-conscious wage-worker demands. But the most important task that our representatives will have will be to wage a vigilant fight for the right of all wage-workers and especially the wage-workers in pay of the government, to organize and to have a voice in determining the conditions under

which they are to work. Around this question the great battles of the future will be waged, and the Socialist party, if equal to the occasion, will be a vital factor in the coming victory of labor. "Let the Nation Own the Trusts" is a dead issue now. The nation will own the trusts, but who shall own the nation. The new issue, ever new though first voiced by Marx and Engels in 1848, is **Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and all the world to gain.**

Now Is the Time for Campaign Work.—A presidential campaign comes only once in four years. Questions of tactics and party policies can be discussed at any time, but the last few weeks before a presidential election is the one time when outsiders are most likely to listen to what we have to say about Socialism. We shall have matters of vital importance to settle when the new National Committee provided for by the new constitution meets in May, 1913. We must see to it that the committee as then reconstituted consists of clear-headed Socialists in close touch with the rank and file. But there is plenty of time for this, and very little time is left for the campaign. Let us for a little while forget the questions on which we differ and remember the things on which we agree. The Machine Process is making Socialists, whom a little education will develop into effective workers for the Revolution. Let us see that they get the education now while they are waiting for it.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Australia—The Labor Party Making Soldiers.—The famous "Defense Act" was first devised by the Liberals, then amended and passed by the Laborites. Its administration has been entirely in the hands of the labor ministers, so the Labor party has a right to whatever glory there may be found in it. All boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one are required to report for military training. During part of their time of service they are gathered into camps for regular drill; during the remainder they are expected to give to the noble art of war the time which would normally be devoted to recreation. In order to make this system possible the government of the Commonwealth voted \$60,000,000 to be expended within three years. Of course an elaborate staff of officers is necessary, and drill halls, barracks, camp-grounds, etc., must be maintained throughout the Commonwealth.

The leaders of the Labor party point to this system as the ideal sort to be maintained by a nation under the control of the working-class. English and French Socialists are constantly advocating a proletarian army for defense against attack by a foreign power. Such an army the Australian government leaders claim to have established. Mr. Fisher, head of the Labor government, referred to it recently as a "wonderful system for the defense of this country."

And yet working men and women of Australia do not seem to take kindly to this "wonderful system" inaugurated by their own government. Immediately after the "Defense Act" went into effect the papers were filled with tales of boys who refused to report for service and of parents who refused to allow their sons to do so. Groups of mothers went to the magistrates and made public protests. Labor unions and Socialist locals passed resolutions calling upon members of the working-class to refuse to submit. And, most powerful appeal of all, the boys themselves sent out addresses calling upon others of their own age not to sub-

mit. Some of these were evidently inspired by Socialist parents, but there were others which represented the spontaneous rebellion of boyhood against the slavery of military service. Incidentally these appeals gave pictures of conditions in the barracks and drill halls, pictures not at all calculated to inspire enthusiasm among decent minded parents.

As a natural accompaniment to this storm of protest and refusal to serve there has been determined legal prosecution of boys and parents. All over Australia boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one are being dragged into court and fined or imprisoned for refusing to serve as cadets. A boy who thus refuses can be laid hold of, under the terms of the law, by the military authorities and taken before a magistrate. The magistrate has the choice of fining, imprisoning, or turning him over to the military authorities to be forced to drill. Thus Australians have enjoyed the pleasant spectacle of scores of their boys lying in jail among criminals or being forced to learn the war game against their wills.

The act has been in operation for a year now, a length of time which should give ample opportunity for sizing it up. In response to demands from various labor organizations, the Minister of Defense has recently published a report which justifies its severest critics. It appears that the government has been able to corral only 82 per cent of the youths reported to be of proper age for cadet service. Nearly a fifth of the boys of Australia, then, have been able to resist the charms of uniform and sword. For a scheme of popular defense this much-advertised one has evidently worked very badly.

Where lies the trouble? Many of the workers of Australia, like those of any other civilized country, would fight against any military system; this particular system, however, lacks the two chief characteristics which might commend it to members of the working-class.

Any military organization which asks the support of the workers must be demo-

cratically organized and absolutely committed to the policy of fighting only against a foreign aggressor. Under no circumstances must its use be permitted in case of internal difficulties. Such use would make it immediately the agent of a class.

Even such a system as this, supposing it to exist, would be bitterly opposed by large numbers of workers. The working-class does not by any means stand committed to any plan of national defense. Many of its members are able to reason far enough to discover that without aggression there can never be need of defence. And it is extremely doubtful, moreover, whether any military organization could be permanently maintained on the principles of democratic organization and exclusive use against foreign aggression. How long would an army remain democratic after its privates had become saturated with the military spirit? How long would it maintain its democracy in the event of actual military operations? Or, to look at the other side of the case, who can tell in the midst of popular excitement and governmental misrepresentation who is the aggressor in case of international complications? Or, more serious still, who can promise that a force, once organized, will never in the uncertain future be turned against an internal foe of the government? The working-class has reason enough to set itself against any and all military schemes.

But the particular scheme inaugurated in Australia lacks both of the characteristics which might appeal to the working-class. It is not democratically organized. Its officers are regular army men, no better morally or intellectually than such men usually are. One of the things the boys object to most strenuously is being placed under the absolute authority of such persons. There are plenty of nasty stories afloat to indicate that their influence is just what would be expected. And even if the officers were above reproach, no member of the working-class could contemplate with satisfaction the spectacle presented by a son being taught to obey orders without reason or chance of protest.

And with regard to the possible uses to which the new military force may be

put, the case stands no better. It is true that the Labor party majority amended the original Act to provide for the mobilization of the army only for defence; it is also true that the Labor government recently refused to send troops to aid in putting down the tramway strikers at Brisbane. But the parliamentary discussion which followed this latter incident makes it clear that much is to be feared for the future. The whole matter is clearly set forth editorially in the *International Socialist*.

Mr. Deakin, leader of the Liberal opposition, declared that troops should be used to suppress insurrection, "and if ever there was insurrection in Australia, it was in Brisbane." As the editorial writer takes occasion to remark, this declaration shows clearly that whenever the Liberals come into power, which they surely will do sooner or later, the "wonderful" proletarian army will be turned against proletarian strikers.

And Mr. Fisher's reply was even more alarming. He said: "I go so far as to say that a conflict between the troops and the people of Australia at the present time would mean the end of our first-class defence system. It would absolutely defeat and destroy the wonderful system for the defence of this country which is being successfully inaugurated at this time. I am not saying that circumstances could not arise when it would be necessary to send troops to the assistance of a state government, but I mention what, in my opinion, would have been the effect if we had acceded to the request of the Queensland government." There you have it. The reason troops were not sent was that sending them at this particular time would open the eyes of the people as to the nature of the "wonderful system," and it is quite possible that circumstances may arise under which "it would be necessary to send troops" against Australians on strike. So the proletarian army is not exclusively for purposes of defence against a foreign aggressor.

No wonder Australians object to being made soldiers of, even by a Labor government.

England—The End of the Dock Strike.—During the last days of July the tragic struggle of the London dockers came to an end. The fight had lasted ten weeks; it had entailed unspeakable suffering; it ended in defeat. Nevertheless, English capitalists find little comfort in the contemplation of it, and English workingmen are not discouraged.

The strike was lost for lack of solidarity. The very men who stood together and won a year ago failed to get together this time—and lost. The crafts connected with London dock work, such as lightermen, stevedors, teamsters, etc., are united in an "amalgamation." When the strike started some of the individual unions responded magnificently, others failed to do so. And when the "general" strike was called it proved to be flat failure. Englishmen again witnessed the deplorable spectacle of union railwaymen transporting goods handled by non-union dockers and carrying scabs to London to break the strike. The result shows the amalgamation to be ineffective and the craft spirit still a stumbling block in the way of the English working class.

On the other hand, English capitalism has never before been placed in so unenviable a situation. Here was a strike involving a hundred thousand men and many hundreds of thousands of women and children. The funds of the unions amounted to practically nothing. Almost from the beginning the families of the strikers were dependent on the efforts of Socialist and union organizations. The employers, led by Lord Devonport, have known this and depended upon it for victory. So certain have they been of success that they have flouted the government. When, in June, the transportation of foodstuffs became impossible, the government appointed a commission to investigate the grievances of the men. The strike, it will be remembered, was first called on account of the employment of a non-union foreman. After it had once been called, however, occasion was taken to demand the abolition of a long list of wrongs. The chief of these was a wage scale which did not come up to the one formally agreed upon after last year's strike. The government commission reported that the men were right in five out

of seven of their contentions. The government then submitted a compromise scheme; the men immediately agreed to it; the employers turned it down. They had the men where they wanted them, and they were bent on making the most of it.

Well, the women and children starved, and on July 29 the fight was called off. There was a good deal of bad feeling. After the order to return to work was issued a good many of the men refused to return. Now they have gone back, as many of them as have been taken on. They face the old conditions, and worse. Their employment is to be merely casual; the employers have now the right to call on the hordes of unemployed non-unionists who swarm about the docks. The strike has been lost and nothing has been gained.

Nothing has been gained, that is, so far as the present position of the London Transport Workers is concerned. The English working-class has gained a good deal in knowledge of the English capitalist class, especially of the liberalism of the Liberal wing to which Lord Devonport belongs. The capitalists fought the battle of the jungle with bared claw and fang. They fought united and they fought to kill.

It remains to be seen whether the Transport Workers have learned the lesson of organization which lies plainly written in the events leading up to their defeat. Some writers, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, for example, use the occasion to minimize the value of strikes and unionism in the upward struggle of the workers. Others urge the men to form a real union of Transport Workers; while still others urge the Socialists to make use of the opportunity afforded by the awakened class-consciousness of the defeated men.

Whatever may be the formal changes resulting from the transport strike, there is no doubt whatever about the spirit which unholds the men in their moment of defeat. Comrade John Sourr well says of them, "Such men as these are never beaten. They have merely retreated. We organize to fight again until we win."

Germany, Socialism and the High Cost of Living.—During the past month we have heard a good deal about the high cost of living in Germany. It happens that the cost of living is mounting all over the civilized world. In looking over files of working-class papers from the various nations the thing one cannot but discover is that the poor of every particular nation feel sure their lot is worse than that of all the others. The English worker is so badly off that he cannot help thinking the German must have a little better time of it, a little more to eat and a slightly better house. And so the German with regard to the Englishman. Working-class conditions have bred a kind of inverted patriotism. Instead of thinking our country the best, we come pretty near to thinking it the worst. Just now the truth of the matter is that the cost of foodstuffs has gone up all over the world. Or, to put it another way, real wages have gone down. Measured in things to eat and wear the income of the working-class the world over has decreased and is still decreasing.

But it is the high cost of living in Germany that has caught the attention of the world. And as usual there is a reason. On August 27 the Executive of the Social-Democratic party issued an appeal to the members to make this matter of the cost of living a national issue. Even before this call reached the public German Socialist organs had been filled with facts and figures calculated to open the eyes of the workers to what is happening to them.

For example, the fact has been well advertised that during the past ten years the average cost of meat has advanced very nearly fifty per cent. This brings prices abreast of our own. The result is that many families go without meat entirely. In many others the man, as the wage-earner, has meat to eat while wife and children live on cheaper food. Even government investigations have shown that under these conditions a large section of the German population is going under-nourished.

Now it happens that in Germany the immediate causes of the rise in the price of meat is of such a nature as to rouse special antagonism among the people.

The government is chiefly under the control of the Conservative party, the party whose policies are shaped by the great land-owners of Prussia. In the interest of these land-owners a high tariff is maintained on all importations of meat or fodder. Since the population of Germany has increased much more rapidly than the capacity for producing meat cattle, the prices have, of course, advanced. The people have paid high or gone without meat; the agrarian lords have got the money they were after. It is a clearly proved fact that the increase goes, not to the retailers, but to the feudal producers and the largest wholesalers.

What the Socialists demand is that the government face the high cost of living as a great national issue. In order that this may be done, they contend, a special session of the Reichstag should be called, the tariffs on meats should be removed and such other measures should be taken as promise to do away with the artificially-inflated prices.

Whatever may be thought of this move as a method of agitation, there is no doubt about the fact that it has already got hold of public attention. The government has got so thoroughly scared that one hears nothing anywhere but chatter about the high cost of living.

Belgium, Preparations for the General Strike.—The committee in charge of the proposed general strike for universal, equal suffrage in Belgium is making an active campaign. On August 2, it published a manifesto "to the population." After explaining the value of an equal suffrage to the working-class this document goes on to state that so great is the popular majority in favor of it that even the Clericals do not dare oppose it openly; "But if," it continues, "the party in power refuses to bow to the popular will, what means remains to overcome its resistance? Shall we wait for another election to defeat it? Experience has shown that this party (the Clerical) is sure to come off victorious, thanks to fear, thanks to fraud, thanks especially to our plural system of voting which permits the rich to fill the ballot-boxes with extra ballots. The proletariat does not intend to play on at a game in which the cards are stacked against it. It will

have recourse to its last resources; if justice is refused, the workers will refuse to work." In conclusion, the working-class is called upon to begin preparations for a general strike to last five or six weeks.

Ten days later there appeared a second appeal. There have been two general strikes in Belgium: in 1893, two hundred thousand men came out, in 1902, three hundred thousand. The strike for suffrage, if it is to be effective, must involve five hundred thousand who are prepared to remain out for six weeks. In order to prepare for this great demonstration

workers are urged to join their unions, buy of the coöperatives, and save their money for the day of need. Already a list is being prepared of the names of those willing to care for the children of strikers.

Of course all these preparations can be scanned by the employers. No doubt they will be able, when the time comes, to guess the date of the calling of the strike. What preparations are they making? Will they slip the word to the politicians to allow the suffrage bill to go through?

If you bought your copy of the **REVIEW** for ten cents from a Socialist hustler who paid five cents a copy for a bundle of twenty or more, and if you have observed that it contains just about half as much reading matter and pictures as you can buy for 25 cents in one of the big capitalist magazines like *Current Literature* or the *American Review of Reviews*; if, moreover, you have observed that those magazines have a big income from commercial advertising, while we have scarcely any, you may have wondered how we can afford to do it. The answer is that we can't. The money we get from the sale of copies in bundles barely covers the cost of paper, printing and binding, together with the office work involved in handling the bundle orders. For the cost of the pictures and the editorial work we must depend on those who pay a dollar a year for their subscriptions, and who send the dollar direct to this office, so that we have no expense for premiums or commissions. We are now losing about \$200 on every issue of our hundred-page **REVIEW**. If we had 500 additional subscriptions each month at the **FULL PRICE** of **ONE DOLLAR** a year, the margin above cost on the filling of these subscriptions would just about make us even. If **YOU** want the hundred-page **REVIEW** to continue, send us a **NEW** yearly subscription with a dollar this month, and next month, and the month after.

LITERATURE

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

The New Democracy.—An Essay on Certain Political and Economic Tendencies in the United States. By Walter E. Weyl, Ph. D., New York: The MacMillan Co.

Of special interest as showing the author's method of reasoning is his chapter on "Democracy and the Class War." He argues that "in America the old doctrine of a class war between two classes must of absolute necessity be given up by the Socialist party and must fail of adoption by other parties." This conclusion is based on the assumption that the bulk of workingmen and small farmers are everywhere enjoying prosperity; that the proletariat does not consist solely of the propertyless nor even of wage-earners; that rising wages, savings, and the actual ownership of the means of production do not take a man out of the proletariat; and that, hence, the alignment of the class war is rapidly disappearing.

It is evident that Dr. Weyl does not get his idea of prosperous workingmen from the mill slaves of New England and the South, nor from the timber workers of Louisiana. The Atlantic transport workers, the "Wops of Kenosha," and the coal miners fighting in the hills of West Virginia against the plug-uglies of Senator Elkins may all be counted enthusiastic zealots of the New Democracy because of the hot, passionate love and tender oneness of interests which they feel toward their brother capitalists. There can be no class war when bricklayers and carpenters own their own tools of production. The majority of day laborers in the big cities own their own shovels, and, therefore, cannot be numbered in the ranks of any class war. The fact that they lack such luxuries as automobiles, yachts, cottages at Newport and villas on the Riviera is no bar to their membership in the New Democracy nor does it operate against their "common interest in the social surplus." Dr. Weyl deserves much credit for the phrase, "a common interest in the social surplus." It has a satisfying sound, more poetic and cosmic than any mere mention of beefsteaks and clean linen. Heretofore, we had looked upon democracy as the last

word in capitalist development, the most perfect system of exploiting the workers by deceiving them with the illusion of sovereignty. Now, thanks to Dr. Weyl's illuminating phrase, we learn that a common interest in the social surplus is wiping out class distinctions in America. We are all stockholders in the social surplus, and we receive our dividends in the form of a deepening national consciousness which is much more nourishing than beer and pork chops. Love is more desirable than beer, and "blessed words" survive long after pork chops have finished their ignoble passage through the alimentary canal. Wherefore, beloved brethren, let us cease from the degrading bickerings of class war and turn our thoughts and energies toward our common interest in the social surplus.

R. M.

What Is Socialism?—An Exposition and a Criticism. With Special Reference to the Movement in England and America. By James Boyle, Private Secretary to Governor William McKinley, Etc. New York: The Shakespeare Press, 1912.

Instead of building up an answer which would have the merit at least of showing the common factor of Socialism, the author produces a patchwork shanty of the rusty tin cans which he has gathered from the rubbish heaps of every economic camp from Plato to Roosevelt. Applying his method to Christianity, for example, one would have to begin with the Essenes as forerunners, wade through the differences of the Petrine and Pauline factions, and study the hair-splitting controversies of the Gnostics and Arians. Scotists and Thomists, Hussites and Lutherans, Protestants and Catholics, Greeks and Romans, Jansenists and Modernists, Unitarians and Trinitarians, High Church and Low Church, Conformist and Non-Conformist, Ritualist and Evangelical, Quakers and Holy Rollers, Seventh Day Adventists and Fire-and-Sword Puritans, Witch-Burning and Inquisitions all run together into a jumble from whose tangle it would be impossible to draw a central idea of Christianity. Mr. Boyle announces that his aim has been to present a popular and impartial exposi-

tion of Socialism. His impartiality is that of a San Diego prosecuting attorney and the popularity of his exposition is of the sort which finds favor in Grabow, Louisiana, and among the stockholders of the International Harvester Company. He offers a concluding chapter of criticism to the effect that Socialism could never be established and never be administered. The arguments which he uses have been smashed into so many pieces that one is compelled to marvel at his patient ingenuity in gathering the countless scraps and gluing them together again. Books of this sort are one of "the wastes of labor" which Socialism is designed to eliminate.

R. M.

Social Evolution and Political Theory.—By Leonard T. Hobhouse, Professor of Sociology in the University of London. New York: The Columbia University Press.

The attempt to apply the conclusions of Darwinism to society has given to the opponents of Socialism their most plausible weapon. If the social organism is to be considered as subject to the general broad laws of biology, the struggle for existence must be taken as operative throughout the aggregate of men. The survival of the fittest will then find expression in a ruling class and the inequalities between workers and shirkers will be biologic rather than economic. No escape offers itself from the finality of the Christian pronouncement, "The poor ye shall have with ye always." Natural selection must inevitably result in plutocrat and proletariat.

Professor Hobhouse, while holding no brief for Socialism, has made it very clear in the second chapter of his book that the process of betterment does not depend on the naked struggle for existence. He points out that "the factors which determine the survival of physical organisms, if applied as rules for the furtherance of social progress, appear to conflict with all that social progress means." He shows that social development is something quite distinct from the organic changes known to biology. In a general way he reaches the same conclusions in this regard as those which have been so cleverly worked out by Enrique Lluria in "Super-organic Evolution." Though there is much in the rest of his book with which we cannot agree, the chapter in

question is of great constructive value. We commend it to the careful study of Socialists who find themselves at a disadvantage when wrestling the Darwinistic argument in behalf of the present system.

R. M.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

To the Membership of the Socialist Party

COMRADES:—I want it distinctly understood that at the meeting of the N. E. C. to receive the report of the investigation of Referendum "C" by Comrade Charles Edward Russell, I voted to accept his report as to evidence and facts. I also made an amendment to a motion offered by Hillquit, wherein I proposed to accept Comrade Russell's conclusions. (These are printed in our news and views department.—Ed.)

First. Inasmuch as Comrades Till Warburton and E. R. Meitzen declare absolutely that Comrade Till Warburton gave to Comrade E. R. Meitzen full authority to sign the name "T. Warburton" at the end of the original motion and comment, no charge of forgery in connection with the motion can be sustained.

Second. In spite of irregularity in the proceedings, that elsewhere at least might raise the question of validity, there is no evidence of any fraud in connection with the motion.

Third. I therefore report that I can find no basis for the charges that "Referendum C was conceived in fraud and forgery." But I beg leave to add that I cannot avoid the reflection that a little more candor and a little more comradely confidence would have obviated this inquiry and all the expense of time and money that it has involved, and it is equally clear to me that the candor and the confidence that befit Socialist comrades would have been deserved here as elsewhere, because no suspicion of evil, if such there have been in any way connected with this matter, seems to have been justified. (Signed) CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

My amendment was defeated. In opposition to Comrade Russell's conclusions there has been presented to the party what purports to be the conclusion of the National Executive Committee which reads as follows:

"5. The motion for the recall of Comrade Barnes was, as a matter of fact, not initiated by 'Local Branon, Texas,' or by any local of the Socialist party.

"It was set afloat as part of a private scheme of Comrades E. R. Meitzen, E. A. Green and W. S. Noble, who worded it, signed it and sent it to the national office, and followed it up by issuing a circular letter to all locals of the state of Texas, over their own signatures, soliciting seconds for the so-called motion of 'Local Branon.'

"The National Executive Committee brands the proceeding as a fraud and imposition upon the Socialist party, and denounces the methods employed in securing Referendum C as dishonest trickery, not to be tolerated within the Socialist movement."

As a member of the N. E. C. I want you to know that I did not vote for, nor was in any way a party to this statement drafted by Hillquit and Spargo and submitted to the membership as the findings of the N. E. C. This statement does not express my belief or opinions as is proven by the fact that I voted for Comrade Russell's conclusions. The so-called findings of the National Executive Committee are certainly astounding in view of the fact that they directly contradict the findings of Comrade Russell, who was named as the result of a motion made by Hillquit.

I am personally acquainted with comrade E. R. Meitzen, Ed. Green and W. S. Noble, and I do not believe that these men are guilty of dishonest trickery, private scheming or fraud as alleged.

I want to go on record as saying that for straightforward manliness, honesty of purpose, and comradeship, I will cast my lot with men like E. R. Meitzen, Ed. Green, W. S. Noble and Charles Edward Russell in preference to those members of the N. E. C. who drafted and adopted the so-called findings of the N. E. C. that I now protest against.

Fraternally,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,

Member National Executive Committee of the Socialist party.

Debs in Portland. Despite the great counter attraction planned by the A. F. of L., in the form of a monster picnic and also that of the M. & M., to counteract the A. F. L. affair, the Debs meeting ever proved to be the greatest demonstration ever witnessed in this city.

The day opened with a cold drizzling rain, continuing almost till noon, which turned the picnic ground into muddy sloughs, thereby putting the quietus to the open air attractions.

It cleared long enough to permit us to conduct our parade and then a veritable rainstorm broke loose effectually killing all ideas of a picnic as well as the numerous excursions which had been planned for that day. "Surely the Lord was with us."

The great auditorium rapidly filled up and when that faithful servant of labor was escorted to the platform to strains of the familiar "Marseillaise," 7,000 people arose to greet him.

In the course of a two-hour address he

flayed the pseudo Socialist "Bull Con" Party unmercifully not forgetting Taft and Wilson, finally concluding with an eloquent plea for Women's Suffrage.

Not the least feature of the meeting was that we cleared over \$500, which enabled us to wipe out our deficit and leave a handsome balance with which to buy literature for free distribution during the campaign.

That the workers of this city demand clear cut revolutionary literature was evidenced by the fact that more than 300 REVIEWS were sold during the meeting, while for the two days prior to this event as many more were sold.—M. E. Dorfman, Fin. Secy.

Fifty More. In addition to twenty September REVIEWS sent me enclosed find \$2.50 for fifty more. It's a good number and a fine cover design.—Comrade Allen, Palmer, Mass.

Harry Sible of Canada, the well known literature salesman, broke all his own records this month by selling 500 copies of the September REVIEW.

Knows a Live One. State Secretary Bentall (of Illinois), knows a live wire when he sees one. June 1st he sent Comrade W. A. Diebold, who has long been running one of the best of our western speakers a close second, down through Illinois to hold campaign meetings. In spite of twenty-two days of rain, Diebold sold over \$60 worth of literature during June and over \$65 worth in July. Many locals wrote in to the state office to say young Diebold had held the best street meetings ever pulled off in their towns and nearly every local has insisted upon having a return date. Comrade Diebold is a graduate from the Tom Lewis Soap Box School and knows what he is talking about. At every point he leaves sound socialist literature in the hands of those interested. We wish to there were more like him in every state.

Muscatine, Iowa—I bought 20 copies last week and on Labor Day I went to Moline, Ill., and I sold the whole blame shooting match. I must have a few more to sell to the local comrades.—Lee W. Lang.

For No Compromise—Recognizing the fact that Keir Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party and that he repeatedly denied the class struggle and that the Independent Labor Party, of which he is a member has time and again supported and worked with the Capitalist Liberal Party, the 21st Ward Branch of Chicago with 135 members in good standing passed the following motion: "That the 21st Ward Branch take no part in any meeting addressed by Keir Hardie" and an amendment also carried stating that "We do not endorse Keir Hardie as a speaker in the Socialist Campaign."

A Live One—Comrade James M. Reynolds of Blue Rapids, Kansas, sends in a bunch of six subscriptions closing with the following: "I want to say if I can get a man to read the REVIEW it makes a solid Socialist of him."

Important Notice.—Philadelphia, Pa., and Camden, N. J., comrades can have the REVIEW

delivered to your homes each month by your regular paper carrier if you will write to Chas. Marks, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa., Room 10.

From New Jersey—The comrades like the get up of the REVIEW, type, paper and pictures, and I guess they like the uncompromising spirit too. Increase our order to twenty copies per month, which is just four times what we began with last December.—Geo. Whiteside.

From a Queensland Socialist—Place me on the next twelve months. Yours for the Revolution.—E. H. Kunze.

Miners Interested. Comrade Chadwich, of Wyoming, Superior, writes enclosing check to pay for a big bundle of REVIEWS, for one year. He says, "Miners who do not even belong to the party are interested in the REVIEW and we believe it is a great educator to the working class." That is the kind of talk that makes us feel good clear down to the ground.

From a "Shovel Stiff." Comrade Butler of Eureka, Cal., writes: "Allow me to say that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is by far the best Socialist publication I ever saw, and you are taking the right course. Stick to the revolution and let the Hillquits, the Spargos, etc., get into the Bull Moose party where they belong. We don't want anybody to lead the working class. They have been led too much already. We don't want anything handed down from above, and will never get anything handed down to us except lemons. We want to join hands and TAKE what is ours on the industrial field. Let the pitiful cowards who go into hysterics over the words 'Direct Action' go and hide under the bed."

A Big Order from a Little State. The Socialist Party of Rhode Island has given us a record-breaking order for books, to be sold at campaign meetings between now and election. The order is for 5,000 twenty-five cent books, including Vail's Principles of Scientific Socialism, Kautsky's The Class Struggle, Spargo's The Common Sense of Socialism and Richardson's Industrial Problems. We furnish these books at \$75 a thousand, so that the Rhode Island comrades, after paying freight, will make a profit of over \$850 toward the expenses of their meetings. This is an illustration of how the sale of literature by Socialist organizations works. Instead of being a drain on the resources of the Local and of its individual members, it is a help. The cost of the literature is paid by the people whom we are reaching with our message. They get their money's worth and are ten times as likely to read the literature as they would be if it were given to them free. The profit goes to the party. Our publishing house charges the party barely enough to cover the necessary expenses of printing and circulating the books.

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Haywood at Uniontown, Pa.—Under the auspices of the Socialist Party, Fayette County Local, William D. Haywood addressed the largest audience ever assembled to hear a socialist speaker in Fayette county. Haywood had been advertised in the usual manner—no extraordinary efforts had been put forth. The services of the transportation companies were kept down to the minimum. The park management was unprepared for the entertainment of the crowd. With five capitalist daily papers in this county, none of them even referred to the fact that this meeting was to be held. Neither did they refer to the fact that it was held, and was the biggest success ever made in this county.

But the people got to the park just the same. They began arriving at 12:30 and kept coming until 4:30 by rail, automobile, horseback, on foot—well, they just got there some way, and what a crowd it was! It was a quiet, orderly, patient and a determined crowd, men and women and a few children. It was a representative crowd, too, well proportioned. The exploiter and exploited were there, the "professions" were there—clergy, lawyers, doctors, politicians, public officials, detectives, merchants and farmers—all waiting for 2:30, the time appointed for the lecture to commence.

The time arrived but no Haywood. Then 3 o'clock, and still no Haywood, but the crowd kept growing all the time in spite of the fact that many were going away disappointed. Then 4 o'clock and no Haywood or message from him. And yet every car that arrived was loaded to the limit. Then 4:15 arrived and with it Bill Haywood. The handclapping and cheers at the street car station announced the fact to those waiting in the park that he had arrived. A few quick introductions and Haywood hurriedly entered the park and made his way rapidly to the platform on which he was to speak.

Chairman Hanley, in a very few words, stated the object of the meeting. He then introduced the Italian speaker, who, in a ten-minute speech, made the welkin ring, for if applause is any indication of a hit, he must have made a four-baser.

Without any waste of ceremony the chairman introduced William D. Haywood. As he arose and stepped forward, he was greeted with a burst of applause that made him turn around and learn that he was not simply facing an audience, but was completely surrounded by those determined to hear him. Many claimed that over three thousand were present, but to be very conservative, there was no less than 2,500 persons who had waited three hours to hear Haywood. The speech was delivered with a power that convinced all who heard of his deep sincerity.

There was no play to the gallery; there was no bid for applause, there was no tickling the humor and no attempt to play upon the sensitive feelings. It was the great strong voice of labor to labor, and there is none other so powerful!

As the speaker drove home fact after fact—why we have the class struggle and what it is

—you could see a tear here and there trembling on the eyelashes of strong men. You could see a tightening of the lips, or you could see a frame quiver. It was a tense, serious crowd, and it stood or sat, as it could, all eager attention for two solid hours. If there were any doubters as to the class struggle when he commenced, there was none when he finished. Neither was there any lack of information as to how to end the class struggle. It was a great meeting!

The people had traveled for miles; they waited patiently for hours, not a soul present knowing whether Haywood would come or not. Yet they stayed on and they were not all socialists by any means. This shows that the people have their eyes open. They want the socialist message and they will have it in spite of all the other class can do.—J. Edward Smith.

Our Candidate for Congress in Kansas. Geo. D. Brewer was born on a farm near Marion, Kan., May 29, 1878. He attended the common schools and worked on the farm till 17 years of age, at which time his father died; the family moved to Marion and George started out to make his own way. He secured employment as a brakeman on the railroad, continuing as such till the Spanish-American war, when he returned to Marion, and in 1898 enlisted in Co. M 21st Kansas volunteers. Like so many more of the soldier boys in the Chattanooga camp he got typhoid fever, from eating embalmed meat served as rations, and never got to see active service in the war. He was mustered out of the regiment, at Leavenworth, Kan., at the close of the war, and once more became a railway brakeman. While working for the Southern Pacific in Texas he was caught between two box car bumpers, and his left heel and ankle crushed so severely that his railroading was forever ended. His limp will ever attest his service in the industrial army.

The accident changed his whole life, and when he came from the hospital after months of suffering, he decided that he must now fit himself for brain, rather than physical work. He entered Ruskin college, Trenton, Mo., in April, 1901, where he remained till he joined the *Appeal to Reason* force, with which publication he has been connected nearly ten years.

Brewer is a charter member of Federal Union No. 11478, Girard. He has been for nine years an active unionist, being largely responsible for the organization of the Girard industrial council. He is the only union candidate for congress.

For several years Brewer has toured the country with Debs, on his lecture tours, visiting every state in the union. No man in the nation is better acquainted with the conditions and needs of the American working class than Geo. D. Brewer, which knowledge admirably fits him for service in congress. If the farmers of the district give him anything like the support he will get from our 13,000 miner voters he will be elected by the biggest majority ever given a candidate in the Third district

On the Job. The construction workers on the G. T. P. construction work have revolted against the deplorable conditions in the camps. The workers' homes on this line, called bunk-houses, are so filthy that a self-respecting pig would refuse to die in any one of them. We, the Revolutionists, have wasted too much time on theory and all too little time in action on the job. The action is on right now. Fourteen thousand men have laid down their tools irrespective of nationalities, creed, craft or color, demanding that they get a little more of what they produce.

Some of our philosophers at pink teas, picnics and convention go on record in denunciations of direct action by the working class, but if the same class insists on using these tactics with success why not instead give a boost? McKee's Rock, Lawrence, etc., have been proof enough of the working class' power on the job.

Here is something in railroad history:

On July 20th 2,000 left their work at the west on the G. T. P. construction. On the 28th 2,000 came out on the Rocky mountain (east end) followed by 10,000 on the 27th, thus completely tying up the whole work of construction.

The powers that be have been fortifying the line with Springfields and Winchesters, fitted with maxim Silencers, also having store-houses packed with smokeless powder. Knowing this, the men on this line who are running their own organization decided to spring a new tactic on the contractors. All men shipped to outside points, leaving just enough to do the local picketing, thereby spreading the news of revolt in railroad "stock" in Northern B. C.

"These," when located in the large shipping centers, immediately started to picket the employment offices, ships and trains with huge success.

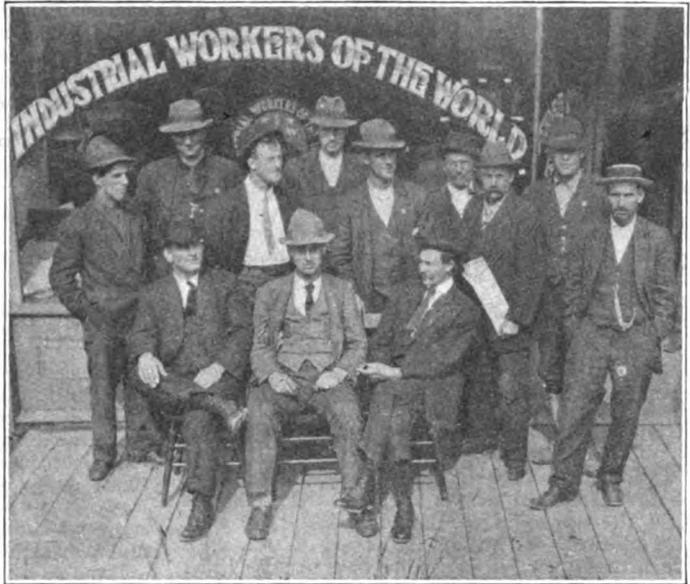
No scabs are going to the jobs.

Until now the country has been as quiet as a graveyard. Only four arrests have been made, all of the men being liberated for lack of special evidence against them.

Special policemen are being fired on account of not being able to make trouble. There is no one to make trouble with.

The small contractors are beginning to howl and victory is sure.

We hope the day is not far distant when the Workers of the World will be solidly organized for the taking over of the tools of



production to secure all they produce. All funds should be sent to A. O. Morse, Secy., No. 326 I. W. W., Prince Rupert, B. C., Canada.

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Studying Industrial Unionism. The following resolution is sent us by Wm. H. Watts, of Chicago. We think it a very good one.

Moved, That the resolution adopted at the National Convention of the Party of 1912, in regard to the attitude of the Socialist Party to the trade unions, be amended by the addition of a supplementary paragraph to follow immediately after the paragraph numbered "1," as follows:

The Socialist Party, however, urges the workers to study the principles of industrial unionism and to develop the industrial organization of their unions.

First. That the interests of the workers may be more effectively represented in the labor market, and,

Second. That the industrial organization of the workers may become a basis of representation in the congress of the coming Industrial Republic.

Let the reader bring this suggested motion to the attention of his local and if it meets with the approval of the local let it be sent as a motion to National Secretary Work, with the proviso that if the same has already been received from some other local that it be considered as a second. In this way the motion can be passed and the necessary seconds secured to bring it to referendum very quickly.

'Comrades, let us take this industrial union question out of the realm of personalities and discuss it upon the basis of economic science and the interests of the working class as a whole.—Wm. H. Watts.

From Brooklyn, N. Y. At the meeting of the Central Committee of Local Kings, held July 27, 1912, a resolution was adopted prohibiting the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW at public meetings.

At the meeting of the 18th Assembly District of Local Kings, held August 7, 1912, a resolution was adopted refusing to recognize the right of jurisdiction of the local to take such action and stating that the 18th A. D. Branch would ignore the action of the Central Committee.

At the following meeting of the Central Committee, August 10th, a resolution was adopted that unless the 18th A. D. purged itself of contempt of the Central Committee at its next meeting it would stand suspended.

The following resolutions were adopted at the meeting of the 18th A. D. at its meeting held August 21, 1912.

Whereas, it appears that certain influential members of the Socialist Party have entered into a conspiracy to disrupt the party; and

Whereas, among the means employed for that purpose is a concerted attempt through their adherents to pass, or attempt to pass in the locals, resolutions forbidding the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW by members and subdivisions, hoping thereby to precipitate a fight, which would give them a chance to expel the more revolutionary members from the party wherever possible, thus inevitably leading to a split; and

Whereas, we are of the opinion that an

insistence by us on the resolution adopted by us at our last meeting with reference to the recent resolution of the Central Committee of Local Kings Co., forbidding the sale of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW by the branches would give the party disrupters the opening they are looking for of causing a split of the party; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we herewith rescind our resolution on the subject adopted at our last meeting and that we shall abide by the decision of the Central Committee so long as it has not been reversed;

Resolved, further, that we most solemnly protest against the decision of the Central Committee, first, because it is entirely beyond the jurisdiction of that committee under our constitution and by-laws, and, secondly, because it is an insidious attempt to stifle the free expression of opinion within the party, and to inaugurate a reign of terror in which all those who disagree with the opportunistic tactics of those in temporary control of the national office shall be ruthlessly persecuted and proscribed;

Resolved, further, that we herewith demand that the said action of the Central Committee be submitted to a referendum of the membership of Local Kings Co. Ella L. Hoare, Rec. Secy., 18th A. D. Local Kings Co.

Local Springfield, Ill., sends in a motion as follows: Resolved that all federal or national officers for federal or Socialist Party offices should be nominated and elected by a referendum vote of the party at large, including the president, etc.

All offices, state, congress, county township, city, precinct, shall be nominated and elected by a referendum vote in their respective jurisdiction; this shall be a part of the constitution of the party if adopted and must repeal all conflicting clauses in the constitution.

Wants More. Comrade Cornwell of Jamestown, N. Y., writes: "Enclosed find check to pay for my bundle of REVIEWS. I sold them all in one day. Please duplicate my order for the September issue. The Review grows better every month. It is a magazine which no true Socialist can get along without."

In Barber Shops. During one week this month, we find among many others the following names of comrades sending in from two to five REVIEW subs for their town barber shops. We hope our other friends will follow suit. Comrades Goyet, Woodland, Cal.; Galahus, East Brandstaf, Ky.; Huebler, Athelstone, Wis.; Turnbaugh, Mina, Nevada; Quinsby, Collinsville, Conn.; Jordan, Indianapolis, Ind.; Brenholtz, Turnersville, Texas; Brown, Denver, Colo.

Going to Boost. Comrade Lermond of Maine writes: The August number is the best yet and I enclose \$1 for twenty copies. The farmer article alone is worth the price of the magazine. It interests and instructs at the same time. I am going to get some yearly subscriptions for you."

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Six Barbers on the List. Comrade Triplett of North La Junta, Colo., sends in an order for six yearly subscriptions for six barbers in his town. This means at least two hundred new readers for the REVIEW in La Junta.

Death of Rose Gelder. Whereas, we members of the Socialist Party, Local Lafayette, have in the decease on August 21, 1912, of our beloved Comrade Rose Gelder, sustained a great loss, and, Whereas, we appreciate that the socialist movement has lost a most active and able worker, staunch and true, and, Whereas, Comrade Rose Gelder always manifested that deep devotion to our cause that we admire, therefore, be it Resolved, that we in meeting assembled, this 22d day of August, 1912, though realizing as much as we do how inadequate words are to express our deep bereavement, do hereby tender to her husband, our comrade, Geo. S. Gelder and their children, our deepest sympathy and condolence.—Chas. A. Hubbard, Lafayette Local S. P. of A.

Sunbury, Pa. The comrades at Sunbury want to go on record as voting for Referendum C. before it was declared unconstitutional by the Big Four. (?)

Local Oak Harbor, Wash., sends in a motion to print the minutes of all the Barnes trial of February, March and August of last year, same to be edited by representatives of both sides of the controversy and submitted to the membership without unnecessary delay.

Idaho Again. Idaho State Executive Committee passed the following motion at a recent meeting: "That the Executive Committee, S. P. Idaho, go on record as condemning the article in the *National Socialist*, July, 1912, vilifying the workers of San Diego in their fight for free speech."—I. F. Stewart.

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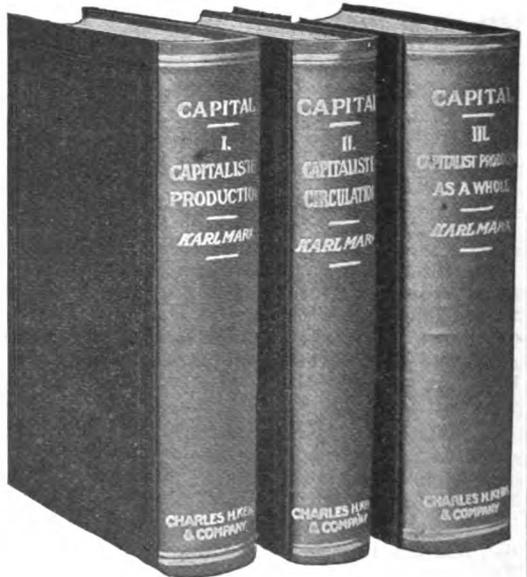
A Socialist workingman was called into J. P. Morgan's residence one day to do some repair work. While passing a bookcase he noted, conspicuous on its shelves, a copy of Marx's Capital. Significant, is it not?

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part of them are issued by other publishers, and will be ordered by the Bureau from them. All the larger Socialist party locals have received from the Lyceum Bureau a supply of lecture tickets to be sold. Note especially that each of these tickets is good for a six months' subscription to the *REVIEW*. If you sell one of these tickets to a non-Socialist, get him to ask for the *REVIEW*, if possible; it will start him right.

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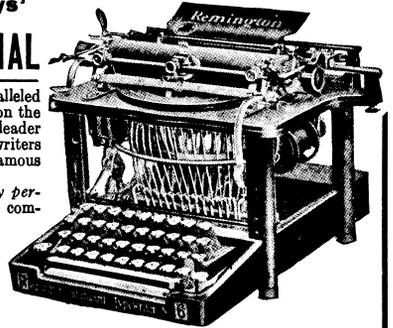
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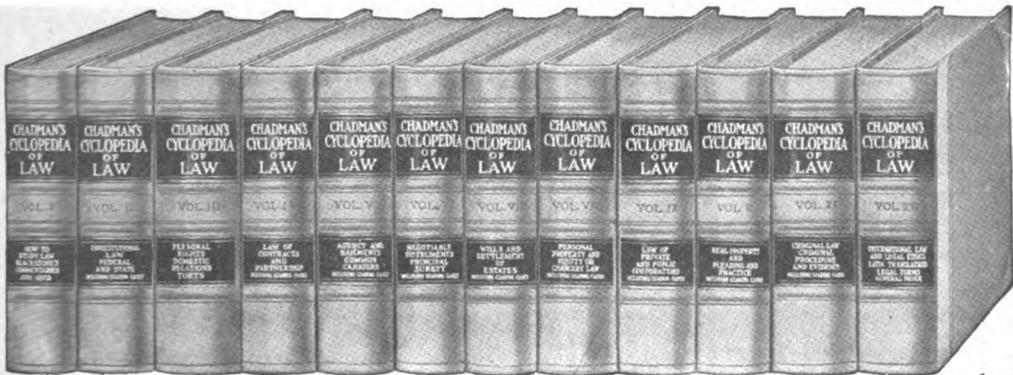
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