

FEBRUARY, 1913

*The*

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THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE  
OF THE WORKING CLASS



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Thousand Garment Workers  
on Strike

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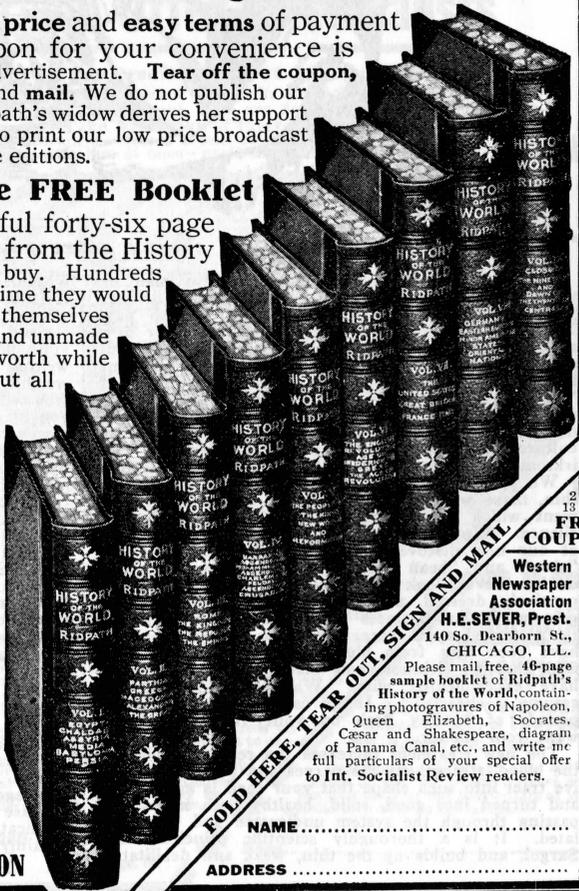
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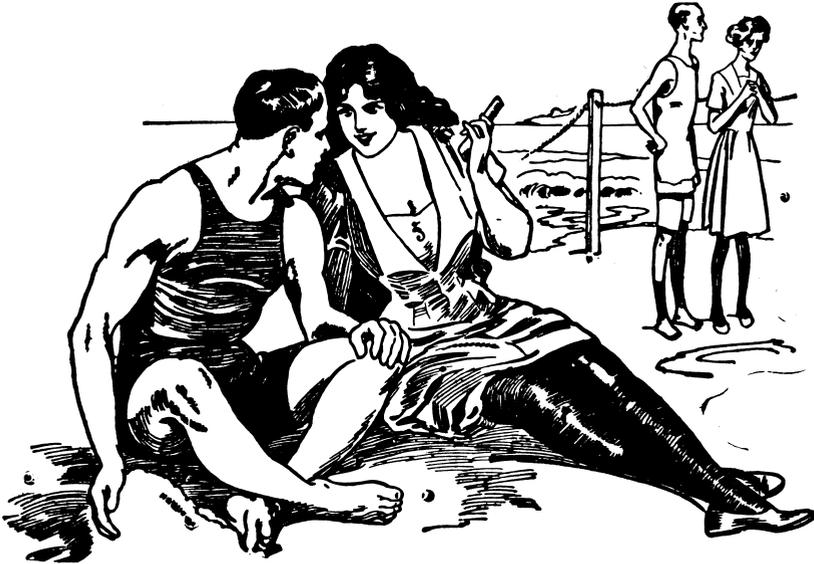
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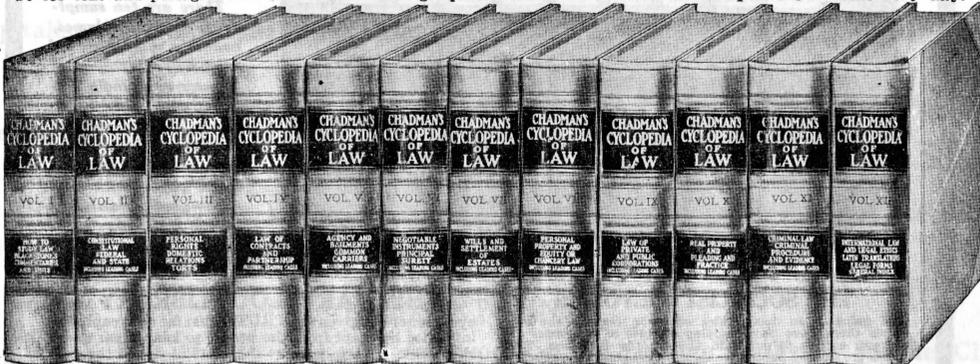
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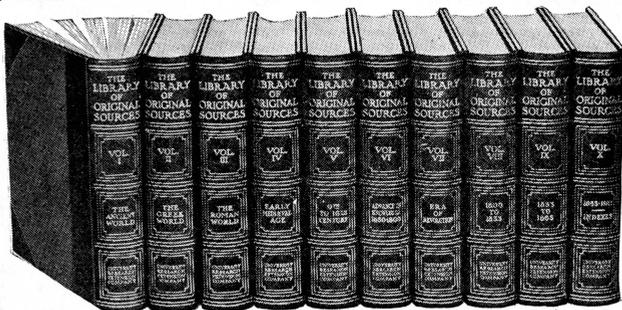
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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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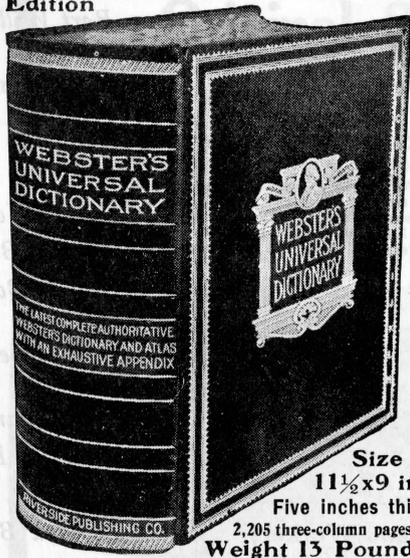
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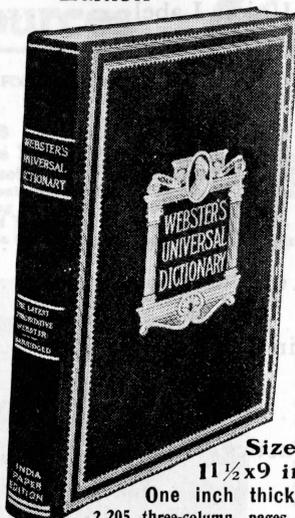
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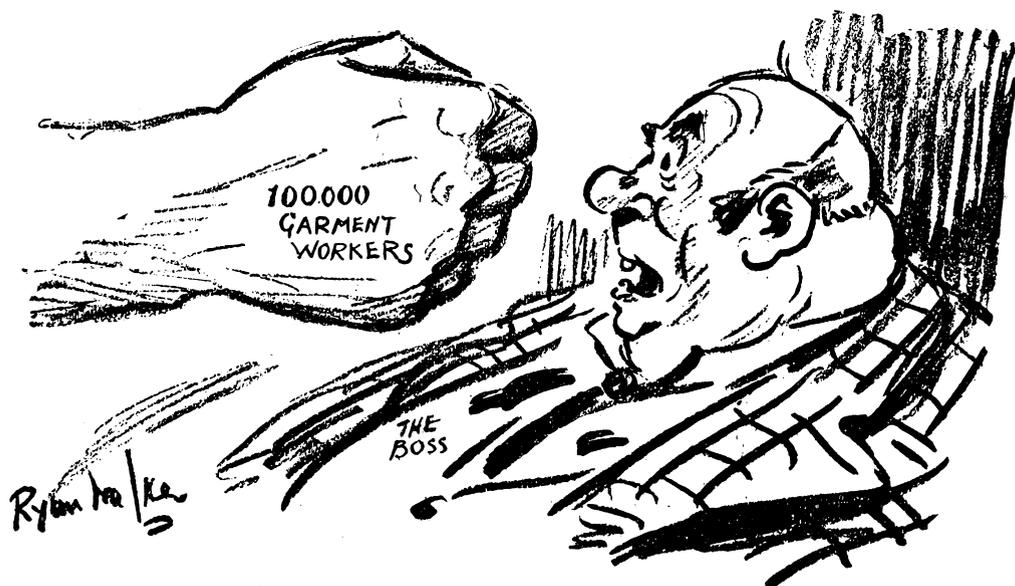
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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII

FEBRUARY, 1913

No. 8



Solidarity—The Hand That Wins!

*From the New York Call.*

## THE NEW YORK GARMENT WORKERS

By MARY E. MARCY

Photographs by Paul Thompson, New York.

A WALKOUT which may yet involve every garment worker in the nation, was started in New York City, December 30th, when scores of thousands of men and women employed in the garment industries responded to the call issued by the United Garment Workers of America and deserted the shops and benches where they had toiled for years.

The response to the strike call was so great that the union officials declared the union was a great deal stronger than they had believed. One thousand five hundred volunteer red scouts, who were picked to carry the official strike declaration, were on the job at 4:00 o'clock in the morning ready to start out with bundles of strike orders to be distributed in all sections of the Lower East Side. Before



GIRL STRIKER.

night over 100,000 men, women and children had taken their working paraphernalia home to begin the good fight.

The garment workers are striking for:

The abolition of the subcontracting system.  
The abolition of foot power.

That no work be given out to be done in tenement houses.

Overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one half, double time for holidays.

A forty-eight hour work week.

A general wage increase of 20 per cent for all the workers in the garment industry.

The following scale of wages:

Operators—First class, sewing around coats, sewing in sleeves, and pocket makers, \$25 per week; second class, lining makers, closers and coat stitchers, \$22; third class, sleeve makers and all other machine workers, \$16.

Tailors—First class, shapers, underbasters and fitters, \$24; second class, edge basters, canvas basters, collar makers, lining basters and bushelers, \$21; third class, armhole basters, sleeve makers, and all other tailoring, \$17.

Pressers—Bushel pressers, \$24; regular pressers, second class, \$24; underpressers and edge pressers, \$18.

Women and Child Workers—Button sewers and bushel hands, \$12; hand buttonhole makers, first class, 3½ cents; second class, sack coats, 2½ cents; feller hands, not less than \$10 a week.

From the start the Rochester workers sent pledges of support, offering to go out in sympathy if their employers should undertake to make up any clothing for the strike-bound New York firms.

The garment workers are beginning to realize the futility of carrying on single-handed fights, by having one trade make up the work while another trade is out on strike and they seem determined to do all in their power to tie up an entire trade henceforth in times of strike.

The response to the strike call was practically unanimous among the Italians. There are also a score of thousand Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian and Jewish workers.

The cutters made a fine showing. They were the first to walk out in the large establishments as soon as the strike notice was delivered. For the first time in the history of the garment workers' organizations the cutters' response was prompt and almost entire. This end of the trade is most important, as it is impossible for the employers to secure trained cutters to take the places of the strikers.

Almost from the beginning the Socialists came to the front and offered to lend all the strength of the organization to aid



BOY STRIKER.



CROWD OF WHITE GOODS STRIKERS.

the strikers in winning a victory. The *New York Call* threw open its columns and prepared to publish daily bulletins of the strike. The Socialist party arranged to supply speakers at the strike meetings and to help in the work of organizing the women in the garment industry.

As days passed the ranks of the strikers were continuously augmented by new acquisitions, and in many points, near to New York City, shops are tied up tight.

At the first hint of the strike the bosses attempted to fill the places of those who walked out, with scabs. The strikers quickly appointed their committees and began to picket the strike district. Enter then, as must needs appear in these little social comedies, the paid "guards" and the police to promote disorder in the name of Peace. Then it was that "peaceful picketing" became a thing of the past. Pickets had thenceforth to tread very softly and with circumspection to avoid a broken head, or arm, or arrest and a fine.

The employers extended to their new-found employes (the scabs) the utmost

graciousness and courtesy. Automobiles were promised to take them to and from the shops, with brass buttoned cops to see that trouble did not befall them on the journeys.

Such is the solicitude of the boss for the scabs he needs to break a strike!

But the taxicab drivers sent a thrill of pleasure through union and Socialist circles when they refused to take either the scabs, the guards or the policemen home. At one point fifteen taxicabs were ordered. When the taxis arrived the drivers found a crowd of strikers doing picket duty. As soon as they understood there was a strike in the shop and that they had been hired to take scabs home, they informed the bosses that they were union men and would not haul scabs under any circumstances. The employers threatened to have them fired, but the men only laughed and said they would stick to the union anyway.

The thugs employed by the shop bosses have proved very energetic and reliable. They have worked early and late beating

up strikers whenever possible, starting trouble and blaming it on the workers, while the police stood by (or took a hand) to see that nobody attacked or injured them.

During the first week in January the union officials conferred with the employers relative to a settlement of the strike, but the *New York Call* reports that all negotiations were broken off when the employers insisted upon a return of the strikers to the shops pending an investigation of the conditions in the trade by a special commission to be appointed for that purpose. The union officials declared that under no circumstances would "they order the men to return to work" pending an investigation or arbitration of their demands.

As the pickets began to suffer at the hands of the company guards, it was decided to take a lesson from the strikers at Lawrence, Mass., and chain picketing was employed for the first time in New York City.

Ten thousand pickets were asked to report each day, starting to work on the "Chain Picket Line" at 5:00 o'clock in the

morning, to pass constantly in a steady stream of pedestrians before the strike-bound shops.

On the day of the inauguration of the Chain Picket plan, the unions held various meetings which were well attended by the strikers. Hugh Frayne urged a general strike in every branch of the needle and garment industries, promising the support of the A. F. of L. while Abe Cahan closed one meeting begging the strikers to be true to the American Federation of Labor. He urged them to carry an A. F. of L. card in one pocket and a Socialist party card in the other (that is to work for class organization on one side and craft division on the other.)

This is very different from the calls of the Industrialists, all of whom insist upon a CLASS UNION card on the industrial field and a Socialist party card to represent their class interests upon the political field.

The Socialists have rallied around the striking garment workers to help them in this fight in many ways. We hope they will not neglect the greatest opportunity of their lives to teach class unionism as well as class political action. In the hope of a strike victory we should point out that strikes are only a part of the great class struggle and that if the workers would only unite in one great working class union and one great proletarian Socialist party they could forever banish exploitation and the wages system.

It is reported by Gertrude Barnum, one of the publicity agents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that some of the bosses in the wrapper and kimona industry are anxious to see the trade organized, as they believe the industry would become better systematized. They claim that they find it hard to deal with the workers individually.

Is it possible that the employers of labor find it easier to deal directly with labor union officials than the workers individually? There is something a great deal more than suspicious in such a statement. If the employers desire to have their factories or shops organized in order that they may treat with union officials over questions of wages and hours of labor, it is very doubtful if such unionism can be of any possible benefit to the workers. It is obvious that if a union brings



A TYPE.



Minor in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

greater profits to the bosses it cannot at the same time give the workers a greater portion of the value of their own products.

But if the statements of Miss Barnum are true, it must be confessed that the employers are showing themselves a great deal more class conscious than she is, for

they are employing scabs as fast as they can secure them, and their army of thugs and "guards" is daily on the increase. They very evidently understand that they cannot give higher wages or shorter hours to their wage slaves without cutting down dividends.

We hope the industrial unionists, both inside and outside of the party, are on the job in New York now, and showing up the class character of society so that the workers on strike today may hear, at least once in their lives, a class union talk, a revolutionary appeal. The rank and file of the striking garment workers are all right. The actual workers in the industries are always of open mind for the right kind of propaganda. Not one quarter of the garment workers are in any labor organization. Now is the time to talk One Big Union to them.

The Strike Committee of the S. P. of Local New York, is calling for funds and food to aid the strikers.

Late reports coming in show that in some cases the bosses are making heroic efforts to keep the girls in the white goods industry from joining the strikers. It was reported that organizers going to The Randall Underwear Company found the doors locked and girls protesting against their incarceration. When the doors were finally opened, 100 girls left and joined the strike.

Unlike the Lawrence strike, the strike of the New York garment workers is from the top DOWN; that is the union officials ordered the strike and have held the reins in their hands ever since. Without doubt they are trying to serve the strikers, but it is our opinion that they would build more permanently in permitting the strikers themselves to have the deciding voice in their own affairs; in teaching them self-reliance and class solidarity.

But the workers are finding out many things for themselves. They are thrilling with a new sense of power; they are learning the joy that comes when workers of whatever race or creed fight side by side in a great class struggle. The hope of victory and achievement is in the air and it is doubtful whether they will obey any orders from the union officials if their employers do not grant them appreciable benefits.

The heart of every true Socialist is with the strikers in this fight. We believe that the strike is a valuable form of direct action that teaches working class self-reliance and solidarity better than anything else. It teaches the workers to conduct their own fights. It brings out the class character of all existing social institutions. It teaches above all things, the necessity of revolutionary class unionism.

Later—The New York Call of January 19th announces that the **"STRIKE OF 20,000 WAIST MAKERS ENDS IN VICTORY FOR GIRLS WHEN PROTOCOL IS ACCEPTED."** Secretary John A. Dyche, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, is quoted as follows: "It has been a good fight for better conditions in the industry, and while it is a victory for unionism, it is also a victory for the broad gauge manufacturers—the manufacturers will benefit in the elimination of labor unrest in their shops and the workers will benefit by better pay, shorter hours and generally improved sanitary conditions." We are also informed that "the question of increasing the wages of strikers will be submitted to the Board of Arbitration for adjustment, but in the meantime the workers will receive an approximate increase of 10 per cent." It is also stated that the "Bosses Prefer Reliable Union," and that a Board of Grievances will be created, composed of five gentlemen from the manufacturers and five from the union, and that there shall be no strike or lock-out until any matters in controversy be submitted to the Board of Grievances and the Board of Arbitration.



SOCIALIST ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION IN BERLIN.

# WAR AGAINST WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

(Translated by William E. Bohn.)

**D**URING the closing months of the year 1912 the war against war has dominated the thought and action of European Socialism. Geographical and historical conditions give to war an extremely important role in the social evolution of Europe. In America there exists one great political unit in which immigrants from all lands amalgamate into a single mass; therefore America offers the best conditions for a gigantic development of capitalism and the class-struggle.

But old Europe, with its hundreds of millions crowded into a small area, is divided into small nations; on account of the traditions of past centuries, when everything was still on a small scale, these nations stand to one another in the relation of for-

eigners, different in traditions, speech, customs, and political life. Each of them has developed into a capitalist state, with a government organized in the interest of its own bourgeoisie. This capitalistic development necessitated struggles against the survivals of feudalism and absolutistic monarchical power, but also struggles of each nation against the others; for in the restricted area available each found itself opposed by the others. In all of these conflicts there persisted an element of ancient barbarism and traditional dynastic interests. Thus it has come about that to the evil of division into small political units has been added the greater evil of militarism, which, through compulsory military service and heavy taxes, squanders much of the produc-

tive power of the nations and increases the strength of the governments as against the people.

The recent development of capitalism has increased these differences. While bourgeois idealists have been dreaming of the United States of Europe the facts of actual development have gone in the opposite direction. The imperialist policy has made each of the important European nations the center of a world empire. The cause of this state of affairs is the export of capital. The accumulation of capital outgrows the possibilities of the home-land; it seeks new fields of investment, where it becomes the foundation of new industries, which, in turn, bring about an increase in the demand for home products.

This phase of evolution requires the political domination of the new industrial region or, at least, an adequate influence over its government. Every government attempts, therefore, to take possession of the largest possible areas of foreign territory or to increase to the utmost its influence over foreign governments. To this end power and respect are necessary, and these are attainable only through military and naval equipment. Governments have thus become the representatives of big business. They find their support, however in the whole body of the bourgeois class, most of the members of which, without having any direct interest in the results of imperialism, feel a concern in whatever promises higher profits for capitalism as a whole.

Thus the various nations of Europe stand opposed to each other like gigantic camps of contending armies. They have divided themselves into two groups about the mightiest of the rivals, England and Germany. On the one side stands the Triple Alliance, made up of Germany, Austria and Italy, three nations poor in colonies. On the other stands Triple Entente of the three nations which control the largest colonial regions, England, France, and Russia. As a result of the present division of colonial possessions the members of the former group are naturally the instigators of any struggle looking toward a redistribution, and the members of the latter are the defenders of the status quo.

Especially in Germany, which has developed into a great industrial power in the

same class as England and the United States, there is a tremendous impulse in the direction of territorial expansion. The German government has been arming itself for fifteen years; it has now a mighty fleet which compels England to add constantly more vessels to its navy. Austria and Italy are beginning to imitate Germany. At the same time armies are increased and placed on a war footing. Throughout the world German capital and German political influence attempt to gain entrance. In China the Shantung railway is built and Kiastchou is held as a military station; in Asia Minor the railway from Constantinople to Bagdad is built; in Central Africa an attempt is made to enlarge German colonial possessions. Everywhere, however, England stands guard, jealous and suspicious of every German advance. This is the explanation for the enmity which the German bourgeoisie feels toward England.

The conflict between England and Germany is most acute in Asiatic Turkey. England has long had an eye on Mesopotamia, the ancient Babylonia, the cradle of human civilization, the biblical Garden of Eden, which now lies barren and waste but can be transformed into a fruitful land. But German capital, supported by the Turkish government, pushes on toward this territory along the line of the Bagdad railway. If this line is finally completed to the Persian Gulf, the shortest route to India will lie in the hands of Germany and her friends, and the English dream of uniting India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, southern Persia in a great English empire will have gone up in smoke. On this account England sought to prevent the construction of the Bagdad line and to undermine the Turkish government.

The break-down of Turkish power will involve a readjustment of all the interests involved, including those of the United States and other countries. Herein lies a constant danger of war between various European nations.

But it is to the west of the Bosphorus that the danger of a great international conflict has first become imminent. The agrarian nations of the Balkan region, which had hitherto been regarded by Austria as the national sphere for her expansion, began to develop their own capitalist systems; the familiar class lines appeared and a strong

national feeling developed. Hence there arose the necessity of nationalities large enough to permit of commercial development and the desire for the possession of seaports. This, in brief, is the cause of the present war, in which Turkey has been nearly forced out of Europe.

Austria, disappointed in the prospect of territories to the east scents new dangers in the results of the conflict. She fears especially the effect of a strong, independent Servian government on the Serbs at present under Austrian rule. Therefore a great war fever has swept over Austria and the Austrian government has made the most strenuous opposition to Servia's efforts to secure a port on the Adriatic. This situation contained the threat of a conflict of the great powers. Russia and Austria began immediately to mobilize their troops. This was the time for the proletariat of Europe to arise and assert its influence.

## I I.

The international policy of Socialism has not always been opposed to war. Marx and Engels repeatedly (in 1843 and 1853) urged the nations of western Europe to declare war against Russia in opposition to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. In this Marx and Engels represented the interests of the working-class and of democracy. Throughout the nineteenth century Russia was the protector of the reactionary governments against the revolutionary peoples. So long as Russia maintained its position it could restore the absolutism which had been conquered by the German revolutionists in 1848; in order to secure the results of the revolution, Marx, called upon the German bourgeoisie to take up arms against Russia. But the bourgeoisie did not answer this call to arms; it feared Russia less than the political power of the German people. Even later the influence of Russia remained an element in the situation of the rising working-class of western Europe. It was on this account that Bebel declared himself ready to shoulder a musket in a war against Russia.

But since this time conditions have changed. The liberation and increasing poverty of the Russian peasants, together with the development of capitalist industry, led, after the Russo-Japanese war, to a revolution which broke the military power

of Russia for a long time to come. Russia can no longer play the part of guardian over the governments of Europe. It has become, like the others, a capitalist state which must reckon with capitalist interests and proletarian opposition. No fear of Russia need turn the working-class from a policy of international peace.

But in the meantime the society of western Europe has undergone a transformation. As capitalism developed, the necessity of being prepared to meet other nations in battle took hold of the imaginations of all classes. Even the working-class came instinctively to believe in the purposes to be attained through warfare. This was the case in Germany in 1870, and history has repeated itself in the Balkans during the past year. Such wars as these are called national; they are supposed to be waged in the interest of the national good. The Socialists, who see deeper and farther than this, were in both instances a negligible element in the situation. But at the present time Socialism has behind it in western Europe great masses of the working-class; in Germany a third of the entire population. In all countries these masses are in opposition to the government and they know that wars between modern governments are not national, but imperialistic. This means that they are conducted in the interest of big business, for the purpose of increasing profits. This conception destroys any enthusiasm which the proletariat might develop for a foreign war.

On the other hand, the workers have every reason for striving to maintain a state of peace. A war in modern Europe would be far more devastating than any which has ever occurred. The armies which stand opposed count their soldiers by the million. And the weapons which they carry are far more murderous than any which have been employed in the past; especially the rifles of modern infantry are calculated to destroy life with a rapidity which has hitherto been unexampled. War in the future will be far more bloody than in the past; a far larger proportion of the forces will be killed or wounded. For those who remain at home, moreover, war will be far more terrible. Formerly the greater part of the population lived by agriculture, which could be temporarily carried on by women, boys and men too old



THE SILENT DELEGATION. New York World.

for military service. Only within the region of actual military operations did the population know the real hardships of war. But through the development of capitalism our social organism has become more complicated and sensitive. Every disturbance which upsets credit or otherwise interferes with production may bring about a crisis. Every war which removes great masses of workers from the field of production, hinders transportation or blockades the harbors; means a crisis, a terrible industrial catastrophe which reaches the smallest village and brings bankruptcy, unemployment, poverty, and starvation in its train. A great European war at the present time would destroy civilization, force the world back to a low plane of industry and in general bring about a condition approaching that of primitive barbarism.

Such a possibility concerns especially the working-class, which is exerting its energies to raise civilization to a higher plane. The proletariat bases its activities on the new order of society; it is bringing into being strong organizations in which the egoism of the bourgeois world is to be replaced by the communistic virtue of solidarity. It is through the cultivation of this virtue that it is gaining the power to conquer capitalism and throw off its domination.

And this organization of the working-class is international. Across all national boundaries and all distinctions of race and language the workers join hands; they regard one another as brothers, as comrades, and see in the bourgeois and the government of their own land only enemies. There can be for them nothing more disgusting than the notion of massacring their brothers at the command of their enemies. They do not wish to see their international brotherhood, the growing unity of mankind, destroyed by the capitalistic quarrels of their governments. Therefore they make war against war with all their might. For these reasons the international policy of Socialism must be a policy of active devotion to the cause of peace. "War against war!" is the cry of the proletarians of all lands.

This was clearly expressed by the Congress of Stuttgart in 1907. In the resolution there adopted, after explaining the capitalistic nature of war and the determined opposition of the proletariat to militarism, the representatives of international Socialism declared: "In case there is danger of war, the working-classes of the countries involved and their parliamentary representatives are in duty bound to oppose the resort to arms by the employment of the means which seem to them most effective, the character of which means will naturally be adapted to the degree of acuteness which has been developed in the class-struggle and to the general political situation."

Since this resolution was adopted have the workers more than once been forced to oppose the war policies of their governments. When, finally, the Balkan war broke out the Socialists recognized immediately the danger to European peace. Our journals resolutely opposed the imperialist statesmen and professional chauvinists. In the countries immediately involved there were immediately held great anti-war demonstrations. In Berlin there occurred on November 17 a meeting participated in by 300,000 persons. In Russia a strike demonstration was made. The International Bureau met in Brussels and called a special congress of the international Socialist movement.

This congress met in Basel, where the

fine old minster, the chief church building of the place, was placed at its disposal. What an extraordinary spectacle, the red revolutionary hosts of Socialism gathering there in the old church to the swelling tones of the great organ! This would have been impossible in any other land than Switzerland, for everywhere else the bourgeois is committed to the policy of violence and detests the activities of the workers; it was possible here only because the Swiss bourgeoisie consists for the most part of bondholders in state enterprises, which could only be injured by an international war. This incident was tantamount to an acknowledgement by the only peace-loving section of the bourgeoisie that the Socialist proletariat is at present the only group which has the power to prevent an international conflict.

The proletariat stood before all the world as the standard bearer of civilization. And for the working-class of the world the Congress of Basel was the visible demonstration of their international unity. Previous international congresses had made possible the exchange of ideas and the attainment of mutual understanding; they left the practical struggles of the proletariat to be carried on by the national organizations within the national boundary lines. Here the international policy became for the first time the most vital problem of the working-class. Therefore the Congress of Basel was more important than any similar gathering which preceded it. Formerly internationalism was but a feeling which dominated the heart; now it became an important political fact.

The work of the congress consisted of the resolution accepted without opposition and the speeches which were made in connection with it. The resolution reaffirms the statement made at Stuttgart that the workers will attempt to prevent war with all the effective weapons at their disposal. And the addresses delivered by the representatives of the various nations left no doubt as to the determination of the working-class. "Not only in words," said Jaures, "but in the deepest passion of our natures, we declare: We are prepared to make the utmost sacrifice." And Victor Adler, speaking in the name of the working-class of Austria, which now bears the



THE CANNON'S BRIDE. Ulk-Berlin.

brunt of the struggle against war, said: "All the power of the proletariat, all the means of each individual worker, must be concentrated in this struggle." "In the use of the means determined by our conditions, by our political and industrial organizations," declared Haase in the name of the German Social Democracy, "We will devote our utmost power to the securing of that which we all desire to have secured, the world peace and our common future."

With regard to the declaration of policy contained in the resolution there can be little difference of opinion. Oppose one another as we may as to the wisdom of the separate demands which are made, in devotion to the general principle we are all united; everywhere peace and friendship shall be maintained between peoples; all oppression of nation by nation shall be opposed; and for every people the fullest measure of self-government shall be demanded. In making these demands, expressive as they are of the desire of the workers for peace on earth as against the oppression and violence characteristic of the ruling class, the Congress of Basel set up for the masses of the people everywhere a great torch which shall illumine for them the path to the new world.

# FARMER JOHN and THE UNION LABEL

BY

BERT WILLARD

WELL, I'm still wearin' 'em. You bet I am. I don't know how long I will hold out faithful, or unfaithful, as the case may be, for Mary Jane swears she won't live with me any longer if I persist in my evil way. You see, it all came about like this:

"'John,' said Mary Jane to me as I was goin' to work 'long about daylight one mornin' last week, 'You do be needin' some new clothes.'

"'Aw, you're jokin', ain't ye?' I parried. 'Why, 'Ive been wearin' these self same clothes each and every day for nigh onto two years if my mem'ry serves me right.'

"'Yes, said Mary Jane, 'an' they're ain't enough of 'em left to tie a patch onto. They're frazzled in front and frayed at the bottom, while from behind—well,' she laughed, 'they may be a bit more decorous than a holiness camp meetin'.'

"'Well, now, Mary Jane,' says I—but the upshot of it all was, on Saturday mornin', bright and early, I hitched old Tom and Jerry to the farm wagon, throwed a board across the wagon-box to sit on, an' started for town—seventeen miles away.

"I will pause here to state, by way of introduction, that I'm a farmer, born and raised on a farm—the self-same farm I'm living on now. I commenced stearin' old Tom and Jerry down a corn-row on this very farm when I was ten years old; we were colts then, Tom and Jerry and me—that's been thirty-two years ago this comin' spring. This was Dad's farm then, but I inherited the mortgage; and, owin' to the kindness of a benevolent mortgage com-

pany, I am still permitted to stear that same old Tom and Jerry down that same old corn-row, usin' that same old plow. Some how or other, neither Tom nor Jerry, nor the plow, nor the corn-row, nor me, seem to be holdin' our own very well, but the mortgage is doin' fust rate, thank you.

"Well, I arrived in town at about an hour by sun, an mosied down to Bogerman and Boodlenthalk Mammoth Dry Goods Emporium, where they're havin' a big sale, closin' out at less than cost—says so in big letters all over the front end of the building. The sale has been on all summer, but they don't seem any nearer sold out than they were early in the spring.

"Well, I went in, and a dapper young clerk, a real cute little fellow, with fancy socks and a made-to-order smile slid over and asked my wishes.

"'Sonny,' says I, 'I want to buy me a new suit of clothes.'

"'Very well,' he warbled, displayin' the aforesaid socks and smile, 'You came to the right place; and at the right time, too,' he added, 'as it is very near closing time.'

"'Closing time?' I exclaimed, 'w'y you all must take out pretty early these days.'

"'Oh, yes,' he answered. 'You see, we formed a union last month, got all the clerks to come in, and we have enforced our demands for shorter hours and more pay.'

"'Good! Good!' says I. 'That's what I like to see; workin' men and wimmen unitin' for their mutual interests. What we need more than anything else is the solidar-ity and united action of the laborin' people.'

"'Yes, of course,' the clerk replied, 'but really we are not laboring people, we are clerks—we are, in fact, salesmen.'

"'Yes?' says I.

"'Yes, says he. 'One of the first moves made by our union officials was to arrange for a course in salesmanship for every member of the union.'

"'You don't say?' says I.

"'Yes,' said he, 'step this way, please.'

"'I suppose you clerks will be takin' up the study of the dry-goods and clothing business in all its details.'

"'The sales department, only. What style of garment would you like?'

"'Why nothin' but the sales department?' I asked.

"'That we may increase our efficiency, to be sure,' says he, shiftin' his smile a little. 'This garment, I think, is just what you are looking for.'

"'Why increase your efficiency?' I asked next.

"'That we may, as it were, sell two dollars worth where we sold one before,' says he. 'What size? please.'

"'But I was gittin' interested. 'An' who gets that extra dollar?' says I.

"'Why, our employers, of course. Would you care to—'

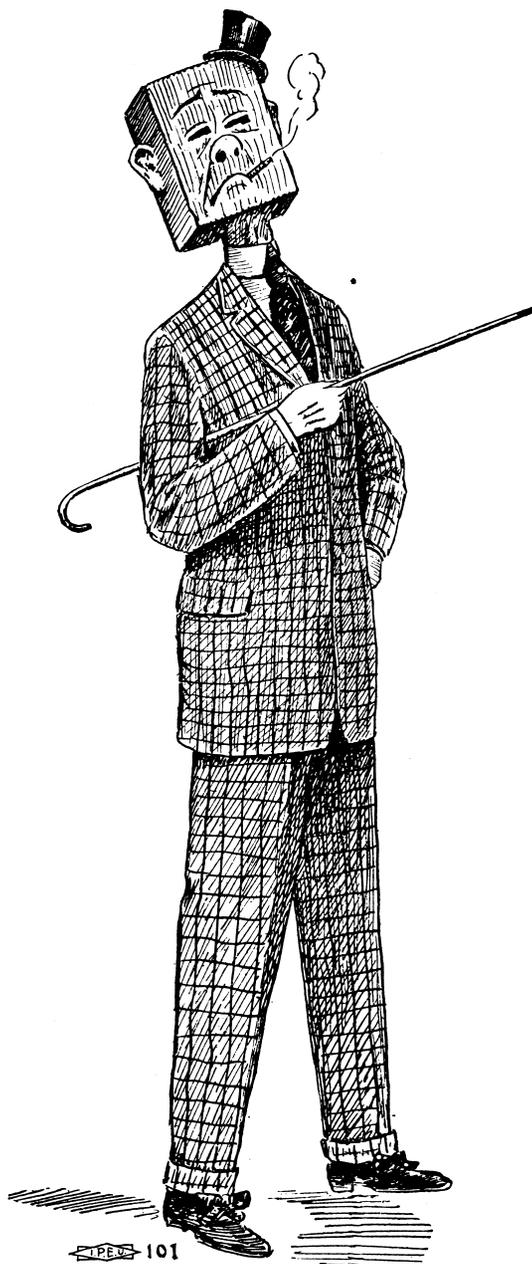
"'Then the boss must pay for your bein' instructed in how to get a feller to spend two dollars when he ain't got but one dollar in his pocket, an' already owes that to somebody else,' says I.

"'You mean our instructions in salesmanship?' the clerk inquired. 'No, our union pays for them out of our general fund. Our employers, however, collect our dues, which they deduct from our salaries. Now, this garment is—'

"'Then the boss ain't opposed to your organizin'?' says I.

"'No, no, not at all,' says he. 'Our leaders and officers are constructive, conservative men, warm friends of our leading merchants; therefore, we are on very friendly terms with our employers, and it is our wish, no less than their's, that this feeling of friendliness and good-will may ever continue. Now, in this garment we have *the bargain* of the season.'

"'And will the boss still be handin' your leaders bokays when you begin curtailin' his profits preparin' to—'



"'What? me join the I. W. W.? Nothing but workingmen belong to it. I am a clerk! I expect a raise pretty soon and then my salary will be twelve dollars per week.'

Mr. Block, whom we have just quoted, is a very common type of working class mutt. He has several side lines of conservative ideas and is always on the job when it comes to defending patriotism, craft unionism, the courts, current morals, the church and so on.

You can meet him face to face in the pages of the *Industrial Worker* published at Spokane, Wash.

"'We do not seek to reduce the profits of our employers,' interrupted the clerk. 'Our merchants are not in business for their health; and we clerks realize the fact that they, as employers, cannot pay us large salaries unless they are getting good returns on their investments.'

"'Then you fellers are what the boss calls 'safe and sane,'" says I.

"'Yes,' says he. 'As I said before, our leaders are constructive, conservative men. Furthermore, we are too intelligent to tolerate in our organization any of those wild-eyed agitators who seek to deprive our business men of their just reward for business ability, enterprise and sagacity,' orated the clerk.

"'I reckon,' says I, 'that the boss has been puttin' in overtime here of late, exercisin' that aforesaid sagacity.'

"'I don't know,' says he. 'Our employers have been spending the past year at their old homes in Europe.'

"'Their sagacity and enterprise ain't on a salary nowadays, then,' says I.

"'Sir?' chirped the clerk, liftin' his eyebrows.

"'The boss ain't gettin' no income now—sorter lettin' his enterprisin' sagacity go to seed, I reckon.'

"'O, they get the returns on their business investments, to be sure. If you do not care to look at these—'

"'I reckon you fellers couldn't run this establishment if you didn't have it arranged so's you could turn the proceeds over to the boss; an' I lows further, that bein' as your leaders are constructive, conservative and all that, that they will take good care of the boss's interests, while he is pasturin' his wonderful sagacity on the green fields of Europe.'

"'Do you wish to look at these—' began the clerk, but I was more interested in constructive sagacities and things—not havin' none of that myself—, than I was in overalls.

"'What else might your enterprisin' union find to do with its constructive abilities?' I interrupted.

"'O, we held a chocolate fudge party last night,' the clerk replied. 'We met at the home of one of our brother clerks and spent a most delightful evening.'

"'I didn't seem to think of anything to say in reply.'

"'We are giving a ball at our hall to-night,' he continued. 'We have engaged the best orchestra in the city and are anticipating a splendid time.'

"'Well, I do say,' says I. 'Now I haven't been to a dance since I was married,—that's been twenty-two years ago, come June; we danced all night till broad daylight in Si Hopkin's barn—Si, he's my father-in-law. Now I'm stayin' in town tonight, an' I'll just—'

"'We will have a select crowd at our ball,' chimed the clerk, with much of that what they call suavity. 'What size? please.'

"'Gimme a 38 jumper, and a 33-36 overall, with the union label on,' says I.

"'We don't handle the union label goods,' says he.

"'You don't?' says I. 'W'y I've been wearin' union label clothes for ten years. See here on my shirt,—that's the union label; an' on my overalls, my shoes, my hat—there ain't much left of my old hat but the holes, but there's the union label under the sweat band on the left side.'

"'Yes, that's it,' says he.

"'Do you know,' says I, 'that little piece of cloth with some ink marks on it, means a whole lot to me. It means that the workers in that shop are united, an' are workin' together—"all for each and each for all"—for the final overthrow of capitalism and the complete emancipation of the workin' class.'

"'Here is just what you want,' the clerk declared, 'a fine garment put out by the Shark & Grafter house.'

"'Um-um,' says I. 'Their employes are on strike now, I believe.'

"'Yes. That is, some of their men are still on strike, others have gone back to work. The strike is practically won now.'

"'Then the men will have won another word in the management of the shop,' says I.

"'The men?'

"'Yes, the men who were on strike.'

"'O, they will go back to work under the same conditions—or worse.'

"'But didn't the men win the strike?'

"'The firm won; the men couldn't possibly have won.'

"'I reckon not,' says I. 'Not with all you other union men scabbin' on 'em.'

"'Scabbing?'

"'Yes.'

"'O, that was their battle. We clerks had settled our grievances, and had signed an agreement with our employers—'

"'Yes, an agreement to scab,' says I.

"'No, no. Not that. You are a farmer, are you not?'

"'Guilty,' says I.

"'Being a farmer,' he continued, 'you naturally could not be expected to understand how we manage the affairs of our union.'

"'I reckon not,' says I.

"'Would you care to look at these garments,' inquired the clerk. 'Just notice how strong the fabric, how well stitched the seams, and the buttons—'

"'How much do you want for 'em?'

I asked.

"'They were one dollar and thirty cents per garment, before the strike,' he replied, 'but the strike was so expensive to the firm,

we've had to mark them up to one-thirty-six per garment, and they are a rare bargain at that money.'

"'Them's the articles,' says I, plunkin' down two-six-bits an' not askin' for change.

"'On the way home I kept thinkin' and thinkin'. Them self same thoughts kept bobbin' up in my mind, just like the villain at the nickle show:

"'How soon will we win workin' class emancipation by constructively caterin' to the capitalist class, an' chocolate-fudgein' the workin' class?'

"'I dunno. I couldn't see the answer to that question—I reckon it was because I'm a farmer.

"'But bad as that was it warn't nothin' to what happened when I got home and Mary Jane seen them clothes. Trouble shore did begin then. An' it ain't settled yet. Mary Jane just declares she will not have the life-blood of workin' wimmen an' children hangin' on a chair by her bed!

"'I dunno. But I'm still wearin' 'em—you bet I am!'

### A LETTER FROM DENVER, JANUARY 7th, 1913.

Comrade Wm. D. Haywood spoke to a packed house Sunday in Normal Hall. All the Socialists were out to welcome the genial miner back to Denver. When he was introduced and walked up the aisle from the rear with a quick, swinging gait, he received an ovation. He talked for two hours, first discussing the conviction of the Iron Workers, expressing sympathy for them. His description of the Lawrence strike took the crowd. The dreadful sabotage committed by them was "Keeping their hands in their pockets," he explained, to their amusement. He thanked the Socialists of Massachusetts and New York, and said they assisted greatly in winning the strike. While advocating industrial unionism (a form of organization I believe in myself) he dwelt at length on the necessity of the working class allying itself with the Socialist Party. Comrade Haywood always comes out strong for the use of the ballot for the workers, his critics to the contrary notwithstanding. As to direct action, Comrade Haywood said, "I am in favor of the sort of 'direct action' that won eight hours for the miners and Typographical Union, and so are you"—and so we are. At the close of his address he was heartily applauded and cheered. Resolutions were then passed declaring that our hearts are with the convicted Iron Workers, expressing doubt of their guilt, and promising assistance in their defense.—Una G. Roberts, M. D.



SCHENECTADY SOCIALISTS WELCOMING LITTLE FALLS STRIKERS AT CITY HALL.

## THE FOURTEEN IN JAIL

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**I**N the Herkimer County jail at Herkimer, N. Y., are fourteen strikers, organizers and speakers—Legere, Bocchini, Vaughn, Hirsh, Lesnicki, Władya, Morlando, Preta, Scitrona, Bianco, Flamina Cornacchio, Furillo and Capuano. They must stand trial on serious charges because the authorities of Little Falls and Herkimer county hold that:

Ten persons who gather together during a strike constitute a "riot."

An open-air meeting in which quotations from the Bible, Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States are read constitutes "an unlawful assemblage."

Speakers who encourage strikers to stand firm but urge them to be peaceful and orderly are guilty of "inciting to riot."

Organizers who are present in an orderly assemblage which is broken up by police and in which two detectives are hurt by unknown persons must face long terms in jail for "assault in the first degree."

Workingmen who are members of a strike committee are conspirators and should be locked up where their influence will not be felt.

If convictions are obtained in these cases then the working class of America might as well abandon all agitation and education

both for political and economic action unless they are prepared to serve from one to ten years in the penitentiary.

The Little Falls strike is over, but the big fight has just begun. The commonest rights of human beings and citizens have once more been annulled and spit upon by the capitalist class and their legal lackeys. Are they going to be allowed to get away

with it? These cases were originally set for the second week in January, but they may be continued. Meantime send your protests to Governor Sulzer at Albany, N. Y., who says he is the "workingman's friend"; to District Attorney Farrell at Iliion, N. Y., and Mayor Shall at Little Falls, N. Y. It is time the voice of labor be heard.



## A RED BRIGADE

**How the I. W. W. of Columbus, Ohio, Collected \$40 for the Little Falls Strikers**

**T**HE accompanying photo will show how Local No. 54, I. W. W., with good results, took advantage of New Year's day to raise funds for the fellow workers on strike at Little Falls, N. Y.

We secured two pots swung on tripods stationed on High street and placed signs in a conspicuous place above them. We sold fifty copies of the REVIEW, all that we had and could have sold five hundred additional copies.

This being our first experience we have learned how to better conduct the next campaign. Local No. 54 has a small membership and the work fell upon the few active rebels that are striving hard to build up an organization, yet, what was lacking in numbers was more than made up in the true revolutionary spirit always found among the Industrial Workers of the World. We operated in reliefs as the day was very cold, especially when standing on the damp sidewalk.

The spirit with which we entered into this fight for justice seemed to permeate the winter atmosphere and become contagious as the day's work netted \$41.35, and after deducting \$1.00 for the expense of the signs, immediately a check was mailed to the strikers for \$40.00.

We secured permission to gather the funds from the Chief of Police, but had he refused we were determined to go ahead and fill up the jails if necessary.

Our experiences were varied and the coins ranged from a one cent piece to a ten dollar check. Little newsboys dropped in their hard earned pennies. Little children contributed, their sweet faces beaming with joy at being able to help along so worthy a cause. Workers, their faces covered with that unmistakable mark of the bitter struggle, dropped in their coins with such remarks: "That's me, keep up the good work," or "Sure, this is our fight." Often during the day there came along the down-and-out with an empty pocket and stomach. These, of course, could not give but assured us they were with us. Even two policemen were seen to contribute.

Upon one side of the pot a fellow worker rang a little bell to attract attention and on the other side another sold REVIEWS, holding open the pages showing the picture of the strikers in jail, explaining the strike and our object in collecting the funds. Naturally we were the center of attraction, this being something never before attempted

upon the streets of this masters' town. We had many arguments during the day, some amusing, others serious. We must relate one in particular.

A bourgeois from Little Falls happened along and, of course, had to give his version of conditions by blaming the strikers. During the course of his remark a big, fat plute dressed in faultless attire appeared upon the scene and lost no time in joining forces with the speaker by saying, "Sure it's their own fault, if they did not spend all they made for booze they could live comfortably and each one buy a home." By this time the crowd had increased, blocking the sidewalk and even standing in the street. A worker in the crowd whom we recognized as a blacksmith, asked, "Why is it that I am in my present condition bordering on poverty all the time? I work six days every week and I don't touch booze." This was too much for the plute. His discomfiture was plainly noticeable and he looked appealingly around expecting someone to come to his rescue, but no answer was forthcoming and the crowd enjoyed itself immensely at his expense. Hot shot after hot shot was poured into him mercilessly and he was seen to edge his way out of the crowd muttering, "It isn't fair, you are all against me. You fellows don't know when you are well off and the d——n I. W. W. is the cause of it all."

Thus we spent the happiest and most satisfactory day in the history of our short existence, fully establishing the fact that the I. W. W. knows how on occasion to adopt original tactics. These tactics are becoming a power in the labor world today and can no longer be resisted. In labor's war for freedom we will continue to grow until the time when we will overthrow the cruel and murderous system and upon the scrap heap of wage slavery establish the Industrial Democracy of Freedom and Justice for the working class.

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

PROFESSOR HENRY GAINES  
HAWN

President of The Speech Arts New York City



*Sense before Sound.  
Strength before Grace.*

**I**T IS well for all students of the Art of Speech to keep these two mottoes constantly in mind, both while practicing and while facing an audience.

The speaker's first duty is to be heard; his second to be understood. The first is a matter of breath control and tone production; the second is dependent upon correct enunciation, pronunciation, pause, emphasis and inflection. My purpose is to attempt to be as clear as possible in explaining the processes and application of each of these elements of speech.

Breathing for the speaker is not so much a matter of amount as of **control**. There is nothing mysterious or difficult about this function. When all is said we can do only two things with the breath, inhale and exhale. Even for life processes (health) the habit of correct breathing is most important, and for the speaker an essential.

## **Exercise:**

Stand with weight on both feet; shoulders thrown well back; lips slightly parted, inhale noiselessly (mentally) counting "1-2-3-4"; during this first inhalation the abdomen must be allowed to become inflated; count (always mentally), "1-2-3-4" a second time, and neither inhale nor exhale; count four again, resuming inhalation, but now allow the chest to lift. This is called the "Separated Breath," and is recommended as of special service. It calls conscious attention to

the act of **deep breathing**, and causes us to fill the lower portions of the lungs before we use the upper chambers. Note the direction to practice these exercises with the lips parted.

In mere life-breathing the lips must be kept closed and the nostrils used for both inhalation and exhalation; but neither singer nor speaker shuts the lips to breathe through the nose.

Before continuing these directions for a complete system of breathing exercises, it may be well to be explicit on two points; the breath must not be **sucked in**; it is a **drinking** process, entirely noiseless; and secondly, the expansion of the abdomen and of the chest must not be muscular, but the effortless result of your inhalation. The chest once inflated, **leave it so**, and from this time on, inhale and exhale on the rhythmical count "1-2-3-4" at the waist-line only. Once in a while it is a good thing after exhaling from the abdomen to continue the letting out of breath by allowing the chest to sink. This will show the quantity of breath which you have on hand as a **surplus**. In art language the extra and unused breath gives what is called a "supported tone," and in speaking gives a sense of ease, a sustaining power.

When quite expert in this exercise, change the count to "1-2-3-4-5" (mentally) and practice accordingly. In other exercises increase the count to 6, etc., up

to 10. If you practice on only the "1-2-3-4" you would find that in speaking you would feel the inclination to inhale after every few words.

These exercises so far are intended to show the process, but when actually speaking you cannot take the time for slow inhalations; they must be made quickly and imperceptibly.

**Exercise:**

Inhale as before; when abdomen and chest are inflated, count audibly "1-2-3-4" (leaving chest up and allowing the abdomen to sink), and immediately drink in as if in a gulp (noiselessly) a full breath and repeat over and over. These simple exercises are all that are needed for acquiring complete control of the breathing apparatus, and prepare us for the next step: tone production.

To be heard loudness of tone is neither necessary nor desirable. It is largely a matter of purity of tone. In a pure tone all the breath is vocalized—that is used in sound production. There is no need of going into the scientific explanation of this fact; but we cannot make it too emphatic that no breath is in any way made manifest in a good tone. Prolong an "O" sound and hold a lighted candle or match close to the lips and you will see that, no matter with what loudness you produce the tone, the flame will continue to burn perpendicularly, and show not the slightest indication of escaping breath. Another test is to hold a mirror close to the mouth, and if your tone is "pure" no haze will show itself on the surface.

**Exercise:**

Breathe as before—form the lips into a circle—say "O", and prolong it as long as the breath in the abdominal region can be comfortably sustained; do this with the candle or mirror, and when either records any breath, mentally reduce the breath pressure.

The first requisite for good speaking—public or private—is good tone. A musician seeks the best instrument obtainable, and wants it kept in tune.

So with the human voice, the most wonderful of instruments, we have the same laws governing tone production.

The strings upon a violin are the least important part of its mechanism; and the same strings used upon one instrument will give only raucous noise, and used upon

another will give music. The controlling influences, then, in tone making are the resonance producing cavities. This is particularly so with the human voice.

Nearly all singing teachers are guilty of this error; they say to their pupils: "Bring that tone forward." I, too, want the tone "brought forward," but not until it has had time to be directed backwards to arouse all possible resonance from the cavities. This directing the tone first backwards is a mental process; the thinking of it as thrown backwards into yourself. The word "resonance" means just that: a re-sounding. In light, the rays thrown backwards to the polished surface are the ones reflected; and in a sound, likewise the vibrations thrown backward into the resonance chambers are the ones which are intensified and made to "ring."

If you want the man furthest away in your audience to hear you, you must think of him as catching your voice on the rebound, not that the tone goes to him from the tip of your tongue, but that it is first re-inforced by being reflected.

Here is a test: Call an imagined passing car. "Hi! Hi! there!" first by directing your voice directly to the motor-man; note the strain in your throat, and the harshness of your tone. Now, relax your throat, and opening the mouth to form a big cavity, yell: "Hi there!" thinking of throwing the tone backward, as if through an opening in the back of your neck. The added amount of tone, and its singing quality will surprise you.

**Exercise:**

Breathe as before. Choose any pitch of voice (mentally); keep all muscles of the throat relaxed; chin a little depressed, and open on the syllable "mo." (The "m" places the tone in the nose cavities), and while repeating "mo-mo-mo" think of the purity of the "O" quality and direct it backwards the moment after the first impulse has been given.

Do this, at first taking a noiseless breath after each "mo" and then after a sequence of several.

Next: Employ such words as "old," "bold," "cold," etc., seeking resonance rather than loudness.

Then employ a spoken sentence: "On thy cold gray stones, O sea." This is the mechanical way in which to train the voice.

# PUBLIC SPEAKING

## The Great Orations of American History

BY

FRANK BOHN



**N**APOLEON once observed that there was but one method of mastering military science—by the careful study of the campaigns of successful generals. Though as much can hardly be said of public speaking, still the study of great historical orations constitutes an essential part in the preparation of a public speaker. In our present work we shall confine ourselves to the most distinguished speeches of American political history. In this we are very fortunate indeed. While the crises in the life of this nation have produced little good poetry and almost no music, they have found expression in an extraordinary number of public speeches which rank with the best the world has produced. These great utterances can be understood and appreciated only in so far as the reader has a basis of sound historical knowledge. Lincoln's Gettysburg address, for instance, is quite meaningless unless the forces struggling for mastery in the Civil War are clearly understood.

During the coming month it is to be hoped that all students pursuing this course may have access to a public library or be enabled to purchase or borrow copies of the speeches herein discussed. They are four in number—James Otis, on the Writs of Assistance; Patrick Henry to the Virginia House of Delegates; Alexander Hamilton before the New York Convention; and Fisher Ames on the Jay Treaty. These four speeches mark the four stages in the development of the political power of the commercial capital-

ist class which ruled America from the outbreak of the War of Independence to the election of Jefferson, in 1800.

James Otis' speech on the Writs of Assistance was made in court against the King's revenue officers in 1761.

Patrick Henry's famous speech made to the Virginia House of Delegates at the outbreak of the Revolution, contains less vital matter than that of Otis. It was purely a call to arms and today sounds quite bombastic. But it is illustrative of the speech-making of that day.

The most important by far, of these four orations is that delivered by Alexander Hamilton in 1788, before the New York State Convention, which met to consider the Federal Constitution. Hamilton was the great constructive statesman of the period of reorganization which followed the break-up of Colonial government. Therefore, his speeches and writings must necessarily be of a totally different character from those which mark the period of revolutionary propaganda. The series of speeches including the one we here mention, turned a Federalist majority in the New York State Convention into a very decided majority.

We are not here concerned with Hamilton's undemocratic attitude toward the mass of people. We must study it as a masterpiece of cogent reasoning from accepted premises. It might be added that the average young socialist speaker will profit much more by a study of speeches of this type than by those, for instance, of Johann Most. Ardor and

destructive criticism is something we are not likely to lack at the outset of our careers as speakers. Sound processes of thinking and constructive argument are qualities much harder to attain. Following this speech of Hamilton read some of his famous papers in the *Federalist*, a volume which will be found on the shelves of every town library.

Fisher Ames' speech on the Jay Treaty, like that of Hamilton, was made in the face of bitter popular opposition. The great mass of the people was crying for war against England; the commercial capitalists, represented in Congress by John Jay, wished a continuance of peace and profits. If a crowd is standing up and shouting almost any empty-minded rant can get it to stand on the chairs and shriek. But to get that crowd to remain quiet long enough to carefully think over the proposition before the house and change its mind—that requires an Alexander Hamilton, or a Fisher Ames.

### **The Study of the United States Constitution.**

Not very long ago an otherwise very intelligent comrade remarked to me that "If we capture the Congress of the United States there is not much need of controlling the Senate." Even those of us who lay very little emphasis upon political action should know enough about the Government of the United States, of the separate states, and of municipalities to speak of them intelligently. Ignorance upon this subject in the ranks of the Socialist party is fraught with very grave danger to the future of our movement. Therefore, if you have the time, read in addition to the chapter in your text-book of political history on the making of the constitution, John Fiske's "Critical Period of American History," and J. Allen Smith's "The Spirit of American Government." The former of these is favorable to the work of the constitutional convention while the latter is critical.

The work this month should begin and end with a careful reading of the Constitution itself. Notice specifically the distinctions between the powers of the Federal Government and those of the state governments. If the Socialist party should

capture all the machinery of government in the state in which you live, what could it do and what could it not do with that machinery, according to the law of the Constitution? Examine the matter of the separation of the powers of the Federal Government into departments and be able to describe the functions of each. Remember that this constitution is in reality only the skeleton of our government—that its flesh and blood has been added by a century and a quarter of national growth and judicial interpretation. Of this more in the future.

A word might be added as regards the attitude of a Socialist in the study of this period. Not until the development of the Socialist movement was the United States Constitution studied as a class document. This criticism has often resulted in a very peculiar and unscientific attitude on the part of Socialists. Many of our critics whose feelings in this matter far outweigh their knowledge of history, somehow adhere to the notion that the constitution was in reality written by a gang of conspirators whose sole motive was antagonism to the poor of that day. When we study the history of a great and triumphant social class, which for the time being governed the processes of social progress, we should conduct our investigations in an understanding and sympathetic manner. During the revolutionary and constitutional period of American history it was absolutely necessary that the commercial capitalists should dominate the situation.

The small farmers of that time were as little capable of organizing the Revolution and writing the constitution as Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and their followers are today able to reorganize the industries of the nation on a Socialist basis. That is, the class which later triumphed under Jefferson still lacked class consciousness, cohesion and political efficiency. The work of the Federalist party under Washington and Hamilton was in general brought to most successful results in a high-minded manner by men who fully grasped the larger problems of the time.

Only a very strong system of government could stand the strain of the class struggles of the century which followed.

In the study of history we must free ourselves from all idealistic notions based upon general concepts of right and wrong. We must also, for the time being, divest ourselves as much as possible of our peculiar class emotions and experience the thoughts and feelings which furnish the motive forces of the great social movements of the past. For wherever we discover social movement we must find in it not only useful knowledge but also inspi-

ration. This is doubly true when our purpose is primarily the appreciation of public speeches which were in themselves great historical forces.

NOTE—The cheapest possible adequate reprint of the great orations has been published by Funk, Wagnalls & Co., in ten small vols., edited by Wm. J. Bryan, and sold in cloth binding for three dollars.

I hope in the near future to edit for Kerr & Co. a single volume of revolutionary orations selected especially for Socialists.—F. B.

## THE PORCUPINE MINERS OF ONTARIO

BY  
J. D. BARRY



ON CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEARS THE WORKERS PARADED THE DISTRICT, CARRYING REVOLUTIONARY EMBLEMS IN A DOZEN LANGUAGES; NO PATRIOTIC BANNERS WERE TO BE SEEN, THE WORKERS KNOWING NO FLAG BUT THE REVOLUTIONARY FLAG OF THE WORKING CLASS.

**T**HE Porcupine Miners' Union, No. 145, of the Western Federation of Miners, is on strike at Porcupine, Ontario, against a reduction of wages and an increase in hours.

On August first, when the mining companies posted a notice of the wage reduction, the local organization of the miners protested and applied to the Minister of Labor to appoint a Board of Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation

Act. The mine companies altogether disregard this law which provides a 30-day notice must be given of any change in wages or working hours.

As the miners showed an intention to fight, the companies postponed the cut till September first and a board was appointed to investigate. The board (as has been the way of arbitration or investigation boards from time immemorial) dawdled and dallied for about two months. The

mine owners got their report promptly, but the union boys got theirs ten days later, when the companies posted notices that the reduction would take place at once. As usual the "Uninterested" third party was in the service of the Bosses.

The miners held a mass meeting and resolved to demand the union scale of wages and the adoption of an eight hour work day and decided to strike. Not only did the boys affected walk out, but every miner in the whole camp joined them and made the tie-up complete.

Immediately the mine owners wired for Thiele detective agents and these thugs began to appear with guns and clubs prepared to beat the strikers regardless of methods. Fortunately they soon overplayed their hands and the general public refused to stomach the rowdies who were on trouble bent. Also the Ontario police held aloof. They were not only disgusted but jealous of these bragging looters who were kicking in on their own graft. So the plug-uglies abandoned the field and the police took to scab herding, and are saving the mining companies a lot of money thereby and placing the burden upon the tax-

payers who have no interest in the struggle between the bosses and the men.

The mining companies not affected by the findings of the board, are entering proceedings against any of their ex-employees that they can reach for **ILLEGALLY QUITTING WORK**, also against the active members of the Union for "inciting others to go on strike."

All of the forces of the government, except the military, are now lined up against us. It is easy to distinguish friend and foe. The Porcupine boys, who speak in a dozen different tongues, are standing together as one man. After five weeks of strike, their ranks still remain unbroken. The mining companies have scoured all over eastern Canada and the adjoining states, but have been unable to get competent men to fill the places of the strikers.

The line-up of all the existing social institutions against the workers is showing the boys the class character of society better than a million words could have done. Strikes are wonderful eye-openers and this is going to be a great benefit to the strikers when the final conflict comes.

## A CALL FOR HARMONY

It is with the deepest regret that I have read the attacks upon Comrade Haywood which have appeared in the National Socialist. It fills me with amazement to see such a narrow spirit, such an ignoble strife between two factions which should be one, and that, too, at a most critical period in the struggle of the proletariat. What! Are we to put difference of party tactics before the desperate needs of the workers? Are we no better than the capitalist politicians who stand in the high places and harangue about petty matters, while millions of the people are underpaid, underfed, thrown out of work and dying? While countless women and children are breaking their hearts and ruining their bodies in long days of toil, we are fighting one another. Shame upon us! The enemy is at our very doors, and the hand of the destroyer does its fell work, while we leave the victims helpless, because we think more of our own theories—theories that have not even been tested! It is well for us to disagree and discuss our differences fully and vigorously. But it is stupid to make the issues personal. If the points of controversy are ever so weighty, they are not so great as to justify the mischief which springs from the quarrels of Comrades. How can the workers, whom we urge to unite, look to us Socialists for guidance if we fail to unite? What are we organized for? What is our chief bond of unity? What is our avowed object? The welfare of the working class and the abolition of capitalism. By our fidelity to the working class and to our ultimate purpose we are to be tested. Our rise or fall depends, not upon theories of party tactic, but upon what we do or fail to do in the practical contest. There are many ways to work for the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But those who hope for that commonwealth and work for it, those who are on the workers' side of the battle are our Comrades. They can never cease to be our Comrades, even though they withdraw from our party, or are dismissed from our party. We are the friends of all who serve the worker, of all who labor for the social revolution, for the uplifting and enlightenment of all men. When will the champions of the oppressed unite, and thus hasten the day of deliverance? With New Year's greeting, I am faithfully yours, HELEN KELLER, Wrentham, Mass.



HOPEFUL EMIGRANTS ON THEIR WAY TO THE "LAND OF THE FREE."

# Capitalist Agriculture in Argentina

By ERNESTO F. DREDENOV

**T**HE Argentine Republic is comparatively a very young country, its rapid development dating back only about 25 years. As the country depends mostly upon agriculture and as only one-third of the total area is under cultivation, one should think the conditions for the small farmer and farm laborer ought to be excellent.

But the man who believes that, forgets that capitalism is near to its climax and therefore has its claws upon everything.

How different was the colonization of the United States some 60-70 years ago, when capitalism was in its early stage of development, from the present day well organized capitalistic colonization in Argentina.

In the United States at that time anyone who had strong arms could go out west and occupy a piece of free land, more than sufficient to nourish him and his family. In Argentina, although two-thirds of the country are "unoccupied," there is no more room for a man with only strong arms, except as a beast of burden.

Today, big land companies, mostly branches of railroad companies and backed by an enormous capital, send their agents out west to select immense areas suitable for agricultural purposes. As these companies go hand in hand with crooked government officials, they obtain large territories practically for a sandwich. As soon as they are in possession of the property title, they build a railroad across their estates,

which, of course, raises a hundred fold the value of the land. When the company considers the prices high enough, it sells the land at public auction.

In order to stimulate keen competition, the sale is advertised in every newspaper during three months in advance. On the day of the auction the company runs special trains, free of charge, even if the place is several hundred miles from the federal capital, Buenos Aires. Secret agents (drivers) do the rest in artificially pushing the prices. Now as in Argentina it is necessary to have at least several hundred acres of land to do farming in an economical way, it is clear that the man who has nothing more than strong arms, will be out of place, even if the land is sold on easy payments.

No doubt there are thousands of wealthy men who came to the country without a cent; but this was 20 or 30 years ago, when 100 acres didn't cost more than one costs today.

Suppose a man after a number of years has been successful enough to become owner of a small farm, he still has a hard struggle against capitalism, in which he finally must lose. The big landowner who can afford to use the most perfected and powerful machinery, is enabled to produce the cereal, or most other agricultural products at a lower cost than his small neighbor and therefore can sell them at a lower price than the latter. Here, like everywhere in the economical field, the strong tries to destroy the weak.

Also from another side is the existence of the small landholder threatened. If the capitalists do not control his ground, they certainly control its products. At the present time there are about six big cereal buying concerns, so it may happen that the agent of one concern offers a few cents more for a bushel than another. But before long the world's cereal trust will be organized and then the days of the small farmers are counted. The trust offers prices which just allow a living to the farmer, who is forced to sell his products to the trust or else incubate them. As the price must be based upon the cost of production of the farmer's method, the big landowners escape again because they make still good profits on account of their economical way of tillage.

In no time in the past have conditions for exploitation in agriculture been so favorable as at the present day, and all the so-called progress in this line during the last centuries were for the interest of the exploiters. During the period of slavery, the slaveholder had to nourish the slaves and care for them during the winter when there was no work, or in time of sickness. The wage slaves of today have to tramp over the country during winter and beg for the permission to work or for a piece of bread.

The conditions become sometimes so untenable in Argentina during the winter, that thousands of workmen leave the country. In July, 1912, the emigrants exceeded even the number of the newcomers by 1,500. The steamship companies promptly take advantage of this state of things and charge as an inducement only \$22 for the passage from Europe but \$36 to Europe, because a good many of the immigrants are bound to return by any means.

On the other hand, the present day means of communication and operations of commerce make it possible for the capitalist to exploit millions of acres of land without the least trouble for himself.

He knows, perhaps, no more about agriculture than a cat does about Sunday. He may live in Buenos Aires, Paris or Bermuda enjoying life to the limit, while his manager whom he interests in a small percentage of the net profits, will arrange everything for him.

Under these conditions big companies are formed to still more intensify the exploitation of the land, which are therefore better adapted to outdo the small farmers. To this end only lately three land companies have organized—Sociedad Forestall Lda, the Cia de Tierras de Santa Fe and Sociedad Quebrachales de Santiago—have joined their forces together; they own 2,000 square leagues, more than 12,000,000 acres of land. Argentina imported during 1912, \$6,000,000 worth of the most up-to-date agricultural machinery to be used on these monstrous estates.

There are a good many ranches of 50,000 to a 100,000 acres that use several hundred men during the summer months. The best ranch the writer found during his long journey through Argentina, is one of 150,-



THE MOTOR OF A MOTOR WAGON DRIVING A THRESHING MACHINE.

An Important Factor in Fighting the Small Farmer. Besides the work of any ordinary wagon, an electric motor, or mechanical milking system, to cut wood, to pump water, or to do any other imaginable work where motor power is necessary.

000 acres in the most fertile region of southern Santa Fe. The workers got \$26 during the six summer months, of which \$10 were kept back until the summer was over, so that those who left before received only \$16 a month. The bosses called this arrangement a kind of a saving bank, but it certainly was something else. The most striking difference on this ranch was between the horse stables and the men's sleeping quarters. The former were high and airy buildings, while the latter was a small room without windows, where three "beds" (two beams and three boards), are placed one above the other. The only excuse for these bad conditions is that the owner hasn't spare room on his ranch. Horses cost money and men don't. This explains the difference.

The owner of the ranch, the Norwegian consul and a very wealthy man, is the same man who financed the South Pole expedition. I wonder whether Amundsen, who stayed for some time on that ranch, found out who really financed the discovery of the South Pole.

On these big ranches hardly any women are employed except as cooks, so only single men are accepted and if they are married their wives must stay away. Only a few watchmen, whose little houses are scattered over the estates, are allowed to keep their families with them.

Here, like everywhere in the world, Socialism will come too late to break up the family. As a consequence of these unnatural conditions, there is a house of tolerance at every second or third railroad station

where this system of capitalistic agriculture is in practice. At some stations it is, beside the shanty of the policeman, the only house in the neighborhood. And as a true capitalist country the Argentine Government asks licenses ranging from \$500 to \$5,000 a year. Nobody must be surprised, then, that it happens that immigration officials offer to young newcomers girls, easy positions with nice dresses and plenty of money.

Not always do the ranch owners refuse married people. For instance, down in the territories of Santa Cruz or Chubut in the sheep raising regions, they are welcomed. On account of the difficult traveling, married couples do not move away as readily as single men, when they are tired of the loneliness in the Patagonian steppes.

Another form of capitalistic agricultural exploitation are the so-called "Colonias" which rent out their land in parts of 200 to 1,000 acres. The rent usually has to be paid half in advance, so that the owner is always in safety, no matter whether there is good or bad harvest. For all debts the renter incurs he must pay 12 per cent interest.

The writer of this article has been several months in the administration of such a colonia and was witness of an incident which showed most evidently that the renters are robbed of the fruits of their work like the wage slaves. The proprietor of said colonia, which aggregated about 90,000 acres (who owns in all more than one-half million acres in several parts of the country), bought that land some 25 years ago for less than one-thousandth of its present

valuation. Laborers of probably all European nations who built a railroad across it from the sea coast, brought it to its present worth.

A renter on this colonia had very bad harvests for two years in succession and, of course, the poor harvest of the third year wasn't sufficient to pay his debts. As the renter was also heavily in debt with the storekeeper, the majordomo (manager) ordered him to bring his wheat to the colonia's barn, and appointed an assistant to the effect that the order was carried out. The renter who considered his debts with the storekeeper, who provides him on credit with the means of living during the winter, started to bring at least a part of the wheat to the latter, which the assistant reported at once to the administration. When the majordomo arrived, drunk at night, and heard of this crime he threatened to put in the renter the fear of death. He had two horses saddled and went out with an assistant into the dark night to the shanty of the renter. Arrived there he actually discharged his army Colt twice into the roof of the poor man's home, who came out to answer the two shots. Thereupon the majordomo and his man slept upon the wheat bags in order to prevent their being taken away during the night. The next morning the wheat was brought to the depot of the administration.

As the value of the wheat wasn't sufficient to pay the rent for the last three years, the majordomo gave orders to the sheriff in the next village to seize the belongings of the poor farmer, that is to say, to do the robbing "legally." A few days later the sheriff came, accompanied by a policeman armed with a rifle, and a whole gang started for the renter's home. The latter was absent and only his wife, his young daughter and a few children were at home.

The woman protested and the children cried, but nothing could help. On the contrary, when the poor woman in her excitement tried to prevent the sheriff from opening the corral of the horses, the policeman pushed her against the breast so that she nearly fell to the ground. The wolves drove away all the horses they could gather, 21 in all, a binder, two wagons and a number of harnesses.

So it happened in 1912 in Canada Ma-

rriano in Argentina, where millions of acres are waiting to be broken up. On that particular colonia or immediate neighborhood about 25 or 30 seizures have been made; in whole Argentina they probably amounted to tens of thousands among the farmers during the harvest.

Last year (1912) two regular farmers' strikes occurred consecutively in Argentina, during which a good many farmers emigrated to Brazil or Uruguay.

The first strike started in July in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe, and lasted over three months, and the second one started at the beginning of November in the province of Cordova. It is not ended at the time of writing this. Although most farmers had contracts for several years, they went on strike. Why? Because they had nothing to lose. Many have had their harvests seized several times; one, Matias Tustrivo by name, even seven times.

Best will be understood as to how these people are sucked by bringing up a few of the demands formulated by the striking farmers:

1. To be free to sow the seed they consider best.
2. To be free to thresh their cereal with the machine they judge most advantageous.
3. To be free to sell the harvest to whom they like.
4. To be allowed to raise poultry, six pigs and the necessary number of milk cows for their exclusive use without giving part of it to the owner.
5. Obligation to the owner to secure a shelter, etc., etc. (Newspaper *La Argentina*, August 4, 1912.)

To make a worthy finish of this agricultural exploitation we reprint without comment a report of the Buenos Aires *Standard* of February 15, 1912, which is certainly no labor paper:

"The Argentina press denounces that slavery practically exists in the North. This is in obrages or plantations of the Chaco and the yerbales. There, it is said, hundreds of lives are sacrificed annually to make a little extra profit. The men, owing to distance from the seats of labor supply, go on contract and once there are sweated with impunity and under threats of force. They cannot get at any official to complain and cannot escape, as traveling alive in the



MEETING OF STRIKING FARMERS IN SAN JOSE DE LA ESQUINA.

forest means death by starvation, Indian attacks or wild beasts. The Department of Public Instruction has officials there who have called attention to this slavery. Orphans are enslaved and nothing is done to

improve or educate them. The National Labor Department, as usual, has no knowledge of what is going on and limits itself to sending emigrants to places whence there is no return."

## LETTER FROM JAPANESE COMRADE

(The following letter was received from a well-known Japanese comrade whose name we are not publishing for fear of the consequences to him.)

Dear Comrades:

It is nearly eleven months ago since I wrote you. I remember I wrote you about a big strike in the city of the street railway company. There were arrested over 80 strikers and I was arrested with four other comrades on the 15th of January last. Two of them were released but three of us were kept in prison 110 days to get us punished. I shall not give you here much of prison experiences for it is all the same everywhere except ours are more barbaric, often brutal in treatment of criminals. Our prisons are all built in European style of wing systems surrounded by high brick walls and wardens and officers are in the military

discipline. Rules and regulations of the prisoners are also modeled after the western, but they are mostly only in form, observed in the interest of not prisoners but of officers.

Well, I got five months' imprisonment with hard labor. I began to serve my term on the 7th of May at Sagamo prison; then after two weeks was transferred to Chiba prison. It is one of the worst prisons where the most dangerous criminals are kept in separate cells. It was a very rainy and nasty day when we were transferred through awful roads in a gang of fifty criminals, handcuffed very tightly, hardly

able to move our hands. It is about thirty miles from the city of Tokyo, where the Sagamo prison is, to Chiba where Socialists have suffered in the past and seven of whom are still there.

At Chiba, I occupied a single cell and worked on wood shaving tape, which is exported to Europe for making hats. It is, of course, contract labor. We worked in the month of May 13 hours, ten in day time and three at night. In June, it is increased to 13½ hours. A daily task imposed is 300 feet of the tape. If you cannot do the required task, your food is reduced indefinitely until you do the work and this is on an average of once a month. I was condemned thus, being unable to do the task for two months after a trial of 40 days. Food is of 70 per cent barley and 30 per cent rice, hardly enough to satisfy hunger. Daily food is served with some sort of vegetables worth just 7-10 of one cent in American money. It costs the state to feed one criminal about 2 cents a day. But to give an idea to you: A pound of bread costs 4 cents and a pint of milk 5 cents in Tokyo. Salt costs in retail about \$2.80 on 100 pounds. So you see the prisoners' food is not inviting.

Twice a week we were supposed to have baths, about five minutes each time, and 10 to 15 minutes exercise daily, provided it is fine weather and a dry yard. If it is wet or rainy, we are kept any number of days in our own cells without exercise at all. In a little while I disliked to get out of the cell, my health was so undermined and I had no desire or strength to take exercise. I could not get water to wash my face

daily. In fifty days I got three times enough water to wash my face and mop the floor (wooden) of my cell. The rest of the days I got along without water. I asked many times for water, but in vain. I got only about two pints of lukewarm water to drink. With it I wet my towel and wiped my face through the heat of summer days.

It was almost unbearable. It was terrible to hear the cries and weepings of prisoners when they are whipped, fist-cuffed, kicked or trodden down and knocked with a sabre. To hear these cries that come from next or opposite cells is heart-rending. I may make some mistakes, be put in the same treatment. But fortunately I was not punished in this manner. Of course, this brutality is utter violation of the prison discipline. It, however, goes on from day to day in this manner.

On the 27th of September I got out by the amnesty granted to political criminals—just nine days earlier than the full term of five months. I got out the prison in fairly good health but very frail and soon my health broke down and I suffered much and am still too weak to do much work. The unnatural life I led in the prison and such a change caused the break-down. I am now worn out and used up, although I am struggling to better my health under strained conditions, financially and socially. In the two months since I got out of prison, I appeared only once at a public meeting to speak.

Socialists here are oppressed and dogged by the police, but we are all doing our best.

Hearty greetings to our American comrades in the revolution.

A COMRADE.



# SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

III.—Continued.

## *The Genesis of Pure-and-Simplism.*

Lassale, accordingly, organized, in 1863, the Universal German Workingmen's Union, and through this carried on a vigorous propaganda of his views above outlined. The Lassaleans, after his death in 1864, emphasized still more his attitude toward trade unions, and his advocacy of political organization on the part of the workers. His *indifference* to labor organization became intense *hostility* on the part of his successors, and the fight for the ballot became the all-absorbing aim of the entire Lassalean movement until it merged in the united Social Democracy in 1875 at the Gotha Convention.

The Eisenachers, that is the strictly Marxian section of the Socialist movement, were far more favorably inclined to the trade unions and helped a great deal in their formation and development. Their parliamentary creed, if any they had, was rather negative in character; far from showing the fervor and persistence in the purely parliamentary aspect of the movement for which the Lassaleans were noted, the Eisenachers were either lukewarm or downright averse to pure-and-simple politics.

For a long time before the Eisenachers fused with the Lassaleans, the former and especially those of them who stood nearest to the "two old men" in London (Marx and Engels), harbored, deep down in their Socialist conscience, a sense of suspicion with regard to parliamentary action; they foresaw its treacherous pitfalls of compromise, and Liebknecht used to say, "Parlamentieren heisst Pak-tiren"—"Parliamentary action is compromise." But in the course of this period up to 1875 the Lassalean emphasis on political action in the parliamentary

sense became more and more pronounced and put its dominant impress upon the whole German Socialist movement.

We may say that Lassaleanism in entering the movement became as a strong leaven for brewing the over-stressed devotion to the ballot or acted as *one* of the chief levers that gave the Social Democracy a decided swing and tip down to the parliamentary scale. The Eisenachers, though outwardly victorious over the Lassaleans, whom they have seemingly absorbed beyond recognition, really swallowed a powerful dose of Lassalean blindness to proletarian class action on the economic field; the Marxians were spiritually conquered.

This Lassalean conquest found its classic expression in Kautsky's commentary to the Erfurth Program of the Social Democratic party adopted in 1891. Kautsky says there:\* "The active interest of the workers in politics must sooner or later lead . . . to the formation of their own independent party, the *labor party*. This party forms the keystone to the organization of the proletariat. *Its economic organizations, no matter how far permeated by the consciousness that the interests of all proletarians are identical, must primarily serve to guard the special interests of the separate branches of the working class. The organization of the whole proletariat as a class . . . is possible only through its political organization as an independent labor party.* (Italics outside of the words "labor party" and "class" are mine.)

We must now turn back to the other factors that helped still more in fostering

\*See "Grundsätze und Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie, Erläuterungen zum Erfurter Program," 1904, p. 21.

the pure-and-simplist credo professed by the Lassaleans. The Franco-Prussian war was over and brought forth what the German bourgeoisie needed: a united "fatherland," and the abortive Prussian brand of a constitution. The workers gained a modest dose of civic rights and some approach to manhood suffrage, and so they threw themselves into the political fray with all their fervor and all their proverbial racial thoroughness.

Capitalism being then in its infant stage, its political tool, the bourgeois state, was, of course, correspondingly weak and seemed easy of capture. The workers seemed economically hopeless as a class, but they now had the franchise and could, presumably, outvote the bourgeoisie and vote in the Socialist commonwealth. It seemed quite plausible to assume that since the workers constituted the *majority of the nation* they were, or would soon *eo ipso*, become the *majority of the voters*.

This assumption, as we shall see in a future chapter, is sheer groundless hypothesis, an untenable theory in violent clash with modern facts, or pure myth. But this myth still forms the unconscious basis of pure-and-simplism even at the present time, and so it is far more natural that it was tacitly assumed at the period in question as an ultimate fact. All it was thought imperative for the workers to do was to organize into a political party of their own, carry on vigorous political campaigns, and send more and more representatives to the Reichstag.

At this Imperial talk-shop the delegation of the proletariat was to vote against the military budget and all other legislation for maintaining and strengthening the bourgeoisie state, fight from the tribune *against* militarism and *for* all the immediate demands outlined in the party programs. These demands as adopted later at the Erfurth Convention in 1891, were:

Universal suffrage irrespective of sex, and the secret ballot; proportional representation preceded by periodical redistricting of the empire for electoral purpose in connection with the census; biannual parliaments; elections to coincide with legal holidays; remuneration for elected representatives; abolition of all kinds

of political disfranchisement; direct legislation; provincial and municipal home rule; election of executive officers by popular vote and their responsibility to the people; physical education and military training of the young; militia as a substitute for the standing army; questions of war and peace to be decided by parliament; arbitration of international conflicts; abolition of all restrictions of the freedom of speech and assembly; abolition of all laws making women inferior to men in their civil and political capacities; separation of church and state and abolition of all public subsidies for maintenance of the church and religion; secularization of schools and compulsory state education; free administration of justice and legal defence facilities; popular election of judges; the right of appeal; compensation to persons innocently prosecuted, arrested or convicted; abolition of capital punishment; free medical and obstetrical service and medicines; free funerals; graduated income and property tax and the duty of self-assessment; progressive inheritance tax; abolition of all indirect taxes; an 8-hour work day as a maximum; prohibition of employing children under 14 years of age; prohibition of night work except where strictly necessary, a continuous period of rest of at least 36 hours each week for every worker; Imperial and provincial governmental bureaus and labor chambers for inspecting industrial establishments, investigating and regulating conditions of work in city and country; thorough industrial hygiene; equalization as to civic and political right of agricultural laborers and domestics on a par with industrial workers; guaranteed right of assembly and organization; state insurance of all workers and their decisive participation in the management.

And so our German comrades went into politics to the point of almost neglecting the economic side of the movement to such an extent that as late as 1900 the number of German workers organized in trade unions reached only 700,000, and 300,000 of these, that is 43 per cent, were of the kind that is caught in the snare of Catholic priests and bourgeois foxes of the Hirsh-Dunker stripe! Forty-three per cent of them led by reactionary scabherders! But the parliamentary end of the movement was doing a "land-office" business; one election district after another was wrested by our comrades from the bourgeois parties.

Rapid progress, though not nearly so fast, marked the history of parliamentary Socialism across the Rhine in France and in the rest of western Europe. The political prospects seemed brilliant; the Socialist pulse began to beat at a high fever; conquest loomed invitingly big and seduc-

tively near. The "political dictatorship of the proletariat" seemed to advance with giant strides, nearer and nearer, and Socialists felt they were on the eve of the Social Revolution rapidly hatching its way through the great political shell at the Reichstag with the Social Democratic delegation acting as mid-wife.

In 1877, a year before the "Socialist Law," that is the draconian laws of repression passed by the Bismarck regime against the Social Democrats, "a part of the German Social Democracy," says Kautsky\*—was lulling itself in the most daring illusion; the hardest part seemed to have been overcome and many already saw the day coming when a social democratic majority in the German Reichstag would decree the inauguration of the "Socialist state," and racked their brains about how to carry it out in the simplest and most painless manner."

The scheme of pure-and-simplism gained more and more in force in spite of the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law, under which our German comrades were hounded and baited like outlaws. The movement grew under this martyrdom; heroic enthusiasm rose higher and higher, and victory followed victory at the polls, until, in 1899, the Anti-Socialist Law capitulated before the onslaught and grit of the Social Democracy. The end of repression revived the parliamentary side of the movement and gave it new elasticity, a new springy, buoyant force and added speed. Higher and higher rose the political tide of the Social Democracy; seat after seat was gained until their number reached the 110 mark and the Socialist votes cast swelled up to over 4,000,000.

This continued success on the political field could not, and did not, fail to impart cumulative force to the pure-and-simplist credo and relegate the economic movement more and more to the background, to a very subordinate or subsidiary place in the great struggle for the ultimate emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and for achieving substantial economic improvements within the frame of capitalism.

The program was clear. The Socialist representatives in parliament were to skirmish with the political retainers of the bourgeoisie for obtaining political and economic reforms of vital interest for the workers until the "reds" became the parliamentary majority with Comrade Bebel or his successor as speaker. At this dramatic point our comrades would decree the ban on private property in the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and knock out the whole of capitalism by vigorous raps of the red speaker's gavel. This was to be done either at one stroke or by installments, industry by industry, as soon as the capitalists should have brought the industry in question to the required degree of concentration and efficiency and ready for socialization.

We must not forget that according to the pure-and-simplist scheme this trifling feat of expropriating capitalism was to be engineered and carried out by a parliamentary mechanism *without* the intervention of *the proletarian producers economically organized as a class*, that is *without the economic action of the proletariat or an indispensable and decisive factor in this gigantic process or irrespective of whether or not such a proletariat previously and adequately organized and industrially trained for this purpose was already in the field*. Having accomplished this feat, this parliamentary majority would constitute itself into the Socialist state with all its paraphernalia and trappings known to the bourgeois state.

The state would not *die out*, as Engels and other Marxian backnumbers maintained, but, on the contrary, would *purely and simply* be given a new long lease of life along with Socialist ministries, bureaus, judiciary, police and all other governmental clap-trap with a Socialist badge. This Socialist state would then proceed to organize, maintain, direct and run, from the same central legislative and executive powerhouse, the whole complex process of social production and distribution on a collectivist basis. As to where the *workers themselves* come in as a factor or what part their present or future economic organizations will play in this complex business, in what manner, and

\*See "Friedrich Engels, Sein Leben, Sein Wirken, Seine Schriften," p. 23.

to what extent they will have a say in the matter,—on all these points the pure-and-simplists' scheme is modestly reserved.

This eloquent silence is occasionally broken by some pure-and-simplist in a vague and timid hint that the workers will probably have some control in the shop in a sort of "collective bargaining" with the Socialist state as to wages and hours of work. Beyond this the exponents of the above scheme, even the boldest and hardiest among them, do not venture; they prefer to be non-committal.

On the political side of this control, however, pure-and-simplism is quite explicit. The workers *elect* this huge Socialist machine, at certain periods vote for these functionaries, heads, chiefs and all subordinates of the various departments of the government and from time to time *recall* them in case of misbehavior in office. The initiative, referendum and recall thus constitute, according to pure-and-simplism, a sufficient amount of control on the part of the workers and an adequate guarantee that the whole regime, as above outlined, will be free of abuse, despotism, and incompetence, and will insure the maximum of productive and distributive efficiency of the work done for society by the Socialist state.

The above scheme gradually gained acceptance in the German Social Democracy and was afterwards taken over almost verbatim into the political platforms and tactical dogmas of all the other Socialist

parties on the European Continent. Bebel and other comrades in and out of the Reichstag and other parliaments, it is true, were tactful enough to answer their bourgeois opponent, that they, the Socialists, could not and would not give an itemized account of the detailed workings of the future Socialist state; still, the outline of pure-and-simplism as given above is pretty well understood and accepted as good Socialist credo, whether officially in the various Socialist parties, or by pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialists in general.

We must add what pure-and-simplism tacitly maintains with regard to the present labor organizations, the craft unions and the co-operative societies, as well as industrialist unions. These organizations are regarded as the *left* arm of the entire movement, which means that they continue their small humdrum work within the frame of capitalism; they fight for crumbs from the capitalist board, for "a fair wage," for small improvements in the conditions of work, and so forth. The great work of the Social Revolution and even the forcing of radical economic reform is to be done for them by their political delegations in parliament.

In the next installment we shall take up the question as to what was the consequent effect of this marvelous growth of the pure-and-simplist credo upon the general development of the European Socialist and labor movement, and shall see how this credo worked in practice.

## THE ARMY AND NAVY

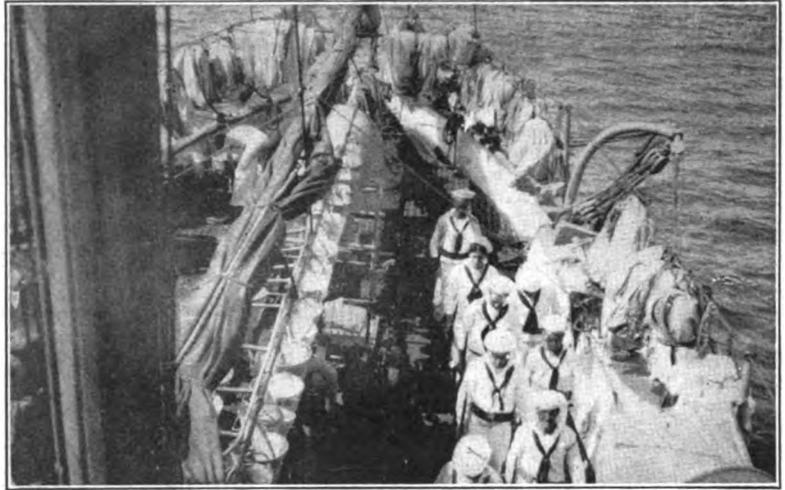
**D**URING the past month our mails have continuously rained clippings from the capitalist dailies exposing the terrible conditions in the U. S. Navy. So much material has come in that we shall only be able to quote from a few letters and clippings.

The *Virginia Pilot* writes that the men in the Navy are complaining of short rations and that there is likely to be an investigation involving every ship of the Atlantic Fleet. Graft irregularities are alleged in the purchase of commissary supplies. We

are not at all surprised that attempts are being made to curtail the food supply of the marines who are only hired and paid in the interests of the great exploiters of the working class and we distinctly hope conditions will continue to grow so much more prosperous for the purchasing agents and so much worse for the enlisted men that neither panics nor industrial depressions may be able to force them into joining the service.

From another clipping we learn that Floyd Richer, a sailor on the battleship

New Jersey committed suicide rather than continue serving in the Navy. This young man was a mechanical draftsman for a large manufacturing company with a bright future before him. But, fascinated by the stories of the interesting travels of sailors, he enlisted. A few months of the drudgery and routine of the life sufficed.



WASH DAY—AFTER SCRUBBING THE CLOTHES.

Says the *Post*: "Hugh Faulkner, private in the sixth infantry, stationed at the Presidio, is at the General Hospital in a dangerous condition from drinking carbolic acid. Faulkner took the poison with suicidal intent in a fit of despondency because he had enlisted."

From the *Telegraph Republican*, Pinesville, Ohio, we quote passages from a letter written by a private who was one of those sent to quell the disturbance in Nicaragua and pave the way for more capitalist grabs there:

"The other fight we had was at Leon, where the rebels had agreed to surrender to us and turn over their arms and ammunition. We were lined up in front of a church ready to receive the guns; the rebels were in a line facing us about 75 yards away. One of our officers, Lieut. Long, was conferring with two or three rebels midway between the two lines. Everything was quiet until one of the rebels drew a bolo and made a pass at the marine officer, who jumped back and shot him with his revolver; even then everything might have gone all right if one of the rebels had not started to wave his arms and make a speech to the rest of his tribe. No one knows whether he was trying to quiet his men or was urging them to attack us; anyhow his men began to assume a rather aggressive attitude, so this same *marine officer quietly put a bullet through the agitator or pacifier*, Lord only knows which! *Just as the officer fired, all the marines lined up and did the same with-*

out command. They seemed to have a hunch that that was the psychological moment. *Maybe we didn't pump the lead into that bunch. We killed over a hundred and forty before they got their breath, and all of our officers were yelling for us to cease firing, but nothing doing; we continued to fire as long as we could see anything to shoot at.* When we got through we discovered that four more of our men were killed, two marines and two sailors. No one had seen them fall or heard them cry out.

All reports show that the Navy is now some 6,000 short of the needed number of men. The *New York Times*, Dec. 29th, says:

In the big office building at 153 West Twenty-third Street one whole floor is rented by the United States Government as an office for the Publicity Bureau of the Recruiting Service of the Navy. There Commander George C. Day, U. S. N., is supreme, and under him he has a corps of picked enlisted men whose duties involve among other things the sending out of about 150,000 letters every week to young men in various parts of the country, to whose attention is called the advantages offered by an enlistment in the navy.

In the record rooms of the bureau are the names of more than half a million American boys and young men who have been reported to the navy as good material for the enlisted personnel of the service afloat. These names have been sent in by postmasters, by enlisted men who have sent in the names of friends, and by friends of the service everywhere in the country. At present the enlisted strength of the navy is about 4,000 men short, but the

indications are that within the next few months the full enlisted strength will have been reached, for the recruiting forces are bringing the average of 1,200 young men into the service every month.

Whenever Commander Day or one of his subordinates receives the name of a likely youngster who may turn out to be a good bluejacket, a letter is mailed immediately to that young man, in which he is politely asked to consider the advisability and advantages of a tour of service in the navy.

The following is a quotation from *The World*:

Each day hundreds of advertisements inserted in *The World* by young men in search of work are answered by recruiting officers of the United States Marine Corps.

The fact has been called to the attention of *The World* by a mother, who says in her letter, dated Dec. 5:

"My son put an advertisement in your worthy paper yesterday and this is an answer he received from the United States Marine Corps. I think it is a disgrace. Why should the United States issue such advertisements as they do and what is their purpose?"

"Are they trying to entice boys to leave home? I can just imagine where good boys disappear when such propositions are offered them. Kindly give this your attention and you will do many a mother justice in the future."

The letter was signed by Mrs. Leavy of No. 1429 Fifty-seventh street, Brooklyn. The letter to her son was as follows:

Marine Corps Recruiting Office, No. 24 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 4, 1912.

Dear Sir: I noticed your advertisement in the paper this morning and am writing you thinking that you might not have been successful in securing employment, or, if you have obtained a position, that it is not satisfactory to you.

How many young men in this and other cities get a place only to lose it in time through the laying off of help or from other causes? How many have to advertise for a position for weeks and then fail to obtain the employment they desire? The result is simply so much money wasted and life takes on a dull-gray appearance to the man out of a job.

Why not get away from all this uncertainty—the uncertainty of not knowing just where you are going to be this time next month.

Have you ever thought of entering Uncle Sam's service? Let me tell you that the service of today is a fine place for a live young man, and there is no uncertainty. It offers many opportunities for advancement, and besides the easy and congenial employment you would have, everything is furnished free.

I am inclosing some literature telling you all about the United States Marine Corps; what it does for the young man of today and what it will do for you.

Think it over and drop in and see me. I am sure you will not regret it. Write to me

if it is not convenient for you to call and I will be pleased to give you any information you desire. Very truly yours,

J. H. SWAN,  
Sergeant, U. S. M. C.

Sergt. Swan said last night that the Marine Corps sent thousands of such letters weekly.

"We want the best class of men and take every means of trying to secure them," he said. "You will find that the main bureau in Manhattan has been working along these lines for some time. Probably 100,000 letters are sent out each week. This is the first time that I have ever heard of a complaint when an honest job has been offered to a young man."

At the last Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Evanston, Illinois, the Rev. George P. Eckman, editor of the *Christian Advocate* of New York, in discussing superannuated preachers asked the question if they should not be shot.

"Men of wealth should see that they owe their wealth to Christian preachers," he said in making a plea for an endowment fund for discarded preachers.

"Christianity is the only thing that *keeps the great masses of poor people from assaulting the rich, and tearing from them their riches.* An endowment would not be a charity. It would be a small payment on a small debt. Why doesn't Carnegie or Rockefeller endow aged preachers. We might as well shoot them as to let them starve to death."

It does not occur to him that they might go to work. This is almost the first time we have known a Christian(?) minister to come right out and state flatly that the church is an institution of the capitalist class. We congratulate the Rev. Eckman. If others who serve their masters as diligently as does he, will only as frankly admit it, there is hope that either these men will have no more congregations to talk to or that the church will have to throw its weight on the side of the proletariat.

After the naiveté of the eminent clergyman we are not surprised to note that the Y. M. C. A. is joining in the strenuous campaign to lure young men into the Navy. When young men apply to these institutions for work, they are urged to join the Navy. All sorts of lies are told them, innumerable inducements held out to ensnare.

From Washington: "The Surgeon General of the Army estimates that \$85,000

will be required for the purchase of artificial limbs during the coming year."

The following is from the Survey:

**Men Wanted for the United States Army.—  
Easy Work, Good Pay.—A Chance to See  
the World.**

This advertisement is made the basis for the following reflections by two frequenters of the Interpreter's House in the *American*:

I wonder whether Uncle Sam is telling the truth—said the Observer. Let's look that list over a little closer: Private soldiers, \$15 per month; cooks, \$30 per month; bandmasters, \$75 per month.

He is and he isn't—said the Reporter. He doesn't tell a lie exactly, but he shaves it as close as you'd peel an apple. I know something about a soldier's life. There's his "steady employment" at fifteen dollars per month. Up at six, has breakfast and makes his bed. Drill at 7:30 for an hour and a half. Then a lot of useless routine duties up to about one. Two months a year target practice and special drill. That's his apprenticeship for three of the best years of his life.

What does he get out of?—asked the Observer.

Exactly—answered the Reporter. What has he to show for those three years that will help him to be successful as a carpenter, a mechanic or a merchant or anything else that is useful? For three years his mind has been turned away from all of those things whereby he might make a living. He has acquired a habit of idleness and a distaste for civil life. Much of the training and knowledge which he previously had have lapsed from disuse. In their place he has acquired the vices of the camp, but he cannot live on those. If a man were receiving fifteen dollars a month and at the same time a training that would fit him for something useful, well and good; but at what

price can a man agree to throw away his future?

"A chance to see the world." No man sees less of the world that is worth seeing than the private soldier. He sees the inside of forts and brothels. He is not stationed where there is much to see, and what travel he gets does not educate him.

The boys in the Army and Navy are just like any other young men. Some of them become sickened of hardships and brutality and some of them become brutalized. Some of them, when called out on strike duty, are able to shoot down men and women who were former comrades—without a pang of remorse and others learn to so hate war and the tools of warfare that they long to wipe them out altogether.

We are glad to mention the Boys of the Company K, State Guards of La., who were recently sent down to coerce the Fighting Timber Workers into submitting to the yoke of the Lumber Robbers. They got their orders straight and they knew just what was required of them. But instead of obeying orders they fraternized with the strikers and gave them, at all times every possible assistance. So impossible was it to force them to turn scabs, thugs or murderers that Company K was withdrawn.

When we can reach the enlisted men in the Army and Navy with the propaganda of Socialism, these two arms of the Capitalist class will no longer be raised to oppress the workers.



COMPANY K—AND THEY ARE O. K.

# The Strike of the New York Hotel and Restaurant Workers

By FRANK BOHN

NEW Year's Eve is the greatest festal occasion in New York. The whole city turns out. The hundreds of fashionable cafes and hotel dining rooms are thronged with guests. Places at the tables must be reserved weeks before. The fashionable of the metropolis literally eat themselves out of the old year into the new. Up and down Broadway and nearby streets a million of the poor who cannot afford to eat an extra meal march for hours blowing tin horns.

To twenty thousand or more hotel and restaurant workers the holiday season is a time dreaded for weeks before and remembered with bitterness for weeks afterward. Twelve hours a day for the cooks, kitchen helper and waiters lengthen to sixteen or eighteen hours. The ordinary meal-time rush becomes a frenzied effort to satisfy the demands of the plutocratic gourmandizers.

On the night of January 31st, 1912, something happened. Thousands of cooks, kitchen helpers and waiters left the food uncooked and the guests sitting at the tables and rushed to Bryant Hall where they were organized for the fight. In many hotels the managers, dumbfounded by the swiftness of the attack, capitulated and surrendered to the demands of the union. These included some of the most fashionable resorts and largest hotels in the city. Rector's, which was put out of business for thirty days during the strike last summer was among the first to give in as were the Fifth Avenue Restaurant and the Folies Bergere. In all twenty establishments have now been conquered. About thirty others have been declared on strike. Among the latter are the Astor, the Ansonia, the Gotham, the Holland, the Waldorf-Astoria, the Belmont and others.

## THE UNION.

The International Hotel Workers' Union is a new-comer in the field of the labor movement. It is an industrial union includ-

ing all the workers of all the trades, from the basement to the roof of all hotels and restaurants in America. The engineers asked to take a stand beside the chambermaids, and the captain of the waiters must fight for the interests of the window washers. Perhaps in no industry, not even in railroading, is it harder for the workers to attain industrial solidarity. But the International Hotel Workers' Union is accomplishing this result. Some of the highest paid hotel workers in the city left their places to take their stand with those for whom the union is demanding a minimum wage of \$30 per month.

This union is not only industrial in character. Its membership is revolutionary in spirit. In New York City the character of the union is largely determined by its French and Italian members. These foreign born workers, trained in the labor movement of the continent, are well equipped for the present crisis. Without them it is inconceivable that the movement in New York City could have made such headway.

## THE DEMANDS.

Among the most important demands are: better sanitary conditions for the workers, better food, semi-monthly payment of wages, abolition of fines, the six day week, the ten-hour day, and a minimum scale of wages.

In many of New York's most fashionable hotels and cafes there are kitchen helpers who receive no more than fifteen dollars a month, and a great many who receive less than twenty dollars a month, and this for work which often runs to fourteen or sixteen hours out of twenty-four. Boys and old men who run elevators very often work sixteen hours a day regularly.

The degrading tipping system has become so general that many waiters draw no wages at all—being forced to depend entirely upon tips. In some hotels, where tips are largest, they even pay a stipulated

price per week or month to the management for the privilege of holding their jobs and receiving the tips. This degrading system of payment is deeply resented by the hotel workers and all reference to its future abolition in the meetings of the union is met with applause. But the time does not seem to be ripe to strike against this evil.

#### STRIKE TACTICS.

It is only natural that a new form of organization should develop new methods. Means never before employed in a hotel strike are successfully used and the whole city has been keenly interested in the somewhat sensational tactics which have been developed. Take, for instance, the calling of the strike in the Hotel Astor. This hotel is one of the greatest and most magnificent in the world. It is patronized by the ultra-fashionable. Robert Lackey, general secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Machinists, and Harry Kenter, member of the I. W. W., accompanied by three women who are friends of the union, entered the hotel during the busiest hour and proceeded to dine. When they paid their bill Lackey blew a shrill whistle—the signal for a walk-out. The waiters and other employes rushed for the doors to find them locked by the hotel detectives, the guests and employers alike being held prisoners for a considerable time. Of course, great excitement was produced and numbers of women fainted—from lack of food, perhaps. Meanwhile, a small army of private detectives and plug-uglies rushed upon Lackey and Kenter, beating them with black-jacks and imprisoning them within a room for an hour and a half. Later they were taken to court and each was given ten days in jail for raising a disturbance. The plug-uglies who had brutally beaten them were set free. Later in the night an employe who escaped from the basement of the Astor was pursued across the street by three plug-uglies, kidnapped and brought

back into the hotel. When the news that members of the union were being forcibly detained at the hotel reached Bryant Hall, five hundred members of the union marched down Broadway and started mass picketing. Bricks and stones thrown at the strikers by the hotel plug-uglies crashed through the plate glass windows, at which the police proceeded to arrest seventeen strikers.

#### SABOTAGE.

The French and German cooks and waiters declare that if they have to get jobs in non-union hotels they will burn the fried potatoes, boil eggs hard which were meant to be soft and spill bowls of gravy on the shirt-fronts of well-dressed guests. Somebody is said to have gone to Bryant Hall to tell them that this is all very immoral and that the workers ought to have more respect for those who eat at the Hotel Astor for no other purpose than to give jobs to the unemployed hotel workers. The reply made by the French and Italians has not yet been translated. In no other industry can sabotage be so successfully employed as in that of preparing and serving food. The workers say they will use it to the limit.

During this fight the members of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. have been very active in assisting the officers and committees of the union. It is hoped that readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will lend all assistance in their power to this young, active and progressive union. Five houses in Albany are already organized and on strike, and on January 11th, the Local at Philadelphia made a clean sweep at the Hotel Majestic, taking out two hundred men. The national headquarters of the union is at 72 West 36th street, New York City.

May the new year's message of the hotel workers of New York result in industrial solidarity among their fellow slaves throughout the land.

# WHAT HAYWOOD SAYS

~~~~~ON~~~~~

## POLITICAL ACTION

**W**HEN William D. Haywood collaborated with Frank Bohn to write *Industrial Socialism*, his enemies asked for an interpretation of the booklet. Since that time, in more than two hundred lectures, speeches and articles, Haywood has tried to make plain his message to the working class. Hundreds of thousands of men and women have heard him on the public platform. An equal number has read his published articles. Everywhere and at all times he has borne the same message. He has advocated class action on the political field. He has made it his life work to teach the necessity of class unionism on the economic field.

He has sought to interpret his booklet in his lectures, in his writings and in his deeds. And now his enemies have asked for an interpretation of his interpretation. And yet again will they desire an interpretation of his interpretation of his interpretation. And so on ad infinitum.

For the benefit of those who do not already know and who will be content with plain English, we take pleasure in reprinting quotations from Haywood's various articles and speeches published in Socialist and capitalist periodicals during the past few months:

**From speech delivered before the National Socialist Convention, 1912, after the adoption of report on the committee on labor.** "This is the greatest step ever taken by the Socialist party of this country. I can go out and talk Socialism from a Socialist party platform to the entire working class, to the eight million women and children who have no votes, to the four million non-workers in this country, to the blanket stiffs of the west and the timber wolves of the south, who are disfranchised by the nature of their jobs. I have said that the Socialist party should urge the organization of working men and women in the shops so they will be ready to carry on production when Capitalism is overthrown. I likewise urge that every working man use the ballot at every opportunity."—From *Metropolitan Magazine*, August, 1912.

**From Cooper Union Speech, New York City, on Socialism the Hope of the Working Class.** Referring to the Western Federation of Miners Haywood said, "But remember! We also believed in political action, and had elected one of our own class as governor of the state. And he called out the militia to protect the miners and put them in between the warring factions and told the deputy sheriffs that if they didn't disband he would fire on them as insurrectos. You understand, then, why I believe in political action. (Applause). We will have control then of whatever forces the government can give us, but we will not use them to continue to uphold and advance the present system. (Applause). And instead of using the powers of the police to protect the strike-breakers, we will use the powers of the police to protect the strikers. (Applause)."  
**From THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, February, 1912.**

**From speech delivered at the annual picnic of the Socialist party, Luna Park, Cleveland, Ohio,** "Haywood said that the object of the gathering was the discussion of the greatest social force in the world today. It is the world wide organization of the Socialist movement and is not confined to any one country. Don't join the organization unless you can cut relations with all other parties for all time to come. The Socialist party is the political expression of the working class. Its object is to get control of the government and organize the industries of the nation for the benefit of all the people. His powerful address aroused intense enthusiasm in a vast audience of over 5,000 people." From *The Cleveland Socialist*, July 20, 1912.

**From Industrial Socialism.** "The great purpose of the Socialist party is to seize the powers of government and thus prevent them from being used by the capitalists against the workers. With Socialists in political offices the workers can strike and not be shot. They can picket shops and not be arrested and imprisoned. Freedom of speech and of the press, now often abolished by the tyrannical capitalists, will be secured to the working class. Then they can continue the shop organization and the education of the workers. To win the demands made on the industrial field it is absolutely necessary to control the government, as experience shows strikes to have been lost through the interference of courts and militia. The same functions of government, controlled by a class-conscious working class, will be used to inspire confidence and compel the wheels of industry to move in spite of the devices and stumbling blocks of the capitalists."

## RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST.

*Whereas*, The State Committee of Local New York, seconded by the State Committee of New Jersey and the Committee of the District of Columbia, has initiated a referendum for the recall of Comrade William D. Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and

*Whereas*, Local New York, through its Executive Committee and its Central Committee, has further passed resolutions demanding that steps be taken to expel Comrade Haywood from the Socialist Party, and

*Whereas*, Both the attempt to recall Comrade Haywood and to expel him are based upon alleged statements made by Comrade Haywood at public meetings, at which no authorized stenographic reports were taken and which are therefore founded upon unauthorized, individual verbal reports which are, from the nature of the case, necessarily inaccurate and conflicting, and

*Whereas*, The said resolutions were adopted without granting Haywood any hearing or even attempting to procure a statement from him as to his position upon the disputed questions, and

*Whereas*, The so-called Section 6, Article II of the Constitution of the Socialist Party, relied upon in part by the opponents of Comrade Haywood in their attempts to expel him, is not only too indefinite to be capable of enforcement, but also has, we believe, never been actually carried and should never have been officially printed in the Constitution; for the adoption by national referendum of *both* the proposed section and the substitute section, according to parliamentary law, really disposes of the original section by carrying the substitute, and brings about a result which, according to any interpretation, is so ambiguous and contradictory as to be without effect.

*Therefore Be It Resolved*, That we, the undersigned members of the Socialist Party, believe the action of the New York State Socialist Party in attempting to recall Comrade Haywood from the National Executive Committee and to expel him from the Socialist Party to be unwise and unwarranted, and to tend to create dissent and ill-will within the ranks of the Socialist Party. That furthermore, we believe no such action should be taken against any

member unless he definitely repudiates political action or some other principle of the Socialist Party.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That we know Comrade Haywood to believe in political action, and to have been of great service to our party in helping it to solve the difficult problems that confront the working class upon the industrial field. We also believe that instead of exaggerating inevitable differences of opinion, instead of reviving De-Leonistic tactics of personal incrimination, heresy-hunting and disruption, we should make use of the special talents of every member within our ranks, and in this way secure loyal service and co-operation. We believe in a united working class.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That we protest against the attempt to recall Comrade Haywood from the National Executive Committee and to expel him from the Party. We call upon all Party members throughout the United States who are in sympathy with these resolutions to join us in this protest, and we urge them to immediately bring this matter before their branches and locals.

*Be It Further Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Socialist press.

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| JAMES P. WARBASE    | SOL BROMBERG        |
| OSMOND K. FRAENKEL  | HELEN MAROT         |
| ROBERT M. LACKEY    | WALTER LIPPMAN      |
| MARGARET K. SANGER  | ANNA STRUNSKY WAL-  |
| STEPHEN G. RICH     | LING                |
| ANNA SLOAN          | WM. ENGLISH WALLING |
| JOHN SLOAN          | JESSIE ASHLEY       |
| MARY S. OPPENHEIMER | KARL HEIDEMAN       |
| MOSES OPPENHEIMER   | ROSE PASTOR STOKES  |
| GERTRUDE M. LIGHT   | J. G. PHELPS STOKES |
| MARION B. COTHERN   | COURTENAY LEMON     |
| IDA RAUH            | ROSE STRUNSKY       |
| MAX EASTMAN         | PAUL KENNADAY       |
| ARTHUR LIVINGSTON   | MITCHEL LOEB        |
| GEORGE S. GELDER    | TIMOTHY WAESH       |
| ALEXANDER FRASER    | BERTHA W. HOWE      |
| HERMAN SIMPSON      | LOUIS B. BOUDIN     |
| GRACE POTTER        | JOSEPH MICHAEL      |
| FRANK BOHN          | HUBERT HARRISON     |

## FROM MONTANA.

The following motion was passed at Butte Local No. 1 at their regular meeting, held in Finlander Hall, Thursday, Jan. 2, 1913, at 8 p. m.

*Whereas*, a referendum to recall William D. Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has been inaugurated by the state

committee of New York, and seconded by the state committee of New Jersey, and

Whereas, this referendum is founded upon the, as yet, unproven allegations and probably unfounded charges of enemies and opponents of the accused, and

Whereas, we believe justice between man and man to be a cardinal principle of the Socialist movement of the world over, and we look upon the high-handed procedure of the state committees of New York and New Jersey as an act that should merit the disapproval of all class-conscious Socialists, and

Whereas, the charge that he advocates sabotage and fails to emphasize political action is but a subterfuge to have him summarily removed from any position of trust he holds in the Socialist party. The real reason being his activity in organizing the working class into industrial unions. Therefore be it

That, The Butte Local No. 1 of the Socialist party does hereby most emphatically protest against such arbitrary methods, and we call upon an enlightened party membership to express their immediate disapproval by defeating this referendum, which has for its object the suppressing of one whose only offense is in organizing the workers on the industrial field in the only form that will properly express itself on the political field.

By W. A. WILLIS, Sec'y.

#### FROM MINNESOTA.

In accordance with the instructions of the State Executive Board the following letter was written regarding Referendum "D."

John M. Work,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Comrade:

At the last meeting of the State Executive Board the form in which referendum

"D" has been sent out was brought up, and I was instructed by the Board to protest against the placing of arguments in favor of the referendum upon the ballot. We feel that this is establishing a precedent which will open the way to all sorts of arguments so that if any three large states were opposed to some official they could place all sorts of charges against him in the form of statements in the motion for his removal and the membership would thus have on the official ballot the statement of only one side and that being of the one interested in the removal of the official. The resolutions and all the whereases could be drawn out into quite an argument in favor of the motion whatever it might be. We feel that it would be wise for the National Office to take the position that nothing except the question at issue which in referendum "D" would be: shall William D. Haywood be removed from membership on the National Executive Committee. I note that by the last weekly bulletin that the state of Washington has introduced an equally long resolution asking for the recall of Job Harriman. If this should be endorsed by sufficient states, it would be sent to referendum according to the action on referendum "D," and the whole resolution would have to be printed on the ballot. As time goes on longer and longer resolutions may be permitted giving arguments of those in favor of the resolution which makes the referendum entirely unfair as it places the argument of one side to the membership on the official ballot.

We do not question the justice of the referendum, but we dislike very much the political tactics adopted by Berger and Hillquit in presenting this resolution.

Fraternally yours,

T. E. LATIMER,  
State Secretary.

# EDITORIAL

**The Motion to Recall Haywood.** The state committees of New York, New Jersey and the District of Columbia have suddenly sprung a referendum for the recall of Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. It is accompanied by a preamble falsely charging Haywood with saying things he never said. On another page of the REVIEW we publish extracts from Haywood's public speeches and writings showing exactly how he stands on the question of political action. Haywood himself makes no reply, in view of the fact that the New York State Committee voted down a motion inviting him to make a statement before the motion for his recall should have been voted on. How the rank and file of the party who have listened to Haywood in the past feel about this motion is well illustrated by the following letter just received at this office from Comrade R. S. McAuley of Rock Springs, Wyoming:

Comrades: I have a ballot given me by Sec. John Ramsay, Rock Springs, Wyo., to vote yes or no on the recall of Bill Haywood as member of the National Executive Committee. I have heard Comrade Haywood speak twice during the last year. Both times he made such a talk against the Republican and Democratic parties and capitalism in general as to make more class conscious Socialists than all those Sunday-school fellows that ever went over the pike. On the day that the membership of the party shall be so unwise, ungrateful and unjust as to turn down this man, I shall cease to be a dues-paying member. Have talked with several others who will take the same action. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Yours for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

R. S. MCAULEY.

We believe that the motion was proposed with the deliberate intention of driving industrial unionists out of the party, but we urge Comrade McAuley and all who think and feel as he does to think again and stay inside, no matter how the vote may result. If the motion carries, it will simply be because thousands of loyal party members have been deceived by the lying preamble and have voted under a misapprehension. We believe that more than ninety per cent of the membership care more for the working-class movement for the overthrow of capitalism than

for votes and offices, and that when the issue comes clearly before them they will act accordingly. As for the politicians in the party, let us not worry about them. Many of them sincerely believe that they are doing good, and part of them will be intelligent enough to see their mistake when the change of front of the capitalist politicians becomes fully apparent, and this will be soon. Meanwhile, let us all vote against the motion to recall Haywood, and go on fighting the biggest enemy, Capitalism.

**A Change of Front in the Class War.** A most significant article, entitled "The New Freedom," appears in the January issue of *The World's Work*. This article is so full of important lessons for the Socialists of the United States that we shall quote from it at some length. The writer says:

There is one great basic fact which underlies all the questions that are discussed on the political platform at the present moment. That singular fact is that nothing is done in this country as it was done twenty years ago.

We are in the presence of a new organization of society. Our life has broken away from the past. The life of America is not the life that it was twenty years ago; it is not the life that it was ten years ago. We have changed our economic conditions, absolutely, from top to bottom; and with our economic society, the organization of our life. . . . We are facing the necessity of fitting a new social organization . . . to the happiness and prosperity of the great body of citizens; for we are conscious that the new order of society has not been made to fit and provide the convenience or prosperity of the average man. The life of the nation has grown infinitely varied. It does not centre now upon questions of governmental structure or of the distribution of governmental powers. It centres upon questions of the very structure and operation of society itself, of which government is only the instrument.

Society is looking itself over, in our day, from top to bottom; is making fresh and critical analysis of its very elements; is questioning its oldest practices as freely as its newest, scrutinizing every arrangement and motive of its life; and it stands ready to attempt nothing less than a radical reconstruction, which only frank and honest counsels and the forces of generous co-operation can hold back from becoming a revolution. We are in a temper to reconstruct economic society, as we were once in a temper to reconstruct political society, and political society may itself undergo a radical modification in the process.

These paragraphs are not written by a Socialist, nor a near-Socialist, though they show a clearer understanding of economic determinism than many of our Socialist writers display. They are written by Woodrow Wilson, president-elect of the United States. Moreover, to anticipate an objection which might arise, they are not written to catch votes. The article appears in a magazine read by a comparatively small number of prosperous people rather than by the mass of the voters. Besides, the next election is a long way off. The article is a warning to the capitalist class by their own chosen leader that they must change front in order to keep their power. It is doubly significant in that it comes from a man whose own record, like that of his party, would lead us to expect extreme conservatism. The conclusion is forced upon us that an era of social legislation is at hand which, to say the very least, will bring the United States abreast with the most advanced countries of Europe. In other words, most of the "immediate demands" for which we Socialists have been contending, are likely to be enacted into law by the representatives of the capitalist class.

**State Capitalism or Industrial Unionism.** The more intelligent capitalists already see that if they are to continue drawing their profits, they must submit to an increasing measure of state control, in return for state protection against the exploited wage-workers. We may, therefore, look for a speedy extension of the principle of state capitalism to industry after industry. This will no doubt be accompanied by an actual improvement in the wages and working conditions of the laborers, but also by a further increase in the total profits of the capitalist class. Meanwhile the extension and improvement of the machine process will wipe out faster than ever what remains of the craft unions. Industrial unionism will be the inevitable resort of the mass of the workers. A war greater than any war of all the ages past is impending between the workers organized industrially and the capitalists and their retainers organized under the capitalist state. If the Socialist Party of America is to play any part in this war that is coming, it must

be unequivocally on the side of the revolutionary unions, obstructing the efforts of the capitalist state to crush them out by force, and otherwise aiding them on the political field in every way opportunity offers. Let the Socialist Party take this stand boldly, and it will be the rallying point for every wage-worker who learns by the object lessons of the near future that the Class Struggle is a fact. But let the Socialist party bow before capitalist ideals of morality, and ally itself with the conservative rather than the revolutionary labor organizations, and it will be pushed aside to make room for the aggressive politicians of state capitalism who will really do nearly everything that our timid reformers talk about doing.

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**The Balkan War**—The New Review has had two articles on this subject, "Austria and Serbia," by Gustav Eckstein of Berlin, and "The Eastern Question," by Theodore Rothstein, of London.

**Industrialism**—The New Review has had an article on Industrialism or Revolutionary Unionism, by William English Walling.

**The Negro Question**—Prof. W. E. B. DuBois has written for us on "A Field for Socialists."

**Sabotage**—Moses Oppenheimer writes on the advisability of labor making use of "Sabotage."

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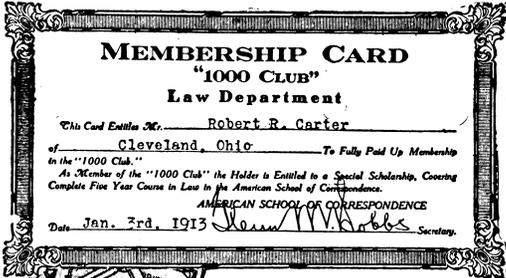
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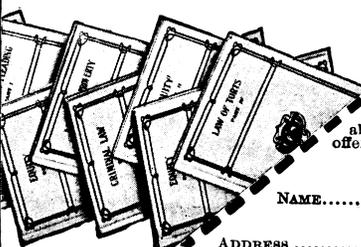
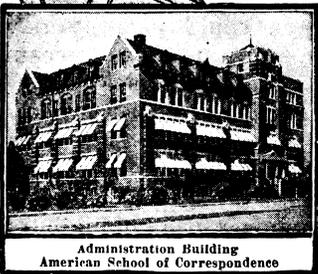
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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The Balkan War.** As the REVIEW goes to press the Conference of diplomats meeting in London has not yet decided whether it is to be war or peace. The Turkish representatives have refused to agree to give up Adrianople; the allies declare that they will have Adrianople or resume hostilities. Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has said in Parliament that the great powers will insist upon peace. Just how they will enforce their dictum does not yet appear.

The fact that the danger of a conflict of the great powers has passed is, of course, cause for rejoicing. Just how much the international protest of the working-class has had to do with this happy result it is impossible to say. It is certainly true that the war talk ceased very suddenly and that its cessation took place shortly after the International Congress of Basel. As a correspondent of the *New York Times* reported, "Last night London went to bed convinced that a great war was inevitable; this morning it awoke, scratched its head, asked, 'well, why go to war if nobody wants to?' and then decided that all the war talk had been nothing more than a false alarm." There is no doubt of the fact that a great part of the inspired press of Europe suddenly changed its tune. And there is every reason to suppose that the responsible authorities who do the inspiring were not unmindful of the International Congress and the tremendous demonstrations which followed it.

**Austria—Suppressing the International.** Events following the International Congress of Basel throw a good deal of light on conditions in central Europe. In Austria the Imperial Attorney-General confiscated the entire edition of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* containing the text of the anti-war resolution adopted at Basel. The government was at that time making the most of a fabricated excuse for war against Serbia, and in fact was actively preparing for the opening of hostilities. The propaganda of the Socialists inter-

ferred with these plans, therefore it was put down with an iron hand.

For ten years past the Austrian government has suppressed working-class periodicals with the most ruthless tyranny. There is, theoretically no official censorship in Austria. But there is something much worse. Periodicals are compelled by law to submit a copy of each edition to the Attorney-General's office. If, in the opinion of this potentate, anything in the issue seems calculated to make difficulty for the bureaucracy, the entire issue is confiscated. This arrangement is much more onerous for the labor press than any censorship law could be. As a matter of fact no papers outside of Socialist and labor journals are ever confiscated. After the publishers have printed their edition and have been forced to delay the distribution of it, they are constantly in danger of losing the money and labor expended.

In the particular case involved the government went farther than usual. The Socialist representatives in the Austrian parliament were denied the right to present their case before the representatives of the people. They hoped, by means of a public interpellation on the subject, to read the Basel resolution into the parliamentary proceedings and gain for it immunity in the press. The speaker, however, under instructions from the ministry, refused to allow the formal interpellation to be read. Thus the purpose of the Socialists was defeated and a precedent was set for limiting the freedom of discussion in the Austrian parliament.

The result of all this has been the same as on many other similar occasions. The fuss the government made attracted more attention to the Basel resolution than Socialist propaganda could possibly have aroused. About the same time it became known that the stories upon which the ministry had based its intention of taking up arms against Serbia had been fabricated in Vienna. So, though all the bourgeois journals kept up their attempts to heighten the war fever, the bubble burst. The immediate danger of a war against

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Servia has passed. The stupidity of the bureaucrats has once more defeated itself.

**Germany—The New Way of "Bucking the Trusts."** It seems a pity that the German government's plan for starting a new oil monopoly to take the place of our own Standard Oil Company has been defeated in its first stage. Here in the United States we attempt to fight the trusts by ordering them to dissolve or to discontinue the resort to certain methods by means of which they have driven competitors out of the market. The German government knows a trick worth two of this. Its plan was a very good one indeed. There was only one difficulty about it: the Standard Oil Company had the oil.

Some months ago the government submitted to the Reichstag a carefully elaborated scheme for the formation of a German company which was to be given a monopoly of the oil business. It was an open secret that the power behind this move was the Deutsche Bank, and especially its director, Herr von Gwinner, the "most powerful man in Germany." This bank was to take a leading part in the organization of the monopoly and was to enjoy most of the incidental privileges which would result from its operations.

All the powers of the government and of the bourgeois press were enlisted in the support of this scheme. Its success was regarded as a matter of vital interest to every true patriot. Sad to relate, however, it was defeated by a combination of Socialists, Centrists and Liberals. And when one comes to look at the arguments which were made for and against it, its defeat is not a matter for wonder.

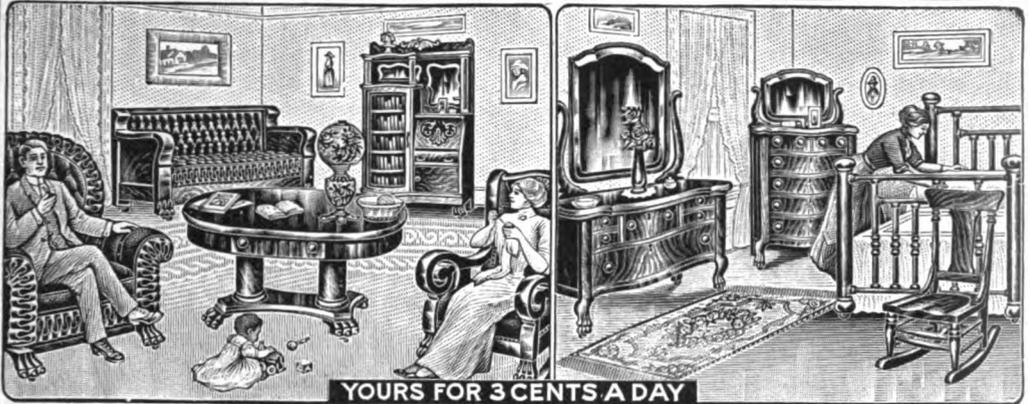
The government solemnly affirmed that it had made arrangements which would assure a sufficient supply of oil from sources other than the Standard Oil Company. Russian and Roumanian wells were to supply the greater part of the quantity needed. Independent American companies, also, were to deliver a considerable portion. The German representatives of the Standard, however, were able to show that all these sources combined could not furnish much more than fifty per cent of the petroleum consumed in the country. This was, moreover, good proof that the new trust intended to charge more for its product than had the old one. It was

clear, then, that the powers of government were not being invoked in the interest of the German people, but merely in the interest of German capitalists as against their American rivals. So the plan was defeated.

As I said above, this result seems unfortunate. The whole world would have enjoyed the sight of a set of solemn German government officials and bankers, with a staff of scientific experts, going about the production of a sufficient quantity of petroleum to supply the needs of a nation of 60,000,000 people.

**Russia—The Fourth Douma.** Final figures with regard to the recent Russian elections give the Socialists a slightly larger group than was at first reported. There are 16 Socialists members sitting in the Fourth Douma as against 13 in the third. In other respects, also, the outlook for the Russian people is improving. For one thing, an incident which occurred immediately after the elections shows how impossible it is for an autocratic government to maintain itself. The very means it fosters are sure to defeat it. The Russian government has made a farce of the constitution which it was forced to grant after the uprisings of 1905. Even the election law of 1907, unfair and undemocratic as it was, has hardly anywhere been adhered to by the bureaucracy. By means of force and subterfuge it has prevented the people from returning a majority openly in opposition to the Czar and his ministers. But now subterfuge has been used against subterfuge, and the government finds itself in a most uncomfortable position. No sooner were the lists of successful candidates published after the elections than several men who had been chosen as members of the Extreme Right, the group of the Black Hundred, declared that they belonged to one or other of the liberal groups. They had misrepresented their positions in order to escape being jailed or otherwise prevented from being elected.

Moreover, the government now finds itself with an opposition majority on its hands. During the sessions of the third Douma it had the support of a bloc made up of three groups—Extreme Right, Nationalists, and Octobrists. The last group, the Octobrists, are a mild sort of constitutionalists who thought they could get



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something by supporting the Czar. All they got was a crushing defeat at the polls. Their group shrank from 133 to 95. The government opposed them and the people lost faith in them. In revenge they have now turned against the government and joined the liberal opposition, thus giving the opposition a majority. What the government will do under the circumstances it is impossible to say. There may be a dissolution and a new election. At any rate Russia is sure to be stirred up.

The Socialist group refused to take part in the election of the speaker of the Douma and in so doing issued a manifesto which defines their position and their conception of their function as representatives of the working-class: "We are convinced that we can accomplish our purpose no matter who is speaker of this assembly . . . in spite of all machinations and combinations we shall make ourselves heard on this tribune conquered at the price of the people's blood. We shall know how to achieve liberty of speech in this parliamentary assembly notwithstanding the recent ukase of the Senate which threatens to subject us to an inqui-

sition of the Okrana. We shall not permit any majority to deprive us of our rights. It is in the interests of the people that we shall make use of our position here; the organization of the assembly is a matter of indifference to us."



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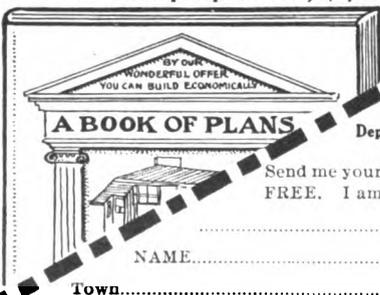
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# NEWS AND VIEWS



GERMAN COMRADES MEET AT NEWCASTLE, PA.

**German Comrades Convention.**—A conference of the German branches from various parts of the country was held at New Castle, Pa., December 27 and 28, to consider methods of organization and propaganda. A very successful meeting is reported. Forty-one delegates were present from fifteen states, representing ninety branches with a total membership of 4,500. It was decided to apply for affiliation with the national organization on the same terms as the other foreign speaking organizations, and Adolph Dreifuss, of Chicago, was elected translator-secretary.

**Hollanders Organize.**—On December 22, 1912, some Chicago Hollanders organized themselves into a Hollander Socialist Propaganda Club with the aim of spreading the principles of Socialism among their countrymen all over the United States. The idea is a fine one and we hope all sympathizers will communicate with the secretary, J. Veltman, 6159 S. Elizabeth street, Chicago.

**From England.**—Comrade J. V. Wills, who is lecturing in England before the Trade Unions and Socialist organizations, is pushing the REVIEW everywhere. He has nearly trebled his order and hopes to make it rise every month. The English Trade Unions are showing themselves very much interested in industrial unionism.

**From Australia.**—Enter our order for 101 REVIEWS for January.—O. W. Jorgensen.

**Money Well Spent.**—"I enclose herewith my proxy. I wish to state that no money I have ever spent for Socialism has given me such satisfaction as my small investment in your publishing house. I intend to buy a share of stock every summer because I approve of your real revolutionary stand. It seems that some Socialists believe that the party is in need of a censor and a dictatorship."—(Signed) Comrade Hisel, Fairfield, Iowa.

**From Melbourne, Australia.**—Please increase "Review" order by 39 copies, making a total of 180 until further notice. Enclosed find check £5, which please place to our credit, and acknowledge.—Will Andrade.

**From the Miners.**—Please find enclosed draft for \$30 for which send 100 copies of the International Socialist Review for six months. It is a great magazine and the boys all like it, or at least it seems that way as they are anxious for the next number all the time.—G. S. Roth, Sec'y of Local 106, W. F. of M.

**From Out West.**—Dear Comrade: Enclosed find \$1.50 for which place my name for one year for the best magazine in America and one copy of "The Rose Door."—Bert Westover.

**From Rhode Island.**—Please hustle those "Reviews" along. I notice the Milwaukee politicians are still knocking you. The hell with them. Go right along.—John T. Preston.

**All Red.**—We are all “reds” and would rather boost your paper or rather “our” paper than any other Socialist publication as it voices our ideals as no other seems to dare to. Yours for the revolution and nothing else.—F. E. Fick, secretary, Local, Sandusky, Ohio.

**Froma Montana “Red.”**—I recently ordered from you 20 *Reviews* and sold them for ten cents each. The profit goes on the sub card. I will make it to the comrades here for half price. I hope to get every one to reading it. By the way, when I got the last bundle of *Reviews* I sold the twenty out in one hour in the postoffice lobby. And the best part is this is a farming community and I sold but two copies to Socialists. I considered it quite a stunt. Things are livening up here; several members who had let their dues slide are coming with the coin and are getting squared up. That article on the *Chicago World* is good noise for me, but think that I could have told it some different. Especially about some of these half baked labor unionists. I am a craft union member myself, but lord, don't I see the futility of it. I don't want a fair day's wage, I want the whole thing.—W. S. Morrow.

**A Correction.**—In pasting together pages 1 and 2 of Miss Helen Keller's letter, the photographer covered one line which was accidentally omitted from the photograph reproduction in the *January Review*. What Miss Keller said was, “Until the spirit of love for our fellowmen, regardless of race, color or creed, shall fill the world, making real in our lives and our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood—until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of responsibility for each other's welfare, social justice can never be attained.”

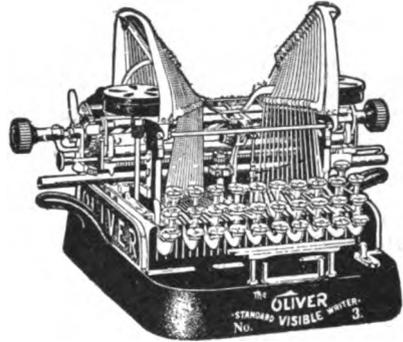
**From Kapowsin, Wash.**—Commence this subscription with the *January* number. By the time he reads it twelve months he will be a Socialist.—Joseph Parks.

**From Los Angeles.**—I am surprised and appreciate the knowledge I gain every month through *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*. Keep it up comrades. We are with you.—Dave H. Koch.

**From Wellington, N. Z.**—The year 1913 will be a bright year for the cause we love so well and hope that the *Review* will maintain its high standard of revolutionary Socialism. Wishing you and staff a happy and prosperous new year.—Patrick Joseph Flanagan.

**Sounds Good to Us.**—Enclosed find subscription card for my renewal. I will never be without the *Review* so long as I am able to raise the subscription price. It is the one publication in this country that savors of the spirit that dominated Marx and Engels as they together labored on the *Communist Manifesto*. As a workingman in the shop, I admire and honor you for your uncompromising position—on with the good work of working class education. Yours for the Militant Brand.—Carl G. Harold, Chattanooga, Tenn.

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**Annual Stockholders' Meeting.**—The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago, on January 15, 1913, at 3:00 p. m. Out of the 3,723 shares of stock issued by the company, 2,473 shares were represented either by shareholders or proxies. Among those present were: Dr. J. H. Greer, R. H. Huebner, August Heidemann, J. O. Bentall, Jacob Bruning, R. B. Tobias, H. A. Levinson, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Joseph Novak, a stockholder and also representing the Bohemian Publishing Society, L. H. Marcy, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy. Comrade Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary.

Charles H. Kerr read the following:

#### ANNUAL REPORT

The year 1912, in spite of several unusual difficulties, has been the most successful in the history of the publishing house. Our cash receipts increased from \$63,276.75, our previous high-water mark, to \$73,025.51. On the other hand, the cost of paper and printing, like the cost of living, has been advancing, and our necessary expenses have increased in proportion to our receipts. Moreover, to keep down the cost of printing, we have found it necessary to print books in larger editions, and we close the year 1912 with a larger stock of books on hand than ever before. This fact has made it impossible for us to pay off loans as rapidly as we had hoped, but our total liabilities apart from capital stock are less than a month's average receipts. The loans from stockholders are for the most part at four per cent interest, so that our expenditure for this purpose is trifling, but the outstanding loans are a constant source of anxiety, and we hope to pay off most of them during the year 1913, so that we may plan for enlarging our work without the risk of failure. The late Chicago Daily World is a good example of the results of reckless expenditure from borrowed capital.

#### RECEIPTS FOR 1912

|                                       |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Book sales .....                      | \$47,120.91 |
| Review subscriptions and sales.....   | 23,075.68   |
| REVIEW advertising .....              | 2,811.42    |
| Donations .....                       | 17.50       |
| Increased value of books on hand..... | 2,717.23    |
| Total.....                            | \$75,742.74 |

#### EXPENDITURES FOR 1912

|                                                |             |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Manufacture of books.....                      | \$19,252.14 |
| Manufacture of Review.....                     | 14,450.43   |
| Wages .....                                    | 11,989.10   |
| Postage and expressage.....                    | 12,620.98   |
| Advertising .....                              | 7,518.61    |
| Review circulation expense.....                | 688.37      |
| REVIEW articles and photographs.....           | 1,111.48    |
| Authors of books.....                          | 1,470.05    |
| Books purchased .....                          | 707.09      |
| Rent .....                                     | 1,200.00    |
| Insurance .....                                | 107.25      |
| Taxes .....                                    | 133.63      |
| Miscellaneous expenses .....                   | 1,702.43    |
| Interest .....                                 | 135.34      |
| Lost through failure of <i>Daily World</i> ... | 56.66       |
| Profit .....                                   | 2,599.18    |
| Total.....                                     | \$75,742.74 |

#### ASSETS, DECEMBER 31, 1912

|                                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Cash on hand and in bank.....       | \$ 105.97   |
| Books, bound and unbound.....       | 11,025.45   |
| Electrotype plates .....            | 14,258.76   |
| Copyrights .....                    | 10,232.21   |
| INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW..... | 5,000.00    |
| Office furniture and fixtures.....  | 764.00      |
| Accounts receivable .....           | 558.39      |
| Real estate .....                   | 450.00      |
| Total.....                          | \$42,394.78 |

#### LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31, 1912

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Paid-up capital stock .....  | \$37,230.00 |
| Loans from stockholders..... | 4,517.84    |
| Bills payable .....          | 500.00      |
| Accounts payable .....       | 46.94       |
| Total.....                   | \$42,394.78 |

The profits of \$2,599.18 are represented in the increased stock of books and paper on hand, amounting to \$11,025.45, as compared with \$8,308.22 at the end of 1911. It should be noted that we figure these books at the actual cost of paper, presswork and binding, the electrotype plates being figured separately. The books on hand would sell at our usual prices for more than \$30,000.

The real estate included in our assets consists of a 25-foot building lot on 103rd street, Chicago, not far from the Pullman Car Works, and a forty-acre tract of woodland near Manchester, Tennessee. Both of these we took in exchange for REVIEW subscription cards, and we are holding them temporarily until some chance offers for realizing on them at something like their value.

The summer of 1912 found the REVIEW bitterly attacked by a certain faction of the Socialist Party, and its natural growth was in this way delayed to some extent, but its subscription list is now growing more rapidly than ever before, and all signs point to a rapid growth for the REVIEW as well as for our book publishing business in the near future. This is due to the constant co-operation of thousands of working men and women, whose ideas we are trying to carry out to the best of our ability.

Dr. Greer moved that the report be accepted; seconded by R. B. Tobias, and carried.

Comrades Jacob Bruning, L. H. Marcy, Dr. J. H. Greer, J. O. Bentall, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy were unanimously elected directors of the company for the coming year. All are members of Local Cook County, Socialist Party, in good standing.

The meeting was thrown open for discussion and questions, and a few good suggestions made that will help the officers of the company to make their work more efficient in the cause of Socialism.

At the meeting of the directors, which followed the stockholders' meeting, Charles H. Kerr was re-elected president, and Mary E. Marcy secretary of the company. L. H. Marcy was elected vice-president.

**FARMS WANTED.** We have direct buyers. Don't pay commissions. Write describing property, naming lowest price. We help buyers locate desirable property Free. American Investment Association, 30 Palace Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.

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Work commences this Spring on expenditure of \$5,000,000 for WATER WORKS, and ELECTRIC PLANT.

IT IS GOVERNMENT HEADQUARTERS for the district. HAS LARGE GOVERNMENT OFFICES ALREADY ESTABLISHED.

We are offering for sale BUSINESS LOTS, 5 and 10 acre GARDEN TRACTS; also FARM LANDS all adjoining the city.

**Buy before the big stampede  
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Not one cent to pay either now or later—no obligations of any kind or nature. Just your simple request will bring you this valuable and interesting course of 62 lessons by return mail *without cost*.

This is the *first* time such an offer has ever been made. It may be the *only* time. We cannot urge you too strongly to accept this exceptional opportunity *without a moment's hesitation*. This offer is *strictly limited*. As soon as a certain number of courses have been mailed, we shall be compelled to withdraw the offer. *So don't wait a minute. Send your acceptance right away.*

**These Free Lessons Teach You**

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| How to Treat Headache     | How to Treat Catarrh   |
| How to Treat Neuralgia    | How to Treat Epilepsy  |
| How to Treat Constipation | How to Treat Hay Fever |
| How to Treat Indigestion  | How to Treat Paralysis |
| How to Treat a Sprain     | How to Treat Pleurisy  |
| How to Treat Dyspepsia    | How to Treat Asthma    |
| How to Treat Rheumatism   | How to Treat Gout      |
| How to Treat Lumbago      | How to Treat Jaundice  |

Besides dozens of other important health subjects which every one should know. Every single step explained and pictured so plainly that you cannot fail to understand.

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We want the public to know the *real truth* about Drugless Healing. We want you to convince yourself by a practical demonstration just what a wonderful new curative force may be placed at your command.

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Dept. 742  
81 W. Randolph St.  
Chicago, Ills.**

Without cost or obligation, please send me by mail, prepaid, your free book and the course of 62 lessons in Drugless Healing.

**31 West**  
 **Randolph St.**  
 **CHICAGO,**  
 **ILL.**  
 (116)

Name.....  
Address.....

**Thomas J. Morgan.**—On the morning of Tuesday, December 10, Thomas J. Morgan, a veteran in the Socialist movement, was killed in a railroad wreck at Williams, Ariz., while on his way to California to make his home and spend the declining years of an active life in company with his wife, daughter and granddaughter and grandchildren, on a ranch in San Diego county, which he and his son-in-law had recently purchased.

By this untimely accident the Socialist and labor movement lost one of its most untiring, and unselfish workers. Born, as he was, amid the slums of an English factory town, denied the advantages of education or elevating environments, he epitomizes in his career the lives of millions of wage workers. As a child his first schooling was received in what was then called "Robert Raikes Ragged School." Even at this early age he resented the unjust discrimination which placed him, the unfortunate child of poverty, in a "ragged school." The finger of scorn was pointed at him by better dressed and more fortunate children and was resented by him and probably led to his first fight.

When he was approaching his fiftieth year and was already a grandfather, he took up the study of law. After working ten hours a day for the Illinois Central Railroad as a machinist, he attended night school at the Northwestern College of Law and graduated with honors and established an extensive practice especially among the wage workers and people of small means who sought his services which were generously rendered at a moderate charge.

In addition to his talents were always at the call of the party. In one year he defended thirty-five Socialist street speakers and secured a verdict of not guilty in every case, and made no charge for his services.

The foreign-speaking Socialist and labor organizations always sought his services whenever legal advice was necessary and he gained their love and highest respect for his devotion to their interest.

His death ends a long life of service for his fellowmen. Himself a product of the capitalist system and for the major part of his life a wage worker, he felt the limitations of his class strongly and deeply, and his entire public service was centered in the establishment of a new and better system in which those who worked would secure the full product of their toil. The central thought of his whole activity, if it could be expressed in one sentence would be that the right to live and the right to work are synonymous terms.—Robert H. Howe.

**Public Speaking.**—Principles and practice, by Prof. Irvah Lester Winter, professor of public speaking at Harvard University, published by Macmillan Company, New York, price, \$2 net, is a volume that every student of public speaking ought to demand in the public library of his town. Part I takes up technical training at great length; also platform practice. Part II gives innumerable excerpts from famous poems, speeches, etc., for the

cultivation of tone, for acquiring vocal flexibility and expressing feeling. And Part III is chiefly a collection of the best-known campaign speeches, orations and debates. Prof. Winter drives home every point he makes in his comprehensive work by illustration. A great reference and guide book for young speakers.

## New Rupture Cure

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Brooks' Appliance. New discovery. Wonderful. No obnoxious springs or pads. Automatic Air Cushions. **Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb.** No salves. No lymphol. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial. Pat. Sept. 10, '01.

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**TOLEDO, OHIO. Manufacturers Turkish Bath C**

# Socialists

## Fall In Line!

This call is to every reader of the International Socialist Review, to every socialist, wife, son or daughter of a socialist, or any member of a socialist's household. Fall in line with the thousands of comrades who have used it, and try it without a penny's cost. Our plan of offering Bodi-Tone on trial to every sick and ailing person is a plan that should particularly appeal to every socialist, for it is a plan of justice, fairness and equity. We want no money until we have earned it. We do not fatten our bellies with the pennies of the poor and leave them sick and suffering as before, for we get no pay until Bodi-Tone has benefited, until the user is sure and certain from an actual trial for twenty-five days that Bodi-Tone is fitted to the needs of his or her body. Thousands of socialists have gotten Bodi-Tone in this way, without paying a penny, and found it put new flesh on their bones, new vigor in their minds to fight the great battle, new vim in their muscles and new vitality into vital functions, and we want YOU to try it, to see what will do for you.

*All you need do is tell us you want to try it, and a dollar box will be handed out to you.*

It makes no difference who, where or what you are, Bodi-Tone takes all the risks, and asks no pay if it does not benefit. You don't need to write a long letter, don't need to fill out any long blanks, don't need to send any money or stamps. Send the coupon, with your name and address, and we will send a box to you.

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

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

## Rheumatism From Neck To Ankles, With a Bad Cough

LANTANA, TENN.—I had Rheumatism for twenty-five years from my Neck to my Ankles, Catarrh of the Head for about twenty years and a very bad Stomach for about five years. I took medicine from the doctor



all last Summer. I had a terrible swimming in my head for years, and last Winter I took a terrible cough and spit up quantities of mucus, which the doctors said was Bronchial Asthma. They doctored me all winter with but little benefit. I saw Bodi-Tone advertised, sent for a trial box, and I got my cure from this medicine. I am stouter this Winter than I have been in thirty years and seem to be entirely cured of all my troubles. I have gained thirty-two pounds since taking Bodi-Tone, and can walk ten miles in a day. I am sixty years old. I owe all my good health to Bodi-Tone and believe it saved my life. MRS. EMILY DRIVER.

## Kidney, Bladder, Stomach and Heart Trouble

WAUSEON, OHIO.—Bodi-Tone has done wonders for me. Last Fall I was so run down that I could hardly get up and down. I doctored and received only temporary relief. I tried everything and had about made up my mind that there was no help. I could not eat and didn't seem to crave anything. Everyone thought I would not live through the winter, and I really thought so myself. My Kidneys and Bladder were so bad, and my Stomach also. I had such weak spells with my Heart that it was not safe for me to start out to walk, as I could only stand on my feet a little while. My head was Dizzy. I saw the Bodi-Tone offer and decided to try once more. I have not felt so well for years as I do since I used Bodi-Tone. I am in my seventy-second year and can do a days' work. Everyone is surprised to see me as I am now. They all can see what Bodi-Tone has done for me. A. SAMS.



## Trial Coupon

Clipped from International Socialist Review  
**Bodi-Tone Company,**  
 Hoyme & North Aves, Chicago.

I have read your trial offer and want a dollar box of Bodi-Tone on trial. I promise to give it a fair trial and to pay \$1.00 for this box if I am benefited at the end of 25 days. If it does not help me I will not pay one penny and will owe you nothing.

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 Tiresome, Torturous Trusses can be thrown away forever, and it's all because **STUART'S PLAPAO-PADS** are different from the painful truss, being medicine applicators made self-adhesive purposely to prevent slipping and to afford an arrangement to hold the parts securely in place. **NO STRAPS, BUCKLES OR SPRINGS**—cannot slip, so cannot chafe or compress against the public bone. Thousands have treated themselves in the privacy of the home and conquered the most obstinate cases—no delay from work. Soft as velvet—easy to apply—inexpensive. The weakened muscles recover their tone, then there is no further use for trusses. *Awarded Gold Medal International Exposition, Rome. Grand Prix at Paris.* Write **TODAY** and let us prove what we say by sending you **TRIAL PLAPAO FREE!**  
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"Actina" can be used with perfect safety by every member of the family for any affliction of the ear, throat or head. A **FREE TRIAL** of the "Actina" is given in every case.

Send for our **FREE TRIAL** offer and valuable **FREE BOOK.** Address Actina Appliance Co., Dept. 312D, 811 Walnut St., Kansas City, Mo.

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 Men's socks or women's stockings, 6 pairs for \$1.00.  
 Suspenders 25 and 50 cents.  
 Shirts, negligee, pure white or colored, \$1.00.  
 Collars, 2 for 25 cents. Dozen, \$1.50.  
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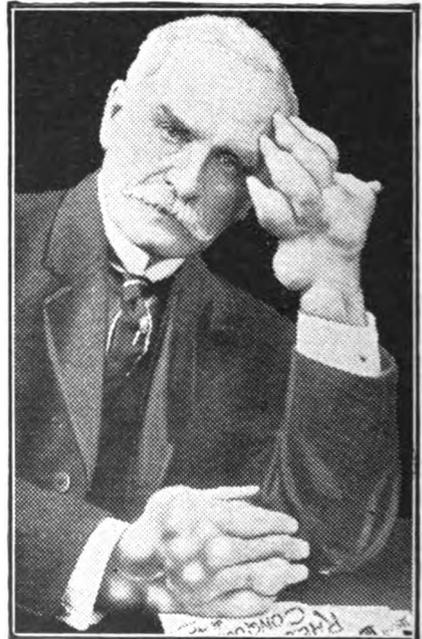
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Now, perhaps more than at any other time in the history of the world, when our industrial system is in a state of bewildered chaos, there is a need for a clear understanding of the nature and workings of capital. There is only one way to grasp the subject thoroughly and that is to study "CAPITAL" itself, the greatest work of the greatest Socialist of all time.

It would be going too far to say that no one who has not read and studied Marx's CAPITAL can be a Socialist, but it is safe to say that no one who has not given that great work at least some attention can be a **thoroughly equipped and well-grounded Socialist.**

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?

Until a few years ago CAPITAL could be had only in an imported (and faulty) edition. And only the first volume was available at that. Then this house took hold and published the entire work in three magnificent volumes, bound in cloth, with unsurpassed printing.

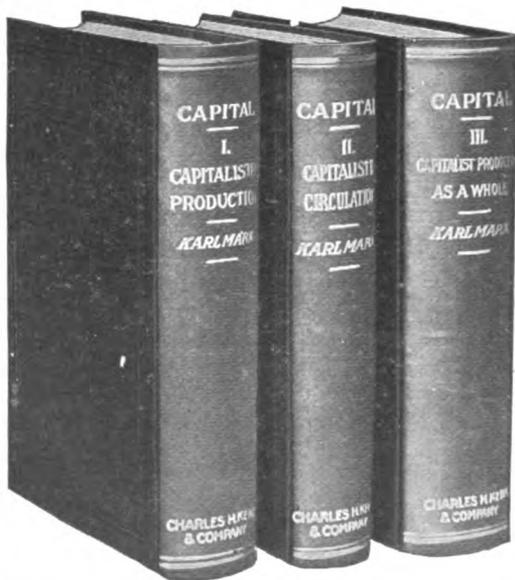
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Volume I, entitled "The Process of Capitalist Production," is practically complete in itself. It explains the thing which, up to the time that Marx came on the scene, had confused all the economists, namely, *Surplus Value*. It explains exactly how the capitalist extracts his profits. This volume might be called the keystone of the Socialist arch. 869 pages, \$2.00.

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WE WON'T "KNUCKLE DOWN" to selling systems among dealers, so we have decided upon an offer so overwhelming in its liberality that it has completely revolutionized the watch industry of the country. We call the great factories a trust because they have perfected a system of contracts and agreements with dealers which enables them to fix prices and control trade. We do not say that the Watch Trust is illegal. But we do insist that their system of "quiet" agreements and profit-boosting contracts is very, very unfair.

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**No Money Down** We will gladly ship to you on approval. You pay nothing—you risk absolutely nothing—not one cent—unless you decide that you want the great offer after seeing and examining the watch.

**\$2.50 a Month** and for the world's grandest watch! The easiest kind of payments at the Rock-Bottom—the Anti-Trust price. To assure us that every Socialist will quickly accept this great introductory direct offer we allow cash or easy payments, just as you prefer.

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You should not buy a worthless watch, just because it is cheap. Nor need you pay trust prices now for a top-notch watch. The free Burlington Book explains. THIS BOOKLET will quickly convince you, too, that you DO want an Anti-Trust watch—made in the independent factory that is not in the trust and is known for giving better quality and superior workmanship throughout; we will quickly convince you that the Burlington watch is THE watch for the discriminating buyer; that it is THE watch for the man or woman who wants, not the largest selling brand, which everybody has, but the BEST watch, the watch bought by experts, the BURLINGTON WATCH.

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Address.....

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