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REVIEW**

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AND THE
COLORADO MINERS**

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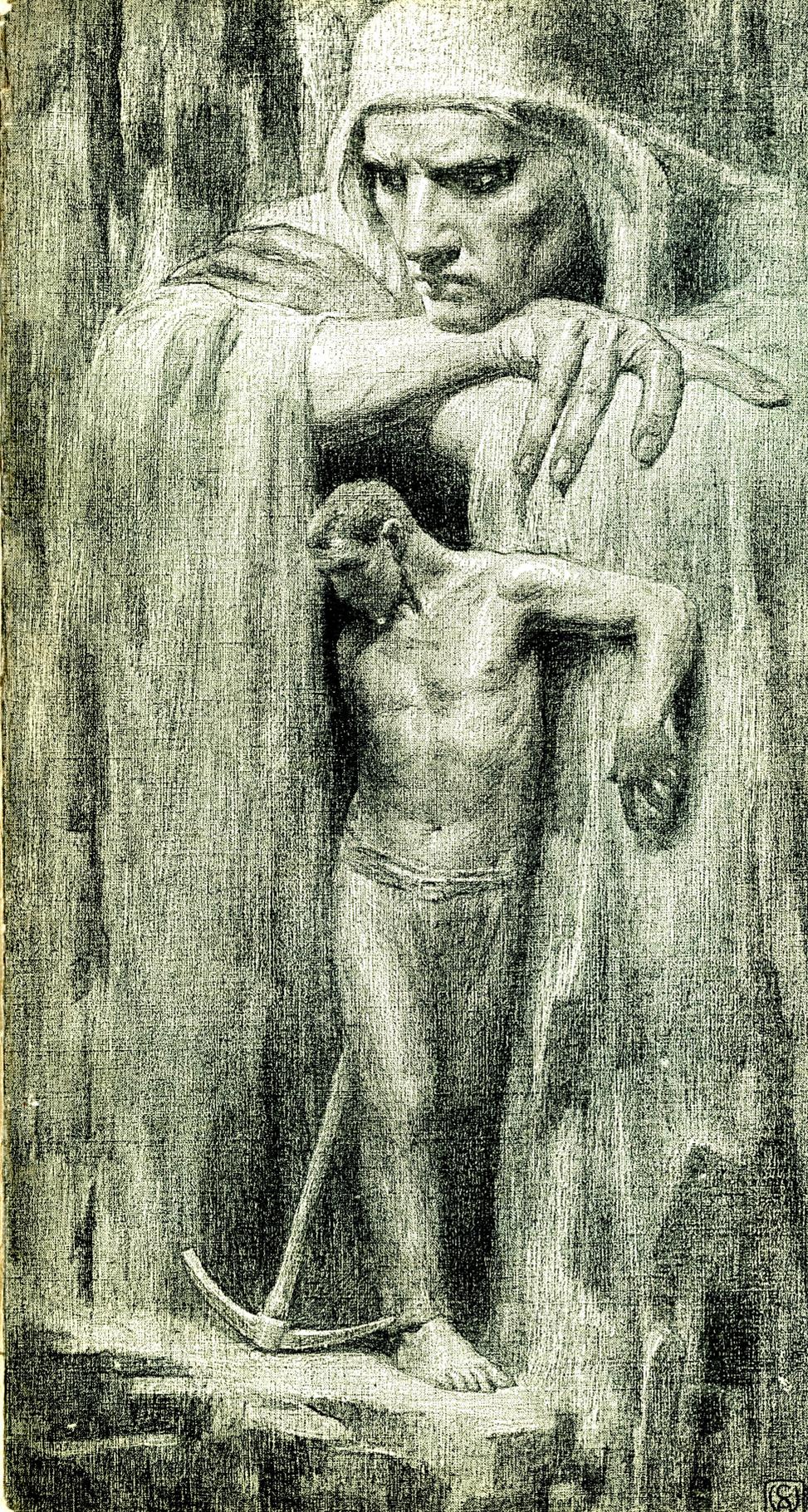
**JIM LARKIN
AND THE
DUBLIN STRIKE**

**REACTION IN
CHINA**

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DEEP BREATHING

By D. O. Harrell, M.D.

I BELIEVE we must all admit that deep breathing is a very desirable practice. Furthermore, we know it to be a fact that not one person in twenty, or perhaps one person in a hundred, really breathes deeply. Every physician can verify the statement that we are daily called upon to prescribe drugs for ailments that owe their cause directly to insufficient and improper breathing—Oxygen Starvation.

Breathing is the Vital Force of Life. Every muscle, nerve cell, in fact every fibre of our body, is directly dependent upon the air we breathe. Health, Strength and Endurance are impossible without well-oxygenated blood. The food we eat must combine with abundant oxygen before it can become of any value to the body. Breathing is to the body what free draught is to the steam boiler. Shut off the draught, and you will kill your fire, no matter how excellent coal you use. Similarly, if you breathe shallowly, you must become anæmic, weak and thin, no matter how carefully you may select your diet.

I might continue indefinitely to cite examples of the great physiological value of deep breathing. For instance, it is a well-known fact that worry, fear, and intense mental concentration practically paralyze the breathing muscles. This depressing condition can be entirely overcome through conscious deep breathing.

The main benefit of physical exercise lies in the activity it gives the lungs. What we term "lack of healthful exercise" in reality means insufficient lung action. Exercise that does not compel vigorous deep breathing is of little real value. Unfortunately, few persons have the strength and endurance to exercise violently enough to stir the lungs into rapid action. This is especially true of women and also of men who have permitted their muscles to become weak. Common sense, therefore, dictates that the lungs should be exercised independently through deep breathing gymnastics.

Unfortunately, few persons have the slightest conception of what is really meant by deep breathing. In fact, few physicians thoroughly understand the act. Ask a dozen different physical instructors to define deep breathing, and you will receive a dozen different answers. One tells you it means the full expansion of the chest, another tells you it means abdominal breathing, the third declares it means diaphragmatic breathing, and so on.

Recently there has been brought to my notice a brochure on this important subject of respiration, that to my knowledge for the first time really treats the subject in a thoroughly scientific and practical manner. I refer to the booklet entitled "Deep Breathing," by Paul von Boeckmann, R.S. In this treatise, the author describes proper breathing, so that even the most uninformed layman can get a correct idea of the act. The booklet contains a mass of common sense teachings on the subject of Deep Breathing, and "Internal Exercise." The author has had the courage to think for himself, and to expose the weaknesses in our modern systems of physical culture.

I believe this booklet gives us the real key to constitutional strength. It shows us plainly the danger of excessive exercise, that is, the danger of developing the external body at the expense of the internal body. The author's arguments are so logical it is self-evident that his theories must be based upon vast experience. Personally, I know that his teachings are most profoundly scientific and thoroughly practical, for I have had occasion to see them tested with a number of my patients.

The booklet to which I refer can be obtained upon payment of ten cents in coin or stamps by addressing Dr. von Boeckmann directly at 2645 Tower Bldg., 110 W. 40th St., New York. The simple exercises he describes therein are in themselves well worth ten times the small price demanded.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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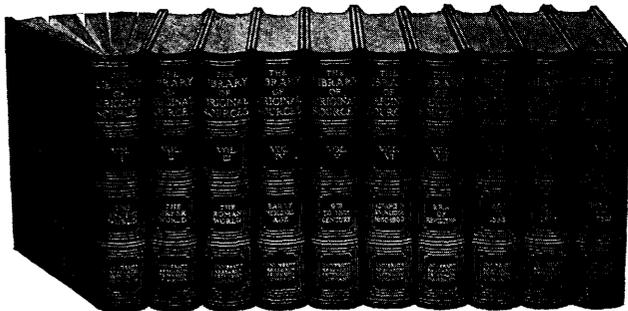
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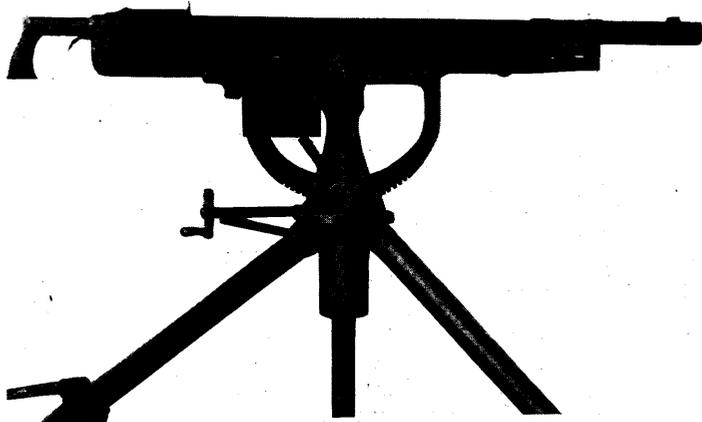
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The
INTERNATIONAL
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VOL. XIV

DECEMBER, 1913

No. 6



ONE OF THE COLORADO MINE OWNERS' FAVORITE TOOLS—A GATLING GUN. THEY ARE BEING USED BY BALDWIN GUARDS TO SHOOT DOWN STRIKING MINERS. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN BULLET HOLES WERE COUNTED IN THE TENT OF ONE MINER. SOME BALDWIN THUGS WEAR THE UNIFORM OF THE STATE MILITIA.

MACHINE GUNS AND COAL MINERS

By George N. Falconer

MILITARISM is the heavy fist of the Capitalist class to beat the worker into abject submission.

So well do they know the value of machine guns and soldiers that the utmost endeavor is constantly put forth by the Government—the ever-ready Servant of Vested interests, to seduce boys into the ranks of patriotic hirelings. Militiamen and soldiers are working men, hired for a consideration, to shoot and kill other workmen in the name of “law and order.”

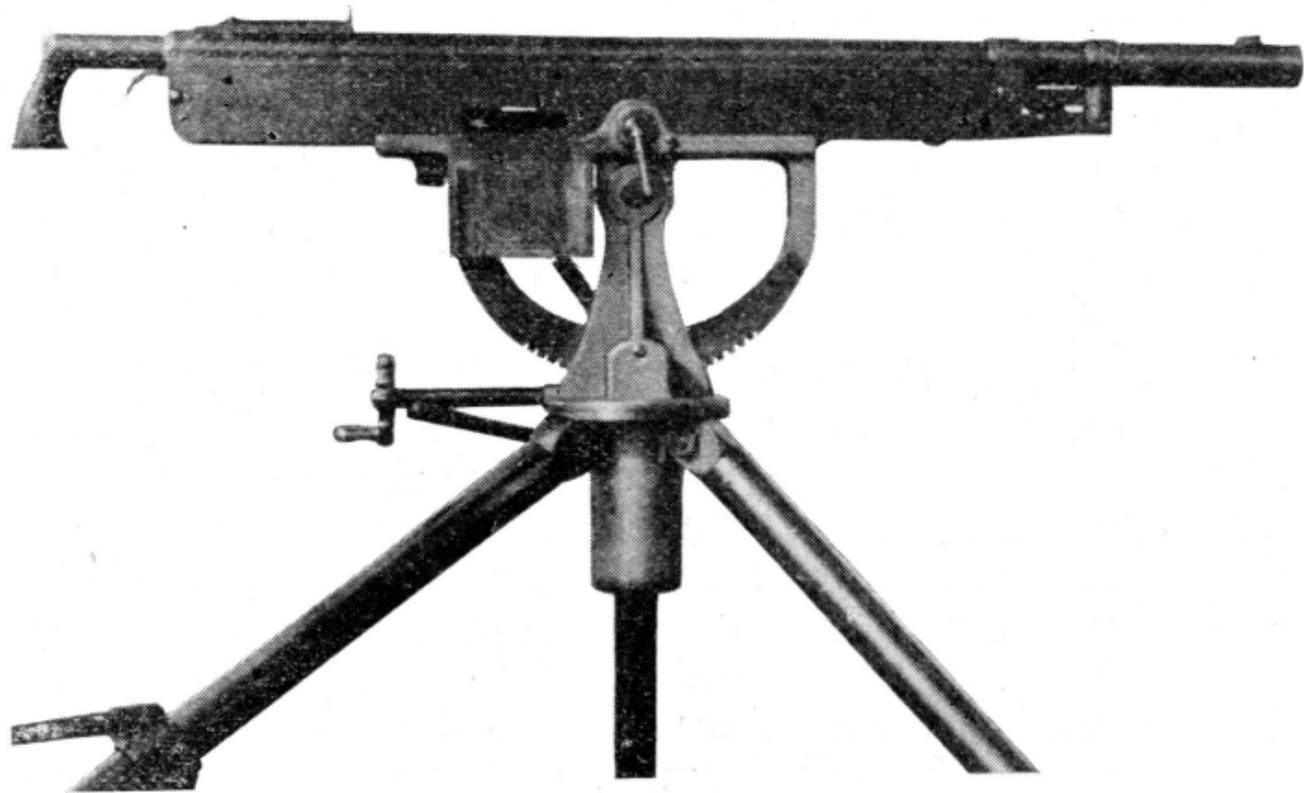
Brute force, it is evident, is never entirely discarded by the capitalist robber class in their self-assumed right to exploit the worker of the product of his toil. Behind the courts, judges and injunctions, political machinery, class education and superstition, there always lurks the

shadow of the big mit and the heavy club—the Military.

The velvet glove only covers the mailed hand.

Where the barons of the middle ages hired his knights and handmen to prey upon and keep in suppression the serfs of the surrounding territory, the coal barons of Colorado, New York and West Virginia maintain their teachers and editors, their preachers and professors, their lawyers, judges and political heelers for the same identical purpose—the robbing of the working class. When these forces fail to work expeditiously then—the honorable Governor is beseeched to call out the National Guard to preserve “law and order.”

The difference between the first exploiter of labor—the man with the knot-



ONE OF THE COLORADO MINE OWNERS' FAVORITE TOOLS—A GATLING GUN. THEY ARE BEING USED BY BALDWIN GUARDS TO SHOOT DOWN STRIKING MINERS. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN BULLET HOLES WERE COUNTED IN THE TENT OF ONE MINER. SOME BALDWIN THUGS WEAR THE UNIFORM OF THE STATE MILITIA.

ted club—and John D. Rockefeller the holy, oily Christian philanthropist, is one of degree only. The robbery of the worker is equally complete. The spoils of the idle robber of today is greater than ever. Only the methods have changed.

Why the Soldier Fights the Worker

We were asked by a strike miner the other day why were troops always called during a strike of workingmen; why were machine guns always turned on the toilers and never on the financiers, the exploiters of labor?

Why is Government ever ready to protect the interests of the strong, so seldom on the side of the weak? The answer was (quoting Marx): "Political Power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." The political power of Colorado is today where it has been the past twenty years—in the hands of the mine owners and other capitalists. The difference between Peabody and the Republican party, eight years ago, and Amons (the present Governor) and the Democratic party, is hardly discernible. Both administrations prove the capitalist government is nothing but a business man's committee.

Ouida, somewhere, remarks that a king is a fat man who bows well, and a President of a Republic is a fat or thin man who bows badly. The essential point is that they each bow equally to the dominant capitalist class, the class that owns and controls the mines, fields, factories and workshops. This fact is being demonstrated just now in Colorado, the land of big mountains and puny statesmen; a land possessing an invigorating climate, and as ugly a bunch of raw, crude, insincere, brutal political huxters as ever crawled from some dark corner to cut down their unsuspecting prey, and lots of them attend church regularly. Governor Amons is a pious man. All Colorado politicians pray and—prey!

Why does the soldier fight the worker? Because, comrade workingman, the soldier is a man with a wooden head, who is used as a club to secure "concessions," "promote trade interests," preserve "law and order" and make himself generally useful. So the interests of a horde of parasites of the Guggenheim and Rockefeller type be protected.

One of these days soldiers will refuse

to shoot their fellow workers; they will use their weapons against those who put them into their hands for murderous purposes. When workingmen absolutely refuse to shoot at the bidding of a monkey captain—that day the war game shall stop.

Machine Gun—A Fine Exhibit

June last there was exhibited in front of one of Denver's popular theatres a machine gun. A boy dressed in khaki stood by enlightening the curious. A sign in front of the big piece read: "U. S. Field Gun. Latest model. Hurls a 15-lb. shell or shrapnel over four miles. This is one of eight guns issued to the Colorado Militia. The two batteries cost the U. S. \$170,000. WE WANT MEN TO MAN THEM." In times of peace prepare for machine guns. A single one of these guns planted on the sidewalk of any big city, we were informed, would command a mob (workers, of course) from three lines of approach, and rake the streets from end to end.

Machine Guns—latest product of Christian Civilization—an argument which American capitalists are preparing in answer to the demands of Trades Unionism and—Socialism!

We can hear the roar, the groans of the dying, the **silence** of the dead. Right and left a frightened populace yelp and drop and tumble. Down! Rapid fire! Night! Stillness! The troopers, as they boarded the train at Denver the other day for Trinidad, amid the plaudits of ladies fair, caressed the muzzles of the machine guns, to be used, if necessary, against the coal miners.

Machine Guns in Trinidad

The coal operators were already supplied with gunmen and machine guns. Over eight hundred thugs, from the various detective agencies, now becoming so popular; about 200 desperadoes were recruited in Denver at \$3.50 per day, all expenses paid. Several shootings have taken place, both thugs and strikers biting the dust. The operators' machine gun was used on a miner's tent, now an exhibit in Denver, in which can be seen about 30 holes made by the grapeshot. Cooking utensils were riddled. Fortunately the inmates of the tent squatted on the floor and thus escaped the deadly shot—much to the surprise of the gun-

men who confessed their wonder at no one being hurt.

They have mounted several machine guns on automobiles. The operators have also what is called a "Steel Battleship." This automobile has a high body of solid sheet steel, built up so as to conceal the guards inside. The steel furnishes resistance to bullets and is so arranged that the assassins on the inside may shoot their rifles in perfect safety. What think you, my brave American patriots, of such a Coward's Castle? It carries a rapid-fire machine gun and can shoot 250 shots a minute. This machine has been paraded on Trinidad's main street several times, with the avowed object of over-awing the striking miners. The miners, however, are laughing and keeping watch—they are game and are prepared to fight and die if necessary. Death at the hands of an assassin above ground is no worse than death by starvation or gas explosion underground—so many of them declare.

The Dear, Good Public

And the public, the dear pee-pul here in Denver, over whom so many newspaper tears are shed—what of them? Poor political and economic runts that they are; slaves of the pay envelope and Mother Grundy; job worshippers, cringing servile defenders of their equally servile bosses, white-collared sissies, failing to understand the position of the miners, snivel and grunt about the high cost of living and the steady increase in the price of coal. Damn them, for a measly pack of would-be's, may the price of coal, beef, soup, pudding and salvation continue to soar. These human July bugs, impotently buzzing against the strong wall of capitalism, are getting that for which they vote from year to year—the private ownership of a public necessity—coal. The newspapers are stupidly, brutally indifferent to the miners' cause. The churches, as usual, are silent. Big business is tearful over the loss of capital, due to the strike. The bankers, alone, seem happy; they urged the calling out of the troops and are advancing a million-dollar loan to finance the expedition; money to be returned, plus interest, in due time. Happy, blessed bankers!

The coal miners are going to win in this strike. The union, international in scope, has a membership of 45,000. Every army, said Napoleon, crawls on its belly. The commissariat of the miners' union is healthy. The treasury is good—nearly one million dollars on hand. The physical needs of the strikers and their families are being attended to. They are prepared to hold out for a year, if necessary. They are willing that bankers, lawyers, preachers, prominent business men, and mine owners dig coal; THEY won't until THEIR demands are granted which are:

Recognition of the union.

A 10 per cent advance in wages on tonnage rates and a daily wage scale on the same basis as that of the state of Wyoming.

Ten per cent advance on the wages paid coke oven workers.

An eight-hour day for all classes of labor in the coal mines and coke ovens.

Pay for all narrow work and dead work which includes brushing, timbering, removing falls, handling impurities, etc.

Check weighmen at all mines to be elected by the miners without any interference by company officials.

Right to trade in any store that mine workers please, and the right to choose their own boarding place and their own physician.

Enforcement of the Colorado mining laws.

Abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years.

Too modest, say you, and we are all with you. But organization must precede the carrying out of any program, revolutionary, or otherwise, and organization is the big thing aimed at among the striking miners. Organization is Power. Power! 'Tis a kingly word. Given the power, through industrial organization, it is only a little time, when miners and workers the world over shall inscribe on their banners, "Abolish the Wage and Profit System." In the accomplishment of this grand and holy task we, the Socialists of Colorado, stand ready to help them agitate, educate and organize themselves, **industrially** and **politically**, to the end that they may become the masters of themselves, with the power to rule their own destinies.



MOTHER JONES "AT WORK" IN TRINIDAD.

FIGHTING TO WIN IN COLORADO

By Robert M. Knight

“THE fight is on. We would have avoided it; we still stand ready at any time to meet representatives of the other side with hopes of effecting a settlement. We hold out the olive branch continually. But because we wish for peace must not be construed as a sign that we are not able to fight. Our past record should dispel such idle dreams. We will aid our brothers in the Colorado fields with all of our resources; with the advice of men of experience; with the hearty good will and sympathy of the vast army of sturdy workers that make up our membership. And these will give a good account of themselves against all the powers of darkness the operators may bring against us.”—*Mine Workers Journal*.

For months the leading newspapers (?) of Denver and all the capitalist sheets throughout the state, both daily and weekly,

have been repeating the same rigmarole in regard to the coal strike. While they insult the union men, they anxiously defend themselves against any suspicious of sympathy with the Standard Oil crowd. Their excuses are: A strike is an industrial war for more wages and not one of principle, it does not in their opinion affect the question of morality; finally, even if right and justice is on the side of the miner it is a vain attempt to subjugate by force of a strike, the peaceful relations of No. 26 Broadway. Would not open shop conditions free the miner of all his trouble? Therefore, should not the miners welcome the open shop as a happy event instead of seeking a recognition of the union through a “bloody and ruinous strike”?

Let us look a little into the real cause of this strike that dates, back to April 1, 1910, a time when there were not over three



MOTHER JONES "AT WORK" IN TRINIDAD.

thousand organized miners in the state. Our contract expired then and the operators knew we would never be any weaker and perhaps they never more powerful. Therefore they sought to force an open shop by refusing to recognize the miner's right to organize and sell his labor-power collectively. A strike resulted, one that history will perhaps record as the hardest fought mile of the miner's road to industrial freedom.

There were but few of us and after several months the busy world outside forgot all about the strike in northern Colorado. Strikes were fought and won in various parts of the country; all the while the miners stood firm, fighting injunctions, suffering jail sentences and other hardships without complaining, yet knowing all the time our only hope for victory was an organized strike in the southern part of the state, as we were unable to seriously affect the market. National organizers were sent south and at once began the task of secretly organizing the slaves in John D.'s hell-holes of Colorado. This work was slow and dangerous requiring three and one-half years' time (and "God knows" how much cash).

When the civil war was ended in West Virginia the militant workers of the union, including Frank J. Hayes and "Mother Jones" were sent to Colorado to assist in the organization work and with their arrival things began to move apace. Hayes soon asked the operators for a conference and demanded recognition of the union in the name of 15,000 newly organized slaves. The operators ignored all invitations to arbitrate boasting they had five millions of dollars for defense. They began preparing for a strike by importing gun men and thugs from West Virginia through the Baldwin Feltz detective agency. W. H. Reno, chief detective for C. F. & I., also opened a recruiting station in the Dover Hotel, 1744 Glenarm place, and succeeded in sending out of Denver some of the most notorious characters from the red light district and barrel house bums. Upon the arrival of these criminals in the strike zone Sheriffs Gresham and Farr (appointed by the coal companies), gave them deputy sheriff commissions.

The State Federation of Labor held its annual convention at Trinidad August 18 and when the U. M. W. of A. delegates began to arrive in town late Saturday after-

noon G. W. Beltcher and Walter Belk, two Baldwin-Beltz heroes, shot and instantly killed Gerald Lippiatt, a district organizer on the main street of Trinidad. A coroner's jury, composed of "good" business men, rendered a verdict of "justifiable homicide"; District Attorney Hendricks later preferred a charge of murder against them but the courts of Colorado do not value a coal miner's life very high and Lippiatt's murderers were promptly released on bond because such human hyenas are needed by the operators to maintain law and order during a strike.

The Federation convention at Trinidad pledged the support of all organized labor in the state to the miners if they were forced to strike. A policy committee composed of district and national officials issued an ultimatum to all operators and call to all coal miners of the state to meet in Trinidad September 16 and consider the question of a strike. Conditions were exposed in this convention that would have caused the feudal lords of the Middle Ages to blush with shame. A more complete system of slavery cannot be conceived than was maintained in southern Colorado. Out of 15,864 coal miners employed in 1910, 323 were killed, a greater percentage than in any state in the union. A state law grants check weighmen. And miners were discharged for asking to see their coal weighed. They were compelled to trade at a company store and pay 25 to 50 per cent more than other merchants charged; to live in a company shack called a house; buy company coal and pay a company doctor, and last, but not least, they checked off a school tax that was never turned over to the state, and about all the miner was permitted to draw on payday was a statement of how much he owed the company. All this happened in "free America" under both Democratic and Republican administrations without a single protest from any public official, county, state or national. This state of affairs is the result of "REWARDING OUR FRIENDS AND PUNISHING OUR ENEMIES."

Fully realizing that the Standard Oil people in league with the Guggenheim crowd control the state politically, a strike would have been called at once but time was needed for a consignment of tents that was being delayed en route from West Virginia, to arrive and the date was postponed till September 23. Wholesale evictions followed, "poor wretched souls, men, women,

husbands, wives, fatherless children" of the men killed in the mines, "widows, woeful mothers with young babes" and all their household things, small in substance, but great in number, were thrown into the street. All the tents had not yet arrived and the elements seemed to be in league with the operators, for two days it rained and snowed. There never was a more pitiful sight than the exodus of those miners fortunate enough to get wagons for their household goods. It rained all day Tuesday and there streamed into Trinidad from every road, miners with their wives and kids, crowded up on top of pitifully few household things they were huddling together in a vain effort to protect each other from the storm.

When all the tents did arrive the mine guards refused to allow any evicted miner to move his household goods off the property of the coal company without an order signed by Sheriff Gresham (a C. F. & I. lickspittle). Mother Jones said, "Tell the sheriff if he don't come up here and make them let us have our own property, we'll go and get it ourselves, gun men or no gun men."

Some one has said, "A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than a learned philosopher apologizing for his chains." Believing this, fully 95 per cent of the miners answered the call to strike. Men with families within three days of starvation and without clothes enough to protect their frail bodies from the biting winds of mountain winters came out fully determined to win or die in the attempt. And who will blame them? Work such as the miner does is no longer honorable but has come to mean "drunkenness, vice and superstition." It makes men and women unscrupulous, hard and restless. It destroys for others the treasure of life—a home. All the noble sentiments of liberty and the joy of labor mean in reality to the miner slavery of the worst type.

With thoughtless hymns of praise of this massacreing of labor, society allows one wholesale slaughter after another without a protest. While I am writing this the news arrived of the Dawson, New Mexico, disaster, in which the lives of 261 miners were lost and the operators refused to allow Secretary Doyle of the miners' union to give the widows and orphans \$1,000 donated by the union because the camp was non-union. And just as certain as that nothing becomes better without the desire to improve it so it

is a healthy sign of the times that starvation wages for conscientious drudgery no longer fills the miner with heartfelt gratitude toward the master class.

The mine slaves were so cowed that the operators were sure that not more than 25 per cent would quit and when practically every miner laid down his tools, completely tying up the coal industry of Colorado, the wrath of the masters knew no bounds. They immediately got busy and sent a deputation of their lackeys, consisting of a lawyer, banker and a Catholic priest (Father Malone), to Washington to repeat the lies of the operators that the miners were satisfied with conditions but forced to strike by eastern agitators like Frank Hayes and Mother Jones. Their thugs began to terrorize the country, shoot up the tented camps of the strikers, insult the women and abuse the children and the operators began to call for the militia that the state might pay the cost of breaking the strike and thus save John D. a few paltry dollars with which to build a few more churches and start more Sunday schools where they sing and PREY—"servants obey your masters."

Failing to get the militia as soon as they called, the operators had to content themselves with filling the jails of Colorado with strikers who dared to exercise their constitutional rights of peacefully asking imported strikebreakers to not work. In the city of Boulder and within the shadow of Colorado's greatest educational institution, the state university, thirty-six were confined in the county jail until the court permitted the prisoners to bail each other out. Forty-nine others were arrested in Las Animas county and marched seven miles to the Trinidad jail between two rows of armed guards with Belk and Beltcher (out on bond for murder of Lippiatt), following up the rear with a Gatling gun mounted on an armored automobile. Frank Hayes says, "The operators have several machine guns mounted on autos. They also have what is known as the 'steel battle ship.' This is an automobile with a high body of solid sheet steel built up so as to almost conceal the guard inside. The steel furnishes resistance to the bullets and is so arranged that the assassins on the inside may shoot their rifles in perfect safety. It is a splendid refuge for a coward. The body of the machine is shaped like a torpedo and was designed and built for mine guards. It carried a rapid fire machine gun with a range



PART OF THE MINERS' PARADE AT TRINIDAD.

of more than two miles. As bad as West Virginia was there was nothing down there to compare with this latest instrument of murder that the operators of Colorado are using."

As this procession neared town, G. E. Jones, a member of Western Federation of Miners, attempted to get a picture of the armored car. A. C. Felt beat him insensible and destroyed his camera and had him arrested for disturbing the peace.

Gun men patrol the public roads in armored autos, shooting up first one camp and then another. The first resistance the strikers offered was at Forbes, October 17, one striker was killed, two wounded and a deputy shot in the hip. One hundred and forty-seven bullets from a machine gun passed through a tent occupied by an aged Scotchman, who saved his life by lying flat on the floor. After this battle the miners made preparations to defend themselves from further attacks of the guards.

The miners hold the strategic point at Ludow, where the guards made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them in a battle that lasted from Friday night till Monday morning in which forty Baldwin guards were reported killed. This was too much for the operators, they could not stand to see the miners so successfully defending

their homes, so they pulled the right string and the governor sent 1,000 militiamen under General Chase with orders to protect the property of the coal company and the lives of the guards. Governor Ammons promised to be neutral, something absolutely impossible. When the question of right and justice is at stake there is no neutral ground and I anxiously await the developments of the next few days. The militia has made a bluff at disarming the guards but never took away any machine guns. They have given the strikers forty-eight hours to surrender their arms and ammunition or submit to search and seizure. Martial law was declared October 28 and since then everything has been quiet, such a quiet as precedes a storm. One thousand militiamen and 15,000 strikers face each other in southern Colorado and the miners haven't forgotten Cripple Creek, and the yellow legs had better be good.

The class war that is now raging in the coal fields of Colorado is but the continuance of the age-long struggle that began when one class of people began living off the toil of another class, but not since the revolting slaves followed Spartacus in ancient Rome have the working class defended themselves and families against the mas-



PART OF THE MINERS' PARADE AT TRINIDAD.

ter's attacks as the coal miners of southern Colorado.

Strikes are the most antique weapon in the miner's arsenal. Three and a half years of strike in northern Colorado cost \$1,022,000 before the south was called out. But the educational value of a strike cannot be too highly estimated, "it implants that feeling of solidarity." By completely tying up a coal industry which represents thirty different crafts, it has been shown that industrial unionism is indispensable to the welfare of labor.

The war of the classes is not confined to any particular place or any one craft. In every country where capitalism is developed, regardless of governments, races or religions, there the militiamen's ready rifle cracks and the corporation judge binds and

gags the workers with injunctions and opens the prison doors to all that hold such actions in contempt.

In Lafayette, where Greely W. Whitford imprisoned sixteen miners who held his contemptible court in contempt at the beginning of the northern strike, is a red revolutionary socialist city administration backed up by one of the strongest socialist locals of the state.

Slowly but surely the Samson, labor, is finding his strength. He is no longer blind. Over all the earth sweeps the spirit of revolt. Beneath the blood red flag of brotherhood rally the disinherited of the world with a feeling that "an injury to one is the concern of all." The workers of the world are uniting. They have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain.

THE MINERS OF LUDLOW

THE men of Ludlow, the largest of the tent colonies, decided that there was but one way to defend themselves from illegal force. They in turn were compelled to arm themselves and we are proud of their splendid courage, their daring achievements.

The men of Ludlow have shown how readily the bold, blustering gunmen will turn tail when confronted by men armed and ready to use their arms in defense of their tent homes; their women and children.

The swaggering, loud talking mercenaries developed another quality. Sprinting and marathon records were made by the brave guards in their anxiety to make safe getaways.

And then, the armored train, with machine guns mounted to sweep the camp.

All praise to our railroad men brothers. They one and all refused to man this death-dealing engine. But, among the Baldwins there was one who could run an engine, in a way.

And the "under-sheriff" of Las Animas county fired the engine.

An epitome of the whole situation, "the Baldwin at the throttle, the sheriff's office firing the engine."

It seemed hopeless; but not to the men of southern Colorado.

They went forward to meet the "death special" ere it reached the tent town which they claimed as their homes.

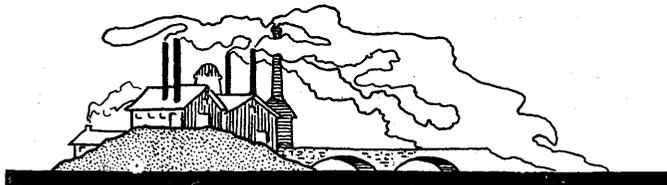
They met the steel-clad train, manned by one hundred and ninety guards, armed with machine guns and modern rifles.

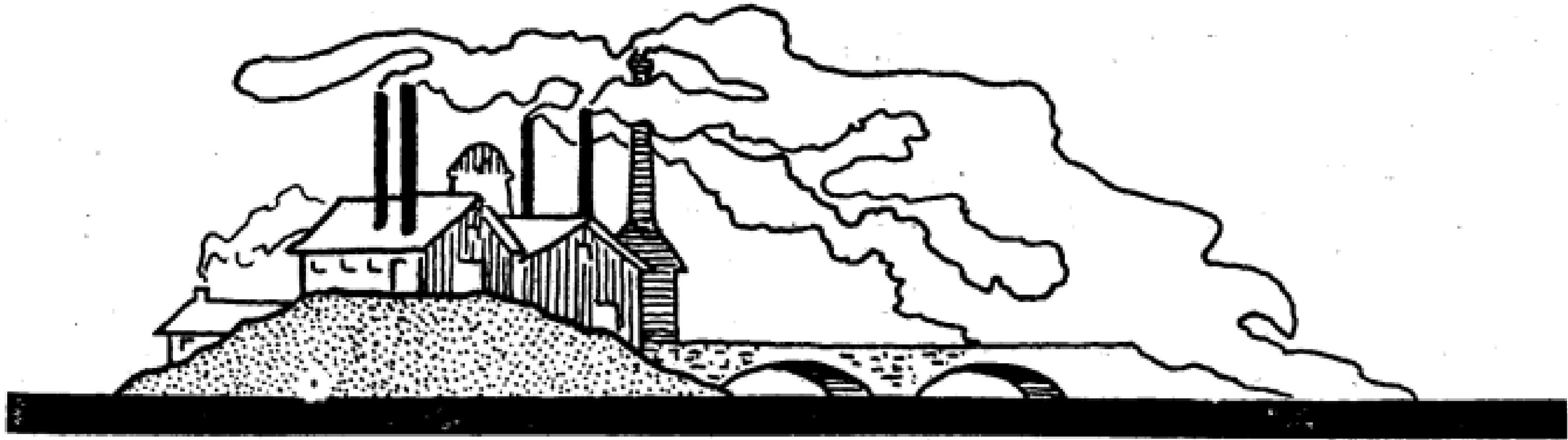
They engaged them; they forced them to slack down; to stop; to beat a hasty retreat; to back up, with more speed than dignity.

All hail to you men of southern Colorado!

When "justice" turned prostitute you defended your homes, your rights, as men should.

To Thermopylae; to Lexington; to the battle on the bridge across the Tiber, add "Ludlow," where the embattled miners proved themselves able and willing to defend their homes and their loved ones.—
United Mine Workers' Journal.







JIM LARKIN ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

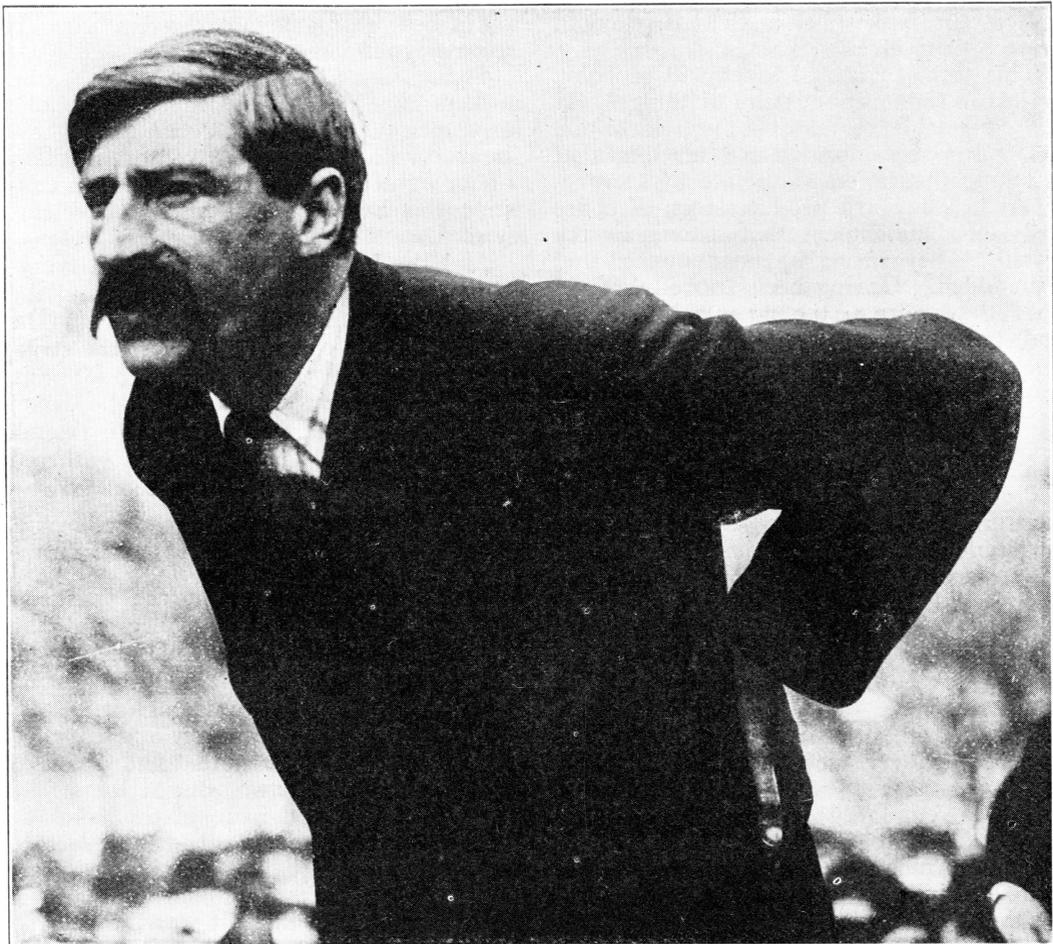
JIM LARKIN

By *Caroline Nelson*

A SPECTRE is haunting all Europe! Parliaments are debating on how to fight it. Kings and emperors are concerned with its menacing significance. The capitalist class is arming to protect itself against it. The spectre is what the daily newspapers call fearfully "Larkinism."

For a good many years the labor leader

in Europe has been a worse parasite than his prototype in America. Here he is an autocratic little king drawing an enormous salary. It is harder for the workers to dislodge him because he has come from the working class himself and is thoroughly entrenched in his soft job through years of faithful service to those in authority in the unions. Greed for power on the part of



JIM LARKIN ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

union officials and pressure from the capitalist class has finally put most of the power of the trade unions into the hands of a very few conservative officials who protect the bosses better than they could protect themselves.

This sort of Labor Leader will probably be lost in the rush and hum of things. He will be unable to readjust himself to the new spirit of democracy and rebellion that is taking possession of the workers everywhere. This spirit produces men of a fire and self-abandonment that astonishes the world. They spring up unannounced and unheralded. Having been "nobody's good dog," they spurn all the old rules and tactics and phrases carefully preserved by the sleek, smooth-tongued, conservative labor leader. They serve no apprenticeship in the politics of unionism and spring into the forefront during a time of strife to fling defiance into the teeth of the master class and accomplish marvels of educational and organization work everywhere. Their stirring militancy finds an echo in the hearts of the rebellious workers and gives voice to those who have been mute.

Such a figure is Jim Larkin. Five years ago he landed in Dublin, a penniless tramp, looking for a job. He has been working here ever since. Today his name spreads terror throughout all Europe. The papers are wailing over the dangers of "Larkinism."

Larkin employed the industrial union tactics calling for a general strike. Gravely this morning a Berlin paper regrets that Jim Larkin has taught the Irish workers the "sympathy strike," claiming that the Dublin strike is so utterly different from what one might be led to expect from the British workers, that the workers have changed so rapidly from their old attitude of thoughtful consideration for the bosses, that nobody knows how to handle the situation. This is not to be wondered at when the German capitalists see their own labor leaders denying strike benefits to the workers who wanted to go out in sympathy with the Dublin strikers, in this way forcing them back to work.

The Dublin strike has lasted two months now. It started with the street car workers and the dockers and has spread to nearly all other trades like wild fire. The bosses denied the workers the right to organize.

Naturally the bosses in Dublin blame all the trouble on Jim Larkin. But the trouble

lies in the system that exploits the working class. Jim Larkin is merely the militant voice of the workers. Larkin says:

"It will not take the working class long to tip over this damnable system when it becomes conscious of its power."

Thanks to his splendid influence, the strikers have decided to drink no alcoholic beverages. Larkin has shown them how the man with a "booze" soaked brain makes a poor fighter and the strikers want to continue the battle, clear-headed and clear-eyed.

And Jim Larkin is here, there and everywhere. One day he was arrested and the officials sent out word that he would be held so that he could not address the strikers. The meeting was called for 3:00 p. m. Jim sent word to the strikers that he would be on hand AND WOULD speak though the heavens fell. Great crowds gathered together to hear Jim that afternoon. Slowly a great mass of over 20,000 wage workers surged toward the place of meeting. By 2 o'clock the crowd was packed tight making a solid wall about the speaker's platform. Gleefully the police and the soldiers declared they would never let Larkin enter the crowd. They thought no man could make his way through it.

The crowd waited patiently and anxiously. The same difficulties that had occurred to the police, they saw. But at the stroke of 3 o'clock an old man, in the front of the solid mass pressed about the lecture platform, leaped lightly upon the stage, pulled a false gray wig and beard from his head and—behold! It was the beloved Jim, for whom the great heaving mass set the earth trembling in its mighty cheers. And Jim talked as he had never talked before. The police were unable to make any way through the crowd. Nothing could stop him.

Larkin took a lesson from the Lawrence strikers and the strike committee planned to send the children of Dublin strikers to their comrades in England to be cared for till the battle was won. Again the Catholic Church stepped in prohibiting the mothers from separating from their children. And thousands of the workers began to see just WHOM the Catholic Church serves in any crisis. Such events are a blessing in disguise. They show the workers their true friends—and ENEMIES. Our old friend, Mrs. Montefiore, was arrested with

other socialists on a faked-up charge of kidnapping the children.

The Copenhagen newspapers rejoice that Jim Larkin is not an anti-parliamentarian. When the long fight comes to an end and home rule for Ireland becomes an established fact, they believe Larkin will enter the Irish Parliament. They hint plainly that a little capitalist flattery may draw the teeth of the firebrand. Everywhere it seems to be the consensus of opinion that Jim Larkin must be fixed—either by imprisonment or by a high position that will tend to conservatism. They don't know Jim.

In the meantime Jim Larkins are springing up all over Europe. The crop is growing bigger and better every year because the European worker is being pushed nearer and nearer the abyss of despair.

In Berlin, Germany, 10,000 workers live in damp cellars and thousands upon thousands live in one room that never sees a streak of sunlight. The comrades took me through forests of those tall yard-buildings that are reached only through narrow alleys. Here is carried on much of the sweat-shop manufacturing. We have been told in America that Berlin has abolished the slum. No, she has only hidden them—sometimes behind plate glass windows.

But the workers are growing more intelligent all the time. The women are refusing to bring large families into the world and one does not see either in Berlin or Paris those crowds of miserable, hungry children that we see in London. This is partly because the English working class still holds to capitalist ideas on religion and morality.

Just now there is a noticeable period of reaction in Europe, caused by the Balkan war. The capitalist class in every country used this war to stir up the dead corpse of patriotism. It was during this campaign of military propaganda that the French ruling class was able to put through the bill for increasing military service to three years. But the protest and rebellion at once assumed threatening proportions. The

public officials then granted the soldiers a four months' leave of absence every summer which made their "victory" a barren one after all. The workers in France are not very respectful of the law nor are they very law-abiding.

When the old-age pension system was put through, which was to compel the workers to carry a card to be stamped with due stamps paid for by himself and his employer, the workers tore up the cards and ignored the law. They demanded a non-tributary system of no less than two francs a day at the age of fifty-five years.

The French working class deliberately violated the laws. What did the government do about it? What COULD the government do about it? Obviously it could not imprison the whole working class. So the matter rests. And the government has lowered the age for pensions five years.

This period of reaction cannot last long. Doubtless it will give the capitalist class a new breathing spell some places and enable them to draw the cords a little tighter around the workers. But the workers will rebel in a hundred places at once next year, or the year after and a thousand Jim Larkins will arise.

The New Unionism is making inroads in every land. It is spreading like a tidal wave, gathering power and momentum all the time. Its watchword is CLASS SOLIDARITY and it keeps the power of all decisions in the hands of the rank and file.

* * * * *

As I write word comes through the comrades that Jim Larkin has been arrested. Magistrate Swift, who caused his arrest, had issued a proclamation declaring the strike mass meetings illegal. Comrade Larkin burned the magistrate's papers in the public square and joined the strikers in their own proclamation, which consisted of the following pledge:

"I will pay no rent until the tramway men have got the conditions they demand."

Larkin was sentenced to serve seven months on a charge of "sedition and inciting to riot."



A PATHETIC SCENE NEAR THE UNIVERSAL COLLIERY—WIVES AND CHILDREN OF ENTOMBED MINERS WAITING FOR NEWS.

THE GREATEST MINE

Photographs by

FIFTEEN hundred women and children were robbed of their breadwinners this month when in Senghenydd, England, 435 miners were killed in a mine explosion. Five hundred miners escaped through what looks like a miracle. In commenting upon the disaster, *London Justice* says:

"A matter which illustrates the mine owners' utter disregard for the safety of the miner is the fact that while millions of tons of coal are extracted from the mines annually, these huge gaps in Mother Earth are allowed to accumulate a great volume of inflammable gas. One spark of fire is likely to mean an explosion like the one that has just occurred,

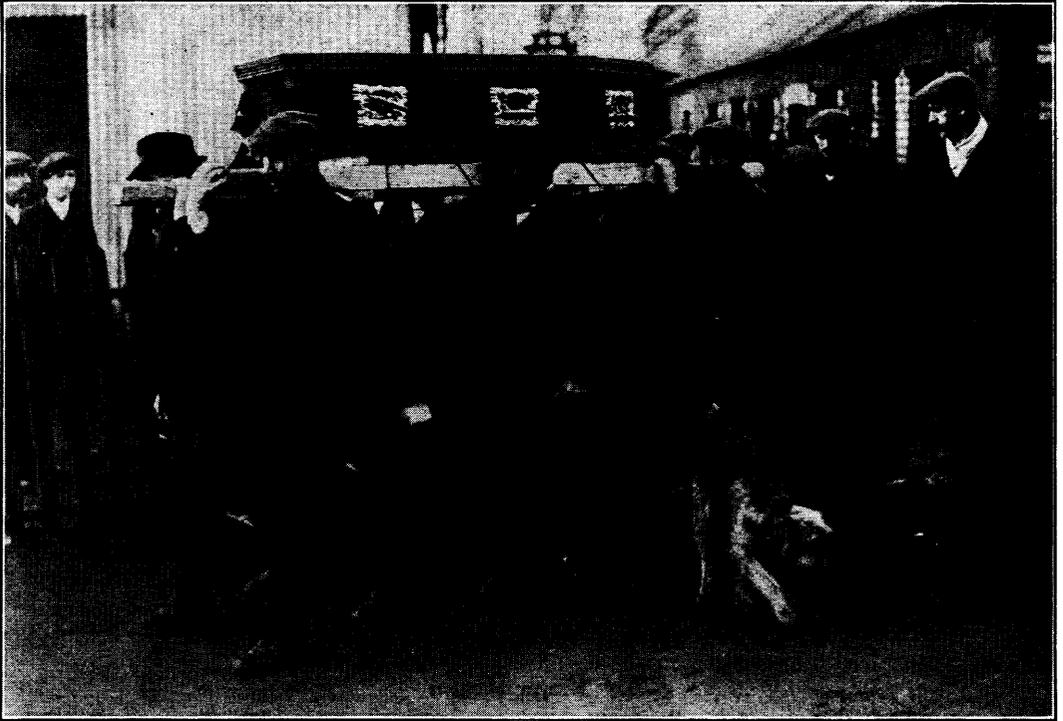
and the death of a thousand men." If these precautions were taken," *Justice* continues:

"The mine output would, of course, be reduced. But what of that if life were made more secure? Life is surely more sacred than profits. How the miners themselves are placed in regard to their conditions of labor can be judged from the following incident:

"The men employed at the pits of the Cambrian combine protested in general meeting against the conditions of their servitude by leaving work in a body. The sequel to their action is that several hundreds of them are to be proceeded against in the court for ABSENTING



A PATHETIC SCENE NEAR THE UNIVERSAL COLLIERY—WIVES AND CHILDREN OF ENTOMBED MINERS WAITING FOR NEWS.



MINERS CARRYING THE BODIES OF THEIR DEAD COMRADES FROM THE COMPANY'S OFFICES TO THE HOMES.

DISASTER IN WALES

Paul Thompson, New York.

THEMSELVES FROM WORK WITHOUT PERMISSION. In most cases sums amounting to 30s are claimed by the company to recoup them for their alleged losses. If these men go to work they run the risk of losing their lives, if they stay at home they must pay the company heavy damages for daring to exercise their vaunted liberty."

In the organization of a coal mine there are officials known as firemen whose duty, in theory, is to look to the safe condition of the mine. In actual practice, however, these officials act as overseers of the men working in their districts, rushing the men to get the coal out. They look to the safety of the men by acting as slave drivers. Their

relation to the colliery company is of a cordial nature, so long as their districts are worked cheaply. Conditions will change when the firemen become class conscious or the miners are organized to enforce their safety demands. They will have to force the bosses.

And again we want to voice the old, old refrain: The troubles of the poor, the industrial deaths of workingmen and women, poverty, itself, are all the fruits of PRODUCTION for PROFITS instead of production to feed, clothe, house and make happy and comfortable the whole world. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.



MINERS CARRYING THE BODIES OF THEIR DEAD COMRADES FROM THE COMPANY'S OFFICES TO THE HOMES.



A POPULAR WRECK.

THE STREET CAR WAR AT INDIANAPOLIS

By Bruce Rogers

Photos by Losey.

AFTER three days of hostilities, on this November 4th, election day in what promises to be one of the bloodiest and most beastly traction strikes in the history of class wars, the situation is completely in the hands of the so far victorious strikers.

The conflict is between the Indianapolis Terminal and Traction Company and its operating slaves, lately organized with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and has developed with a suddenness amounting to spontaneous action.

And this is Indianapolis, a city contemptuously known far and wide as a "scab farm," and is the labor-hating David M. Parry's very own.

In August the men on the Interurban lines made a pitiful effort which aborted in forty-eight hours—lost for lack of organization. The company grew more arrogant upon so readily whipping the men, back to work and its president, one Robert T. Todd, proudly boasted that the men could not be organized. But he had not counted upon the Indianapolis Socialists, who, at this juncture, lent their aid most efficiently to Organizer and Vice-President John J. Thorpe, by singling out individual motormen and conductors with whom they were acquainted and visiting with them.

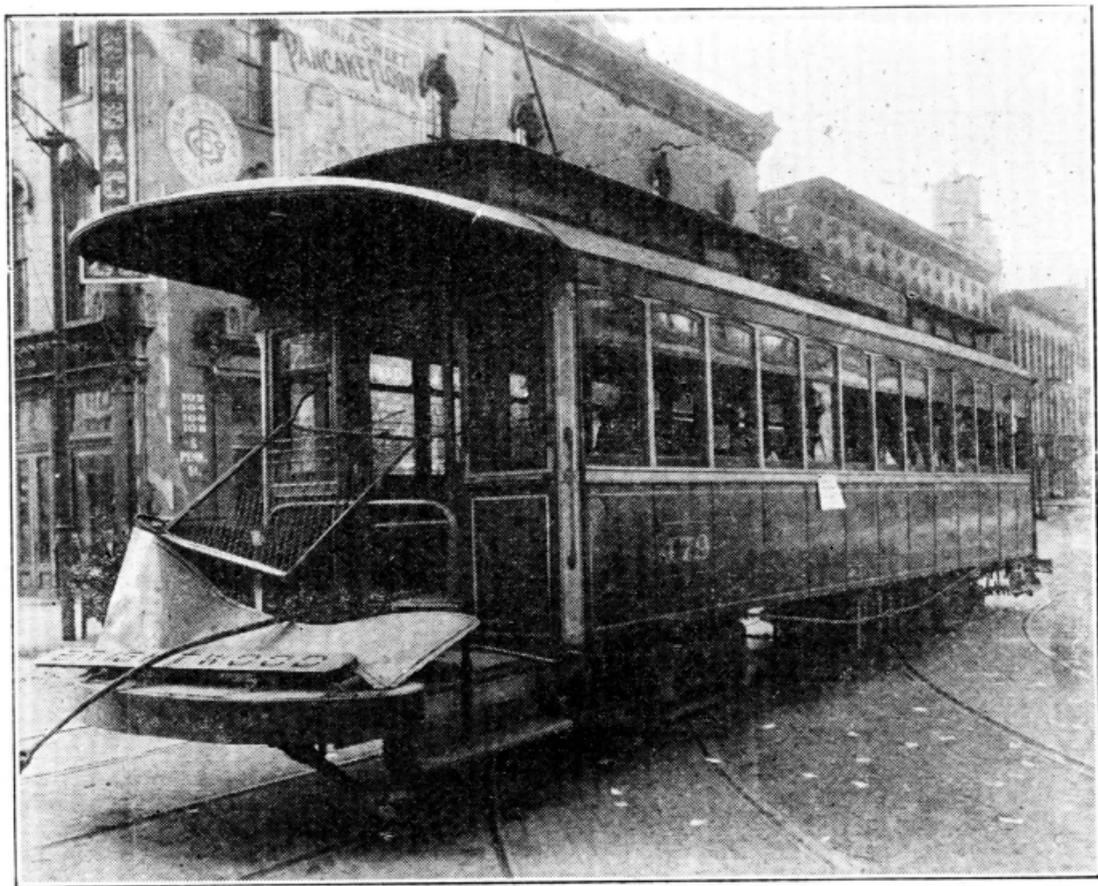
By the last week in August things were in shape and a committee was sent to the com-

pany offices. Upon stating their business and that the men had sent them, the superintendent exploded:

"So the men sent you, did they? Well, you get to hell out o' here." They then returned to the car barns and reported for their "runs," but found their time checks and "never again" slips awaiting them.

The strike was called at eleven o'clock p. m., Friday, October 31st, and promptly at that hour the cars were run into the barns and abandoned. The attempt of the company to resume service next morning with thugs and strikebreakers imported as usual for the purpose, made it suddenly realize that the "men" had been organized. The cars reached the streets, were demolished by crowds, and there they stand on the fourth day of the strike. The unladylike strikers will not even allow them to be moved back to the barns. The strikebreakers were driven back to the company barns, where they remain, fed by the company, armed to the teeth and firing at any crowd that approaches. The fatalities resulting so far are one strikebreaker shot in the back of the head by a fellow thug firing at strikers, and John Brogan, a non-combatant, who was shot by a notorious local scab by the name of James Gorman.

A street railway strike must always be swift and furious, carried on amid scenes of vio-

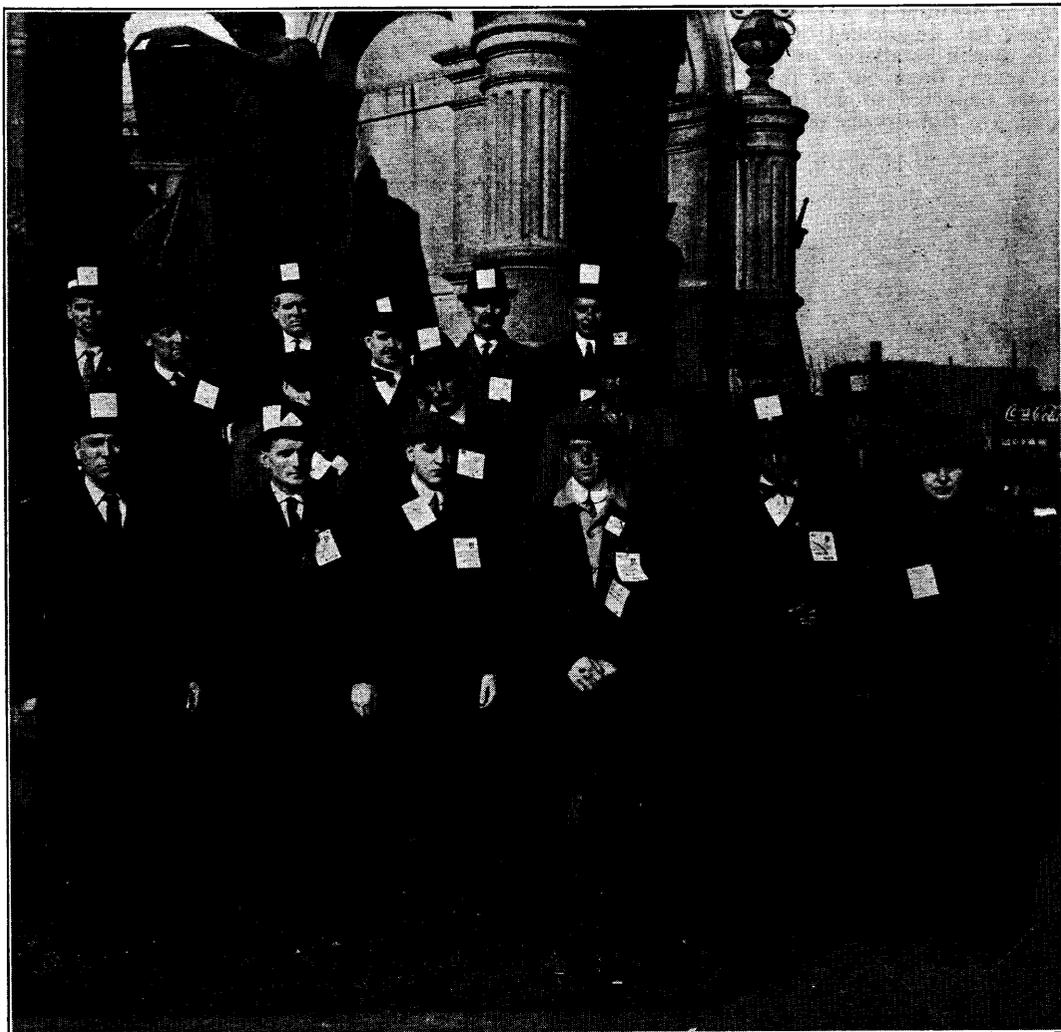


A POPULAR WRECK.

lence. Attempts to operate the cars of a struck service brings the hated scabs within close view of the strikers and their sympathizers, acting upon them as an insult and a slap in the face. In this one, just as in the great Columbus strike of Street Railway Employees, the policemen are refusing to ride with scabs and protect the cars, many of them resigning outright and others simply refusing to obey orders. Although it may be admitted that the people in sympathy with the strikers are making it dangerous to do so, still I think it wrong to assume that the police take this course out of cowardice.

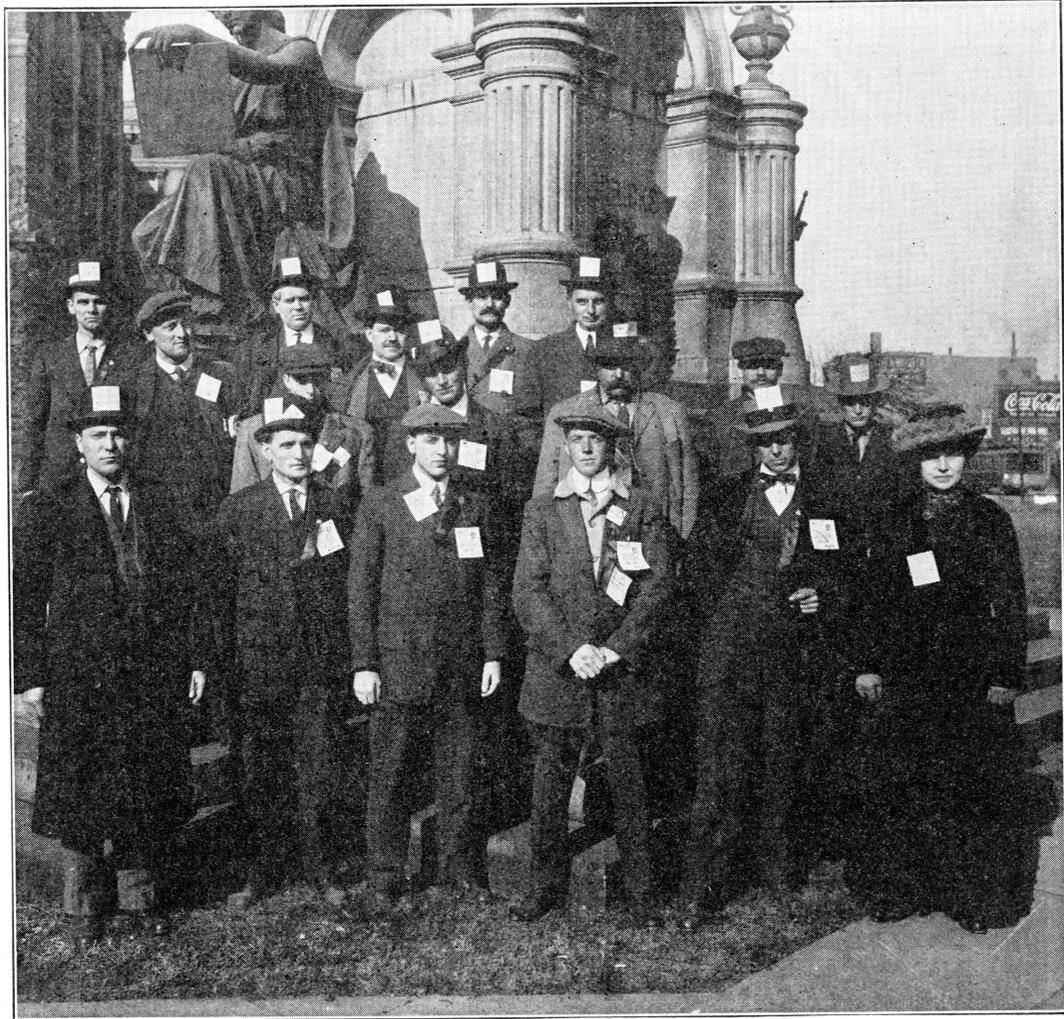
They are not unlike other "bulls" on that score, and I believe in this instance, are actuated by at least a feeling of class sympathy.

At one of the many Socialist meetings being held, Comrade Zimmerman made a stirring appeal for class solidarity and two policemen who were present tore off their badges on the spot. So far the Governor has refused the corporation the use of troops to win the strike for them, probably for reasons that will be removed by the election, which, with the course the police are taking, leaves the company hog-tied by the strikers, with, on every hand, the sympathy and co-operation of other workers. This is especially true of the Indianapolis Socialists who, locally at least, are re-deeming that portion of the party platform pledging it to organization on the economic field. The State Secretary, Comrade William Henry, his comrade wife and many active So-



GROUP OF INDIANAPOLIS SOCIALISTS WHO WERE ON THE JOB.

FIRST ROW—JOHN JOKOLY, F. SIGWORTH, L. RAGSDALE, W. H. HENRY, MRS. HENRY. SECOND ROW—M. L. PARKER, JOHN MOULAR, MAC KRUCK. THIRD ROW—WILLIAM JACKMAN, BRUCE ROGERS, MARION WILEY. FOURTH ROW—JAMES CRAIG, R. ROCH.



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cialists are to be seen among the strikers and in attendance at demonstration meetings. Hat cards and other devices bearing the legend, "We Walk," are everywhere in evidence.

The Socialists having a special one:

**WE WALK
VOTE FOR SOCIALISM
AND
RIDE YOUR OWN CARS**

In fact, the Socialists originated the "We Walk" card plan and are giving the strikers many valuable suggestions beside aid of a substantial character.

If comedy is ever wrung out of a tense crisis such as this, it is to be found in the consternation of prominent citizens and business men when they were summoned by the sheriff to act as deputies in suppressing the "disorders." They had denounced the civil authorities and the sheriff retaliated by giving them the job. It scared them out of their boots when they were expected to do their own fighting and they are righteously outraged.

The militia will undoubtedly be forthcoming with the passing of the election and this story would not be worth the writing if we did not point out the elements of failure and betrayal already appearing in this magnificent rebellion of the workers.

At the great demonstration held on the Court House lawn this afternoon, they suffered themselves to be addressed by their attorneys, a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and one plain parson. It was sickening to the heart of a revolutionist to note how the platitudes of this parasitic gentry were cheered to the echo by the rebelling slaves. Already their magnificent militant spirit has been denatured into a mere plea for arbitration and already their very leaders are taking up the coward refrain. It is simply appalling to see that arbitration is the most that is hoped for even at a moment when the slaves are completely victorious, and which, of course, means that in the end, the settlement will be made by their enemies and essentially barren of any substantial fruit to them.



ANNIE CLEMENC.

"BIG ANNIE"

IN the Calumet strike region they are calling Annie Clemenc the American Joan of Arc. Annie Clemenc is a miner's wife. A Croatian, she was born in this country and educated in the school at Calumet. "If she were dressed in fashion people would turn to look at her

if she walked down State street or Fifth avenue. Even in her plain dress she is a striking figure. Strong, with firm but supple muscles, fearless, ready to die for a cause, this woman is the kind all red-blooded men could take off their hats to.

I suppose Annie Clemenc knows what it is to go hungry, but I don't believe all the millions of dividends ever taken out of the Calumet & Hecla mine could buy her.

The day when the soldiers rode down the flag Annie Clemenc stood holding the staff of that big flag in front of her, horizontally. She faced cavalymen with drawn sabers, infantrymen with bayoneted guns. They ordered her back. She didn't move an inch. She defied the soldiers. She was struck on her right wrist with a bayonet, and over the right bosom and shoulder with a deputy's club.

"Kill me," she said. "Run your bayonets and sabers through this flag and kill me, but I won't go back. If this flag will not protect me, then I will die with it."

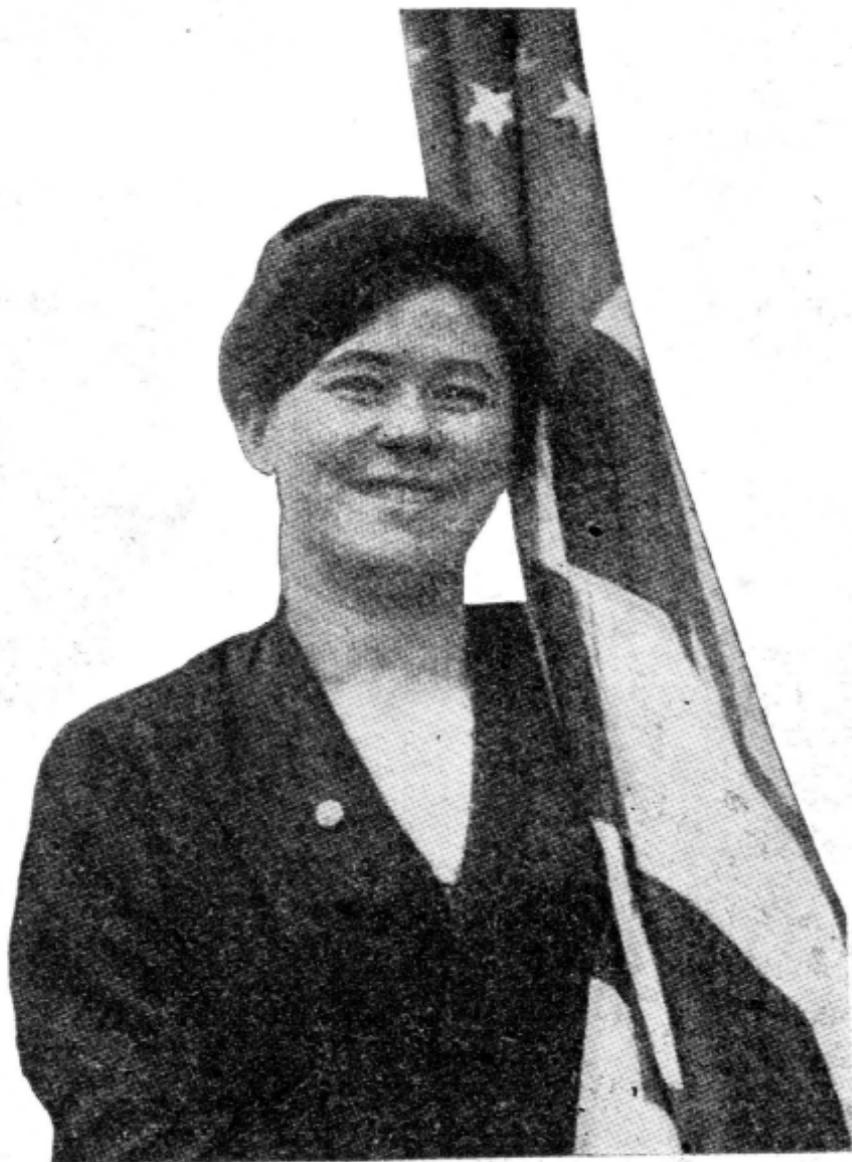
And she didn't go back. Miners rushed up, took the flag and got her back for fear she might be killed.

After the parade one morning Annie Clemenc came up to the curb where President Moyer was standing. I was there.

Looking up at him she said:

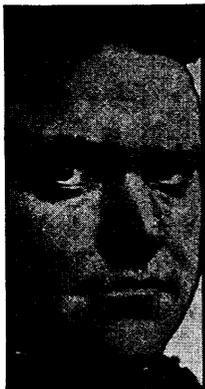
"It's hard to keep one's hands off the scabs."—From the *Miners' Bulletin*.

"Big Annie" has been leading the parades of the striking miners to which she walked early every morning from seven to ten miles. The women have been especially brave and class consciousness in this copper war. And the Finns, who have been educated in the principles of Socialism, are lending a militant character to the struggle that helps much to developing the staying powers of the men.



ANNIE CLEMENC.

Victory for Seattle



BRUCE ROGERS.

IT begins to look as though the bill proposed by President Wilson at the insistence of Bruce Rogers will be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives during the December term, and the Socialist party of Seattle and the I. W. W. will be fully reimbursed for the damages sustained by their local headquarters by a band of drunken marines and rowdies in the name of Patriotism.

The fight put up by our Seattle Comrades has aroused politicians all over the country.

Just now the thing they desire most is that the whole affair and the Judge Humphries comedies be relegated to the ash heap and forgotten.

Comrade Bruce Rogers set out on his quest for damages, for the two locals a little over a month ago. He went entirely on his own expense and has made his way largely through speaking for various locals on his journeyings.

Friend Bruce took the locals' claims for damages straight up to President Wilson. He claimed that the pernicious activities of Col. Alden J. Blethen, editor of the *Seattle Times*, which urged the drunken sailors to attack the Socialist and I. W. W. headquarters, were a menace to the community. Comrade Rogers found President Wilson ignorant of the true facts of the outrages. Secretary of the Navy Daniels, whose speech at the Mount Rainier Club was garbled by Blethen and made the excuse for the attack by the sailors, agreed that an injury had been done the Socialists and members of the I. W. W.

The Seattle comrades could not have chosen a better man to represent them. Franz Bostrom, state secretary of Washington, and the secretaries of other states routed Comrade Rogers for dates through their territory and lent a hand to the Seattle cause in this way. But it is very doubtful if any other man could so soon have placed the facts before the president in so satisfactory a manner as Bruce Rogers has done.

The following is a copy of the bill which we hope will become a law by the time this number of the REVIEW is in the hands of our readers:

Providing for the reimbursement of certain persons and organizations for damage to and destruction of their property in a riot in the city of Seattle, Washington.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby appropriated, out of any available funds in the Treasury, for the purpose of reimbursing the

following-named parties in the several amounts set opposite their names, respectively, for loss by destruction of and damage to their property in a riot led and actively participated in by sailors and marines of the United States Navy in the city of Seattle, State of Washington, on or about the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and thirteen, at which time the rooms occupied by the persons and organizations hereinafter named were sacked and the personal property of the said persons and organizations was burned and otherwise injured and destroyed, to wit: To Millard Price, \$148.80; to the secretary-treasurer of the fifth ward local of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$1,423.50; to the secretary-treasurer of the third ward local of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$200; to the secretary-treasurer of the King County local of the Socialist Party of King County, Washington, \$470; to the secretary-treasurer of local unions numbered one hundred and seventy-eight and one hundred and ninety-four, Industrial Workers of the World, of Seattle, Washington, \$596; to the secretary-treasurer of local unions numbered three hundred and eighty-two, two hundred and fifty-two, and four hundred and thirty-two, Industrial Workers of the World, of Seattle, Washington, \$1,043.50. And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay the said several amounts to the said parties, respectively, as indicated above, and take their receipts therefor.

Governor Hatfield Wins

On a technicality the suit of the Socialist Printing Company against H. D. Hatfield, governor of West Virginia, and several other military officers, for responsibility in wrecking the printing plant of the Huntington Socialist and Labor Star, a weekly paper, during the recent big miners' strike, was dismissed "without prejudice" by Judge Graham in the Circuit Court. New papers were immediately prepared and the case will be re-entered.

When common ordinary mortals wish to recover legally for damages inflicted upon them by the high and mighty militia force of the barons, according to West Virginia law, the plaintiff must bet the militia at odds of three to one that he wins the suit.

The question of whether or not the commander in chief of the militia can send a detail of his yellow boys anywhere in the state and under cover of darkness break into citizens' houses, smash up and destroy their property, simply because these citizens criticize his official acts, and not be amenable to the laws he is supposed to execute and uphold, is going to be determined before this case is over with.

To Review Readers

All combination book offers made by the publishing house during the past year in connection with securing subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will positively expire on December 31st this year.



BRUCE ROGERS.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN MEXICO

By Guy A. Aldred, Editor Herald of Revolt

(The following article printed in an English newspaper throws so much light on the Big Interests behind the Mexican revolution that we reprint it here for the benefit of Review readers.)

WOODROW WILSON is just the puppet of the Rockefeller interests. His opposition to the Huerta-Diaz regime in Mexico is dictated by the needs of the Standard Oil trust and other big American interests in the Spanish-American republic. Annexation is unwise for the moment. But as soon as the time is commercially ripe, annexation will be the policy pursued. The American eagle is just biding its time—and acting the hypocrite.

Oil controls, or is about to control, the commerce of the world. We are at the beginning of the oil age, and the Mexican oil fields are richer than all the other oil fields of the world combined. In this fact is to be explained recent events in Mexico and the opposing policies of Great Britain and America. The British lion stands for the Rothschild interests, and the American eagle for the Rockefeller ones.

Rockefeller is an old man. He is seventy-three, to be exact; and reputedly the richest man in the world. He began life as a book-keeper, and then started an oil factory, absorbed rivals, and created the Standard Oil trust, one of the greatest financial combinations in existence. A few years ago the leaders of this concern entered into a secret contract with Russia by which they gained control of the Caspian oil fields in return for certain legislation respecting the residence of foreign anarchists in the United States.

We instance this fact to show how absurd is the Declaration of Independence and of rights, how idle it is for the common people to repose faith either in written or unwritten constitutions. "What's the Constitution as between friends," said the Standard Oil trust to the Russian Czar, in imitation of Congressman Timothy Campbell's urge to President Cleveland. We should like to know what it is really worth in such a case.

Diaz clambered to power in Mexico in 1876. He constructed great engineering works, and developed the country with the

aid of foreign capital. At the instigation of the latter, and in face of the growing unrest of the people, he was obliged to wield despotic power. This gave birth, as readers of this journal know, to the Mexican Liberal party and its official organ "Regeneracion," which was founded in Mexico City in 1900. Uprisings occurred along the American border and Francisco Madero acquired some prominence for his activity in connection with this movement.

This continued down to 1910, when the great Tampico oil fields were discovered and grabbed by the Rothschild interests. This was a natural result of Diaz having put through his schemes with Rothschild money, the go-between being the celebrated English engineer, Weetman Pearsons, now Lord Cowdray, for many years Rothschild's right-hand man. This gentleman is president of S. Pearsons & Sons, Ltd., London, and one of the directors of the Mexican Eagle Oil Co., which exists to carry on the business of oil producers, distillers and refiners. The total property held by the company in Mexico was returned on December 31st last at £7,337,179 13s. 5d., of which £380,220 11s. 3d. represents investments in allied companies. It must also be borne in mind that Pearsons & Sons, Ltd., and the Shell Trading and Transportation Co., headed by Sir Marcus Samuels, also represent Rothschild interests in Mexico.

How the Mexican Eagle Oil Co. menaces the Standard Oil monopoly will appear from the following facts:

(1) The production of oil in Mexico has increased from about 1,000,000 barrels in 1907 to 15,695,000 barrels in 1912. This year it is expected to equal 20,000,000 barrels. Of this output, the Eagle Oil Co., produces over 50 per cent.

(2) This company owns seven of the fourteen fields from which the whole Mexican production is now being obtained.

(3) Its total holding of over 800,000 acres of selected freehold oil lands and sub-soil rights represents more than 1½ times the total area held as oil land in the state of California, the greatest oil-producing state in the United

States, and is equal to 10 per cent of the entire area held as oil land in that country.

(4) The company's federal and state concessions cover a very large additional area, and its total equipment will enable it to establish and maintain for, at least 25 to 30 years, a total productive capacity of 120,000 barrels per day, so that an output of 60,000 barrels per day can be assured, still leaving in reserve a further 60,000 barrels per day of developed production.

That this great oil struggle is not confined to Mexico, but extends to the whole of South America is evident from the recent remarkable concessions which the Master of Elibank has secured for Pearsons & Sons in Ecuador and Colombia, two other South American republics. We have the Filipinos and Cuba also in secret revolt against United States dominations, and their movement is allied closely with the Mexican struggle. In fact, this Mexican question has immense ramifications, and is of immediate wide-world importance.

By securing the Tampico oil belt, the Rothschild interests ousted the Standard Oil from its practical control of the world's oil supply. Diaz represented the Rothschild interests on Rockefeller's native heath; so Diaz had to go. To complete the ruin of the House of Rothschild, it was necessary to find a popular leader. The latter was found in Francisco Madero, whom the Junta of the Mexican Liberal party denounced for treachery, but whose promises the Mexican people believed. The Standard Oil inspired a newspaper campaign against President Diaz and furnished Madero with the means to win. Suddenly he became the leader of a movement, well financed, armed and officered. That movement made him president, and its success caused Rockefeller to breathe more freely. America at once recognized Madero's regime, although he practised all the corruption that Diaz had practised, and played the despot as well as his predecessor. But Madero hypothecated the stock of the nationally-owned Mexican railroads to Wall-street usurers, and saddled the Mexican exchequer with an additional foreign debt, including unpaid interest, of nearly £25,000,000, due to the American interests. He had carried on the war against Diaz with American money, knowing that his success meant the bankruptcy of the Mexican government. This meant that American finance could take the 11,000 miles of railway from the nation under foreclosure, and would thus be enabled to drive out the British petroleum interests

that controlled the Tampico field, for the majority of bondholders in the national railways are the Standard Oil interests, the largest individual bondholder being Henry Clay Pierce of the Waters-Pierce Oil Co.

Madero, the tool of American capital, dissatisfied the people. The rebellion continued. As the American interests had not acquired complete control of the national railways, the oil fields of the Mexican Gulf and the potash of Lower California, Wall street forbade President Taft to interfere in defense of either American properties or lives. For a similar reason, Woodrow Wilson has not completely broken. But intervention and annexation draws nearer. So satisfied is a syndicate of American multi-millionaires that intervention will follow at the proper moment that it has employed lawyers and agents to take options on over £150,000,000 worth of Mexican lands. Lands in the United States which cannot be purchased under £12 are bought in Mexico itself for five shillings, or less. To secure annexation, the authors of this conspiracy will spill the blood of the Mexican peon and the American soldier. Still the American worker will be called upon to respect the yellow streaked flag of American independence! Still the parliamentary Socialist and trade-union faker will proclaim his patriotism. Returning from the blood-washed soil of Mexico, the military will be called upon to murder strikers, anarchists, Socialists and I. W. W. boys in cold blood. For how long will the workers stomach such knavery? That is the question.

Wall street interests at Washington were prepared to stand by Madero to the last ditch. In his rebellious days they had allowed him to marshal his forces in America without the slightest opposition. They consented to the same arrangements in his days of power. All who were opposed to him were punished promptly and severely by the United States authorities.

Such a state of affairs did not suit the Rothschild interests. So they found a tool in the former penniless peon and insurrecto, Orozco. He became a leader of 12,000 men equipped with rifles of the latest type, long range artillery, and ample ammunition drawn from the Rothschild war chest. Torreon was at his mercy and Mexico City was within easy striking distance. Suddenly it became known that Wall street demanded intervention, and as this would not have

served the Rothschild interests, Orozco, without abandoning his ambitions, was denied the realization of his plans.

The crisis was thus avoided a year before Madero's murder. No sooner had the Huerta-Diaz insurrection proved successful than the British government hastened to recognize it. It did so as early as March 11th, last, while the American government still refuses to do so. Rockefeller has not the same interests as Rothschild, except against the common enemy, the worker. Whereas inspired articles in the American press are opposed to Huerta, inspired articles in the *Daily Telegraph* here for June 26th and 30th and July 2d, 5th and 7th of the present year favored his administration. These articles denounce Madero and eulogize Felix Diaz as the coming president. They insist that the choice is between the Huerta-Diaz government and anarchy, and denounce the ulterior designs of America. At the same time, they admit that the provisional government and its Diaz successor will stand for tyranny, and they rely on this fact to safeguard foreign investments.

Need one add much more to understand how beautifully capital schemes, how the

"interests" benefit humanity? On the strength of the British government's recognition, Huerta had determined to crush the secessionists in power in the state of Sonora. This movement was financed by the United States interests, which Madero had also served well by leaving a weakened exchequer to Huerta. Forced to raise funds, the latter in June attempted to negotiate a loan of £25,000,000 by hypothecating railroad and other national properties to two French syndicates through the New York banks of Speyer & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and J. P. Morgan. American interests would have lost over this what they gained through Madero. So Huerta was not recognized and the loan fell through, owing to the implied antagonism of the American government. Orozco remains a Rothschild tool, allied to Huerta and Diaz, and American plutocracy hungers for Mexico and the untold wealth of which Tampico oil is but a foretaste. Meanwhile the Magon brothers and their comrades, Rivera and Figueroa, remain imprisoned in McNeill's Island, on perjured evidence, in defiance of law, for having championed with their pens the cause of the oppressed peon.

REACTION IN CHINA

By Ajax

DURING the last Ching dynasty the Manchus took care to suppress any society which had any trace of political aspirations or was in any way opposed to the government. But with the Chinese revolution of 1911 this restraint was removed and consequently many new liberal societies have sprung up during the last two years. Most of them however had a very short butterfly existence and simply came into life through some person's influence and energy and when that person was discouraged or removed they ceased to exist. I was very much interested in the growth and development of the socialist and labor societies and collected their various rules and aims and translated them into English. I knew all the leaders. The principle impression produced upon me was that the Chinese socialists and labor men tried to cover too much ground. Often they ex-

pressed their ideas in rather vague or abstract terms. This may have been due to the fact that the leaders had next to no knowledge of the foreign labor movements and consequently many based their socialist plans on the noble sentiments of members of their organizations. The history of these organizations is very interesting although they are now crushed out.

CHINESE REPUBLIC LABOR PARTY.

This party was organized by a man called Wen a mechanic employed in the Chinese government arsenal at Shanghai. Unfortunately he did not read any foreign language and could not gain by outside experience. The objects of the "party" were stated as follows:

"Our party has been formed by the workers of the whole country because of trouble experienced. We must assist each other so that the workers will work and live together

as though born of the same mother and so collectively enjoy our own power, our own profits and our own burdens, which will be equally distributed. . . . Surely everybody is tired, but the tide is rising, and cannot be kept back. . . . We have anxious hopes that when our plans and methods are understood they will be like fire and water (*i. e.* spread quickly and enter every house) . . . Without unity the whole country's working class cannot become a powerful body and without some scheme our influence cannot spread.

"Our general objects are: (A) to stimulate the workers to become more intelligent. (B) To circulate information so that the workers may understand. (C) To raise a leader who will direct operations. (D) To abolish the workers' distress. (E) To get a determined working class to impeach and denounce (the wrong)."

Wen was styled the general-commander and had a staff under him called captains. These captains, by the way, were to be in duplicate, one male and one female, for each trade. This society certainly did some good in helping in a strike of the silversmiths in Shanghai early this year, when after a three days' strike, without any funds to back them up, they gained a substantial advance in wages. It is said that one of the political spies of the government got Wen to take up a plan for the workers at the arsenal to revolt and capture the arsenal. An attack actually did take place but the authorities had been warned so that Wen was caught red-handed and was sent to Peking for trial and execution. This finished the Chinese labor party.

CHINESE SOCIALIST PARTY.

This society was established by a man named Kiang Kang-hu, just after the revolution of 1911. Although its objects and rules number thirty-seven yet the essential principles of European socialism are not included. They are not so definite, as will be seen from the following objects: 1. To assist the republic and promote the common weal. 2. To help to do away with racial differences. 3. To introduce laws which will ennoble the individual. 4. To abolish the hereditary system of bequeathing property. 5. To organize a general system of education for the common people. 6. To promote productive work for the encouragement of the laboring classes. 7. To levy taxation on land only and eventually abol-

ish all other taxes. 8. To limit armaments and concentrate energy on competition in other matters." The objects of this party are so general and broad as to be almost worthless, but they display very well what the Chinese think socialism is.

Although his attention was repeatedly drawn to the serious omission of the root principle of the nationalization of means of production, distribution and exchange, and Kiang promised to adopt them, this was not done, and there can be no doubt that this ideal was not understood.

In order to try and graft socialist theories on this society it was arranged that fortnightly meetings should be held in Shanghai, where another "foreign" socialist and I should deliver addresses. These had just started when the revolution broke out. At the first meeting there was present the chairman of the Peking branch, Mr. Chen Chi-lung, a youth of 28 years. He appeared to be rather a quiet and well-spoken young man, so that it was very surprising to hear that upon his return to Peking a few days afterwards he was arrested and executed. In the official report of his case it was stated that he was a member of the Chinese socialist society, of objects of which are the same as the Nihilist party of Russia and that Chen was in communication with the foreign anarchists. This, of course, is only abuse and nonsense. However, he was shot.

THE PURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

Another case of a socialist being executed was that of Sha Kan (also known as Fen Fen). This youth was a member of the Chinese socialist party but disagreed with the leader and therefore produced a split and formed the Pure Socialist party and issued a magazine denouncing the parent body. The principle difference appeared to be that he advocated an easy divorce and free love and from a conversation I had with him he said that he had a plan for his society to occupy an island near Hong Kong where they would establish "pure socialist." This society, however, had not much support and soon fell through. As Sha Kan was thus without money, he left the protection of the foreign settlements here and went to his home at Nan Tung Hsien, near the mouth of the Yangtze river to collect funds. Upon arrival there, however, he was arrested and executed, for no other reasons, apparently, than that he was col-

lecting funds for Red Cross work without authority and called himself a socialist.

YUAN.

Although these organization had not taken an active part in the recent rebellion yet President Yuan Shih-kai issued an order that the Chinese socialist party should be disbanded. This brought a protest from Mr. Kiang Kang-hu which is too long for reproduction, but the following sentences give the gist of it:

"So far our society has only studied socialism and has not taken active part in political work. . . . We formed our society because we knew that in China there is a lack of political knowledge and that many mistakes are being made in political affairs. . . . The officials eat the ignorant peasants as though they were fish and flesh and therefore the people are getting angry. . . . It will be a long time before we reach the age of universal unity. Upon thinking about this my heart aches so much and my feelings are in such a state of agitation that I cannot even remember what I have written."

This kind of writing only produces amusement in official circles. However, the society was disbanded. The leader left Shanghai for Singapore. It is said that he will proceed to Europe and America to study socialism. It was well known that he had no money, and as he left Shanghai without informing his friends it has naturally aroused much suspicion that he received money from the government for some consideration. As to whether this is correct or not no one knows. Everybody will be only too pleased if he makes good use of his time abroad in studying economic conditions and getting a sound knowledge of socialism. I consider that good hard manual work and earning his living by the sweat of his brow would give him the best insight into the class struggle and the social revolt. China suffers to a great extent from mere theorists.

KUO MIN TANG AND THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

This party also adopted socialism as one of its objects, and had the best of the reformers in its ranks, including many socialists. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was its president and he is well known as a socialist. It was the strongest of the political parties in China and had a majority in parliament at

Peking. But unfortunately, as everybody knows, this organization was opposed by the president, Yuan Shih-kai, who had the support of all the old officials as well as the foreign financiers and the foreign Christian press on the China coast. Dr. Sun, however, visited Yuan Shih-kai and openly proclaimed the desire of the south to work with the north which is another way of saying the progressive (south) wanted to work with the conservative (north). But the president very unwisely did not accept this splendid offer, and instead a movement was commenced to crush this powerful party.

The first step taken was the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen, one of the leaders of the Kuo Min-tang who would probably have been selected as premier. Then by various means the ordinary course of justice was obstructed so that a proper trial never took place although there was little doubt that some government officials were implicated. This naturally created a great deal of anger in the country. Things were, however, brought to a crisis by the foreign financiers advancing £25,000,000 to the government against the protests of members of parliament and also many provincial tutuhs or governors. This gave the government the opportunity of dismissing some of these more advanced tutuhs, and also other officials, so that it became clear that the government intended to remove all those officials who were opposed to the unconstitutional methods of Yuan Shih-kai. The south was, therefore, forced to take up arms against the government, but there can be little doubt that this was expected and desired by the government, who wished to have some excuse for wiping out the reform party.

The result of the rebellion is well known. The southern forces put up a very poor fight, due probably to the fact that they were short of money, whereas the government troops were well supplied and had so much foreign money that they could offer substantial bribes to the officers in the opposing army. The result was a collapse of the rebellion. I saw the principle engagements near Shanghai, and was very much disappointed at the poor display of the southern forces. The importance of leaders was shown at Nanking, where Ho Haiming, a journalist without military experience, held about 50,000 northern

troops at bay for over a week with only about 2,000 soldiers of the eighth division. The brave defence of Nanking was the one bright spot in the whole campaign.

As a result of this collapse all those belonging to the Kuo Min Tang went into retirement. The head office of the party at Shanghai was closed and the party is extinct to all outward appearances. Nothing is now heard of them and it is in fact impossible for any criticism of the government to be expressed without great risk of life. Many executions have taken place all over the country of men whom political spies claim were against the government.

Reaction.

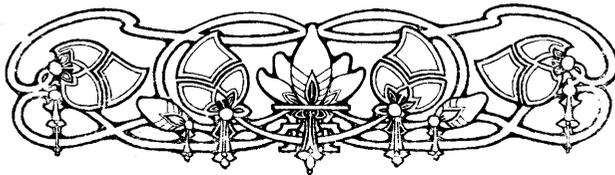
The result of this is that the forces of reaction are now in full power with President Yuan Shih-kai at the head, supported by the old gang of corrupt officials, and the foreign money-lenders.

Everybody expects now that the officials will bleed the people as before and then obtain foreign loans to cover the deficits in the treasury. They will "feather their nests" before the national unrest again grows too strong for them.

The position occupied by the foreign Christian powers in this movement is highly discreditable. They support President Yuan Shih-kai and his conservative party, and are only too willing to advance loans and harry the country into the direction of bankruptcy. As long as the Chinese government can obtain foreign loans it is hardly to be expected that any real reforms will be attempted. It is only when the "financial" shoe begins to

pinch that matters are seriously considered and then the foreign money lenders relieve the pressure by offering another loan. If the foreign "Christian" powers would adopt the policy of supporting parliament in Peking and a democratic form of government instead of backing the autocratic regime of Yuan Shih-kai and his gang it would save China from further disaster. The most effective step would be to insist that all further loans, whether provincial or state, should be passed and approved by a parliament at Peking. This is, perhaps, too much to expect from the European Christian powers, who are influenced so much by the banks. The foreign money lenders exert a great influence in China just now as they hold the purse, and it is probable that future developments in China will be entirely and solely in their interests.

The forces of reaction are again in power and will blunder forward in somewhat similar style of the old mandarinism. Watching and assisting them are the foreign money lenders, who hope in the near future to so embarrass China financially as to be able to force their governments to step in and take control of the finances of the country. Hidden away underground is the secret propaganda of the reform party, who could solve the problem but who are not even allowed to express their opinions. It is very probable therefore that before very long, perhaps when the nation is once again in disgrace, these chained forces will be released and will free the national life for its natural expansion and growth.—Shanghai, China, Oct. 7, 1913.





HELEN KELLER'S NEW BOOK

MARK TWAIN once said the two most interesting characters of the nineteenth century are Napoleon and Helen Keller. But so familiar to our own day is Miss Keller that the marvel of her is not yet fully realized. Her education, her literary achievements, and all the unselfish work she has done for her fellow deaf and blind are well known. Now she has developed into an enthusiastic socialist. Her social vision is evident in her new book and, under all circumstances, seems almost as much of a miracle as any of the wonderful physical achievements which are recorded of her.

Miss Keller has come to the conclusion that the unemployment of the blind is only part of a greater social problem. "It is not physical blindness, but social blindness, which cheats our hands of their right to toil," she declares.

"It is no easy and rapid thing to absorb through one's fingers a book of 50,000 words on economics." Nevertheless, Miss Keller expects to become acquainted in this manner with all the "classic socialist au-

thors." Her socialism, however, is not confined to reading and theorizing. She takes a lively interest in public events. The red flag which hangs in her study, is a call to action.

In an eloquent chapter entitled *The Hand of the World*, which might well inspire a Rodin, Helen Keller tells how, step by step, she has been led out of her isolation into full social consciousness—how at last she has come to "touch hands with the world."—*Current Opinion*.

She writes, "What is the hand which shelters me? In vain the winds buffet my house and hurl the biting cold against my windows. That hand still keeps me warm. What is it that I may lean upon it at every step I take in the dark, and it fails me not? I give wondering praise to the beneficent hand that ministers to my joy and comfort, that toils for the daily bread of all. I would gratefully acknowledge my debt to its capability and kindness. I pray that some hearts may heed my words about the hand of the world, that they may believe in that commonwealth in which the gyves shall be struck from the wrist of Labor and the pulse of Production shall be strong with joy.

All our earthly well-being hangs upon the living hand of the world. Society is founded upon it. Its lifebeats throb in our institutions. Every industry, every process, is wrought by a hand, or by a superhand—a machine whose mighty arm and cunning fingers the human hand invents and wields."

OUR CHRISTMAS OFFER.

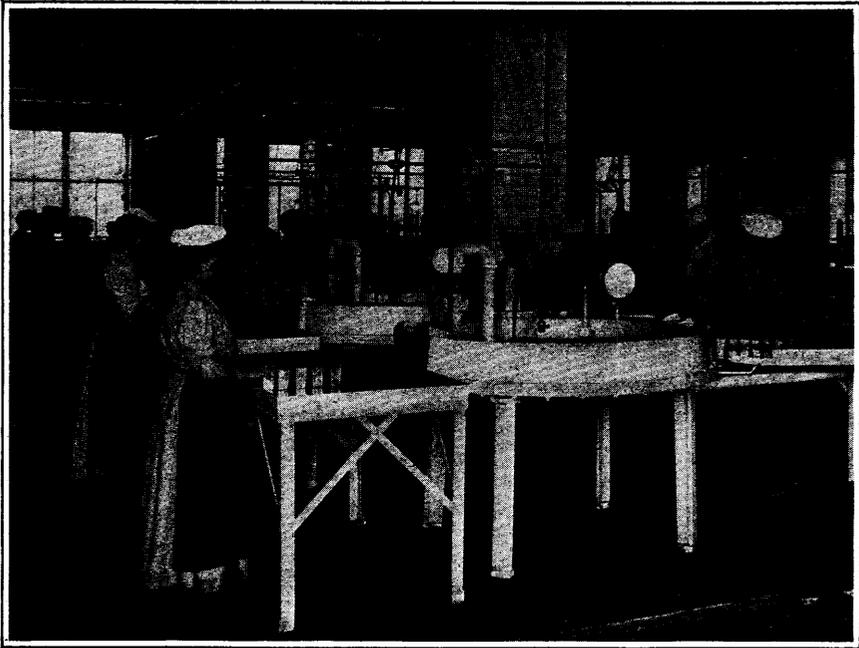
In order to enable every reader of the *REVIEW* to secure a copy of Miss Keller's "Out of the Dark," we will send a copy of the book and a yearly subscription to the *REVIEW* to one name upon receipt of \$1.50. This book is a most winsome argument for Socialism. It will appeal to every woman, old or young. It will find a place in the heart of every man.

We cannot sell copies of this book. Our arrangement with the publishers was only for handling a limited supply to be used exclusively as Christmas premiums with *REVIEW* subscriptions.

In order, therefore, to get copies for all your friends for Christmas, and a year's subscription to the *REVIEW* at the same time, order three or four of these combinations at once. For \$6.50, we will send you five copies of "Out of the Dark" and the *REVIEW* to five names for one year each.—Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago.



**HELEN KELLER'S
NEW BOOK**



IN WHITE ENAMEL KITCHENS FOODS ARE COOKED IN ENAMEL STERILIZED RETORTS.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CANNING INDUSTRY

By Mary E. Marcy

Photographs by courtesy of *Scientific American*.

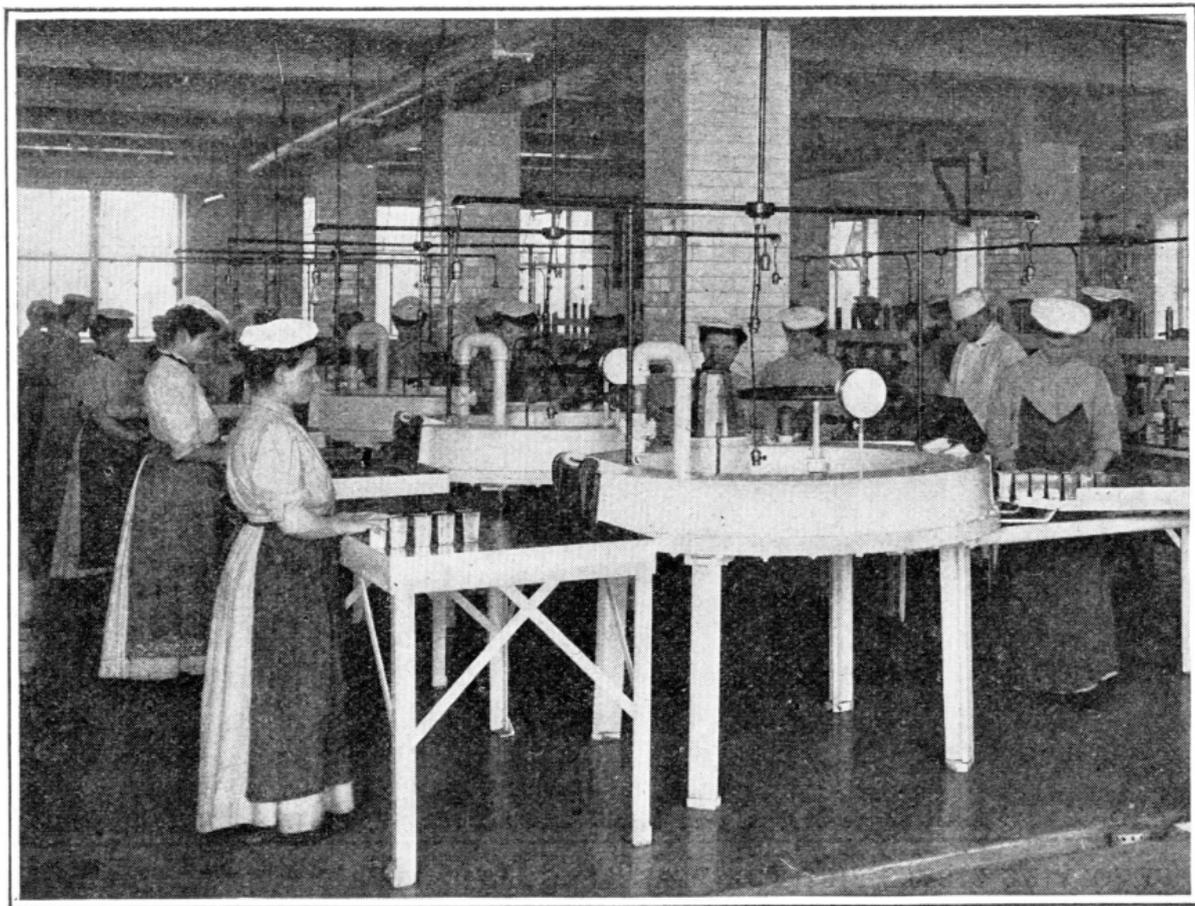
VERILY the age of Specialization is upon us! First it was the woollen mills that began to weave cloth and deprive woman of one of her old prerogatives in the Home. Before long we had advanced a step in specialization and boasted of butchers and packing companies. Followed bakers, restaurants, rooming-houses, laundries. Steam-heated, electrically lighted flats appeared and came the day of ready-to-wear clothing.

And the canning of food products has kept step with the march of Specialization. No modern woman thinks about Monday as being Washday; Tuesday as Ironing day; Wednesday as Mending day, any more. Friday and Saturday have come to mean something besides Cleaning and Baking. The old Gods are dead! Home isn't what it used to be; no matter what you say. If things keep on it will be clean

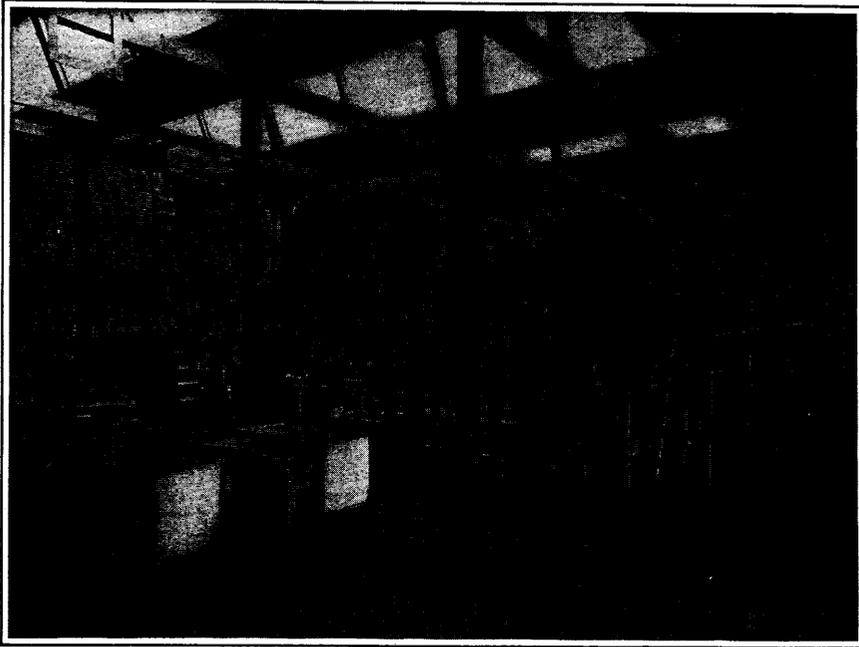
"busted up" with all these new-fangled notions taking hold so fast.

The laundries can "do up" clothes better than Mother did, with less time and labor, and the packing companies certainly can put up a much better steak than Uncle Ezra, who lives out at the end of nowhere and is the last and only man left on earth to do his own butchering. When I spent a week with him last January I changed my mind about steam-heated flats being enervating and water half thawed from the pitcher proving invigorating for a morning wash.

I have always wanted to run one of those shuttles and work a loom and weave my own clothes, too. When Henrietta Crossman used to come out in the first act with her hair all done in little ringlets and play with a loom, at least they SAID it was a loom, I used to think they would look very



IN WHITE ENAMEL KITCHENS FOODS ARE COOKED IN ENAMEL STERILIZED RETORTS.



REVOLVING SIEVES SIFT THE PEAS AUTOMATICALLY ACCORDING TO SIZE.

pretty to have around the house. (The loom, I mean.) But when I saw some of the cloth our revered ancestors had woven on their very own, I decided it would not do at all for a dinner gown or an opera frock—if I ever was fortunate enough to have one.

I wearied of candles the night one melted all over the library table and ran down onto the rug, that belongs to our landlady. You'll have to admit that in **SOME** ways things have improved a great deal.

But you see as soon people began to **SPECIALIZE** in one thing or another and to make just one commodity, they did it better and cheaper than other folks. By and by they used machines and hired helpers and when bigger and better machines were invented that could be operated by steam—they kept making clothes and shoes and building houses so much cheaper than anybody who was a Jack-of-all trades and Master-of-none—that men, women and even very young girls began to follow their old work into the factories and mills in order to do it in the easier way, the modern or machine way.

The Canning Industry has progressed and taken another large slice out of the old-time Woman's Sphere. And we have to grant that things can be accomplished, food

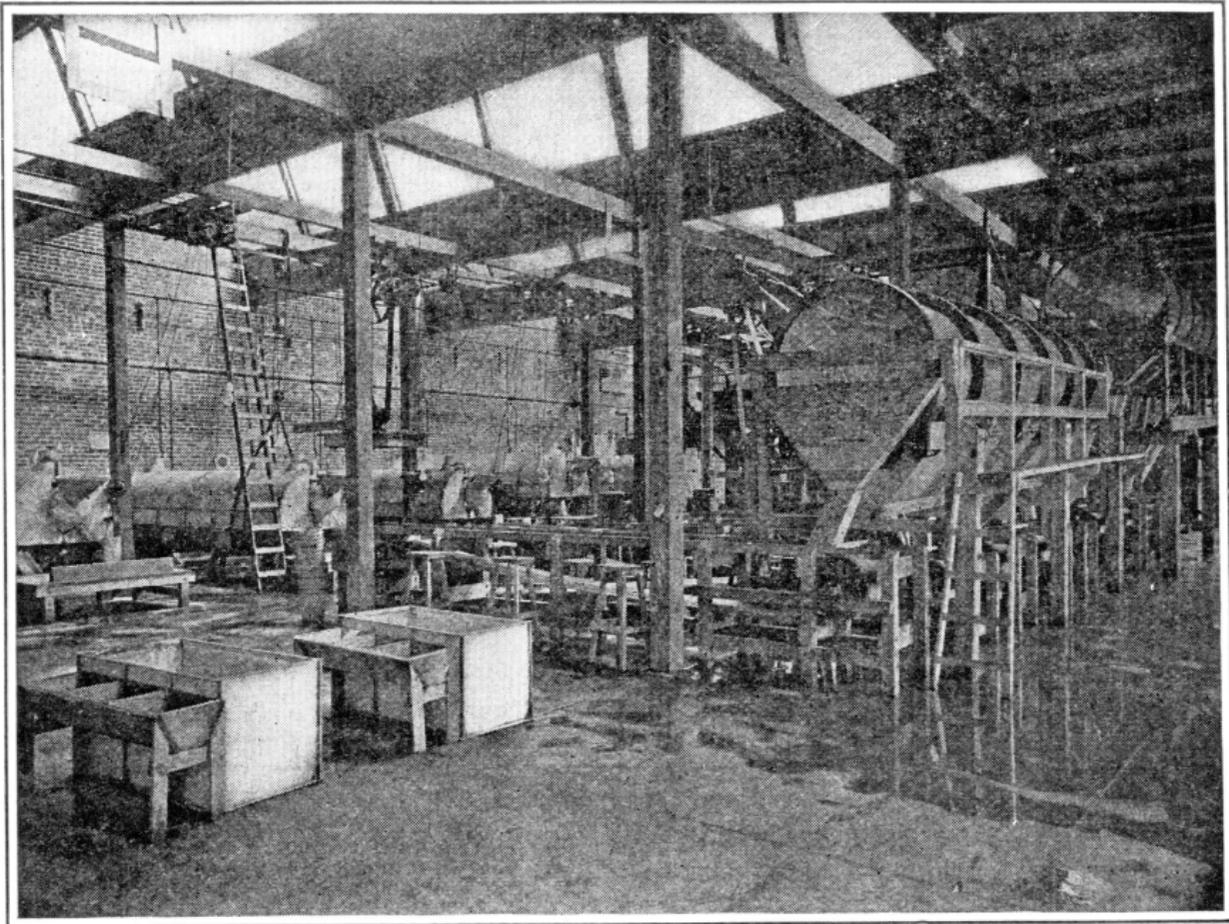
can be cooked, bread baked, cloth woven, with less human labor-power under the specialized, machine method than the individual could do in the old haphazard way. We can get better clothes, better food, better homes—better everything today—or rather we can if we have money enough. Some day things will be different, but that's another story.

The scientific preserving of food has its basis in the work of Pasteur, but even in 1819 an Englishman had a canning factory in New York City for packing lobsters, salmon and oysters, and in 1825 fruits and vegetables were canned. Glass jars were used in the early days, but excessive breakage led to the use of tin cans. At first the edges of the cans were butted and the ends soldered.

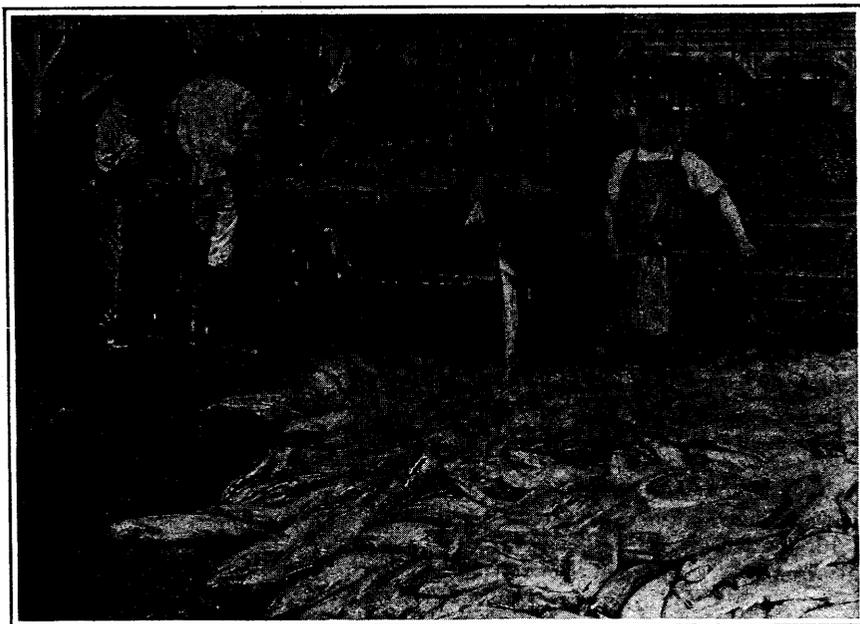
Gradually, however, machinery was developed for can making and today the production of tin cans from tin plates is automatic and continuous and most canning companies have their own can-making plants.

The old vacuum theory which held that it was only necessary to exclude the air to prevent the spoiling of food has long been exploded, except in preserving jams, meats, salt, etc.

Pasteur was the first man to associate



REVOLVING SIEVES SIFT THE PEAS AUTOMATICALLY ACCORDING TO SIZE.



FISH ARE SKINNED, CLEANED AND CANNED BY ONE MACHINE OPERATION.

spoilage with organisms and, in time, canners began to understand that these bacteria could be killed off at a certain high or low temperature, and new ideas on scientific canning soon prevailed.

In modern canning factories the heat or cold used to preserve foods is regulated automatically by clocks that shut off steam or cool air when the necessary temperature has been attained. Last year 168 million cans of peas were packed by automatic machinery; 336 million cans of tomatoes and 312 million cans of corn.

Modern pea harvesting is now done entirely by machinery, the vines being cut about the same way as hay. Special machines called viners handle the cuts, removing the peas from the pods by beaters. The peas fall through perforations in a cylinder large enough to allow them to pass through but which retain the vines, pods, etc. Then the peas are washed in cold water in a revolving squirrel cage. These cages are perforated in sections with different sized holes, varying from nine thirty-seconds to twelve thirty-seconds of an inch, the latter being called "early June peas."

Other packers grade peas by their density, skimming off the different grades each of which will float in a certain solution of specific gravity. When the peas are washed

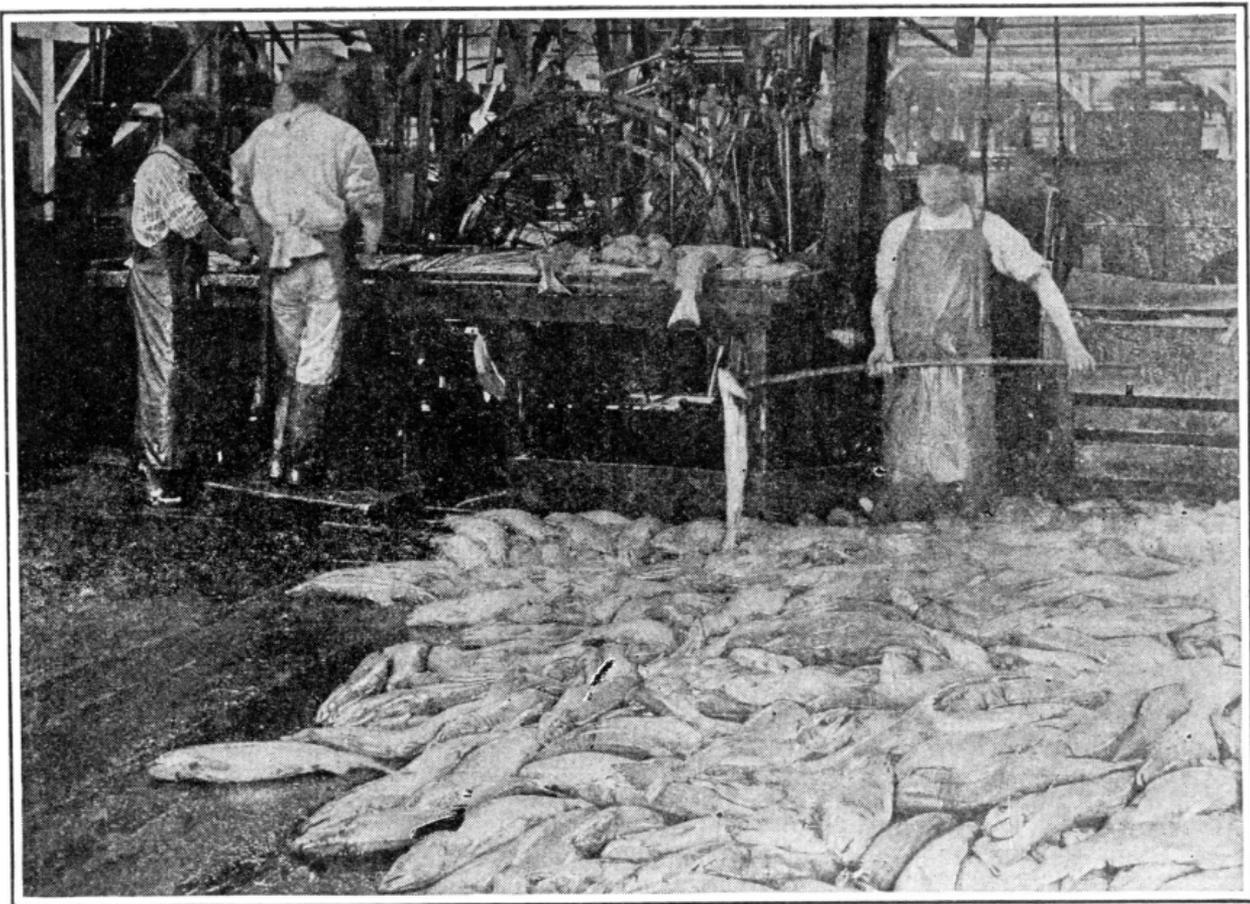
and blanched they go to the filling machines where they are automatically filled into cans, salt and sugar being added at the same time.

The cans are capped by machinery, heated in retorts to kill off all bacteria, cooled and sent to market.

Canned and preserved food will be one of the staples of the new century. We are becoming more and more crowded in our economic functions. The time has long since passed when each family can rely on its own food resources. Canned food will become the great food reserve fund of the nation, the necessary national storage for facilitating supply to demand.

The demand for canned food is a natural one. Canning has left the home and gone into public life quite for the same reasons that boot-making and weaving and other fine old "home activities" have become public utilities. Canning is no longer a "domestic industry" but it is one of the industries that is making women wage-earners instead of home-makers.

It is the very cheapness of production in foods and "style" in clothing, added to low prices, that have always sold the new machine-made products. Women have followed their old labors into the factories and mills. There is nothing to regret in the

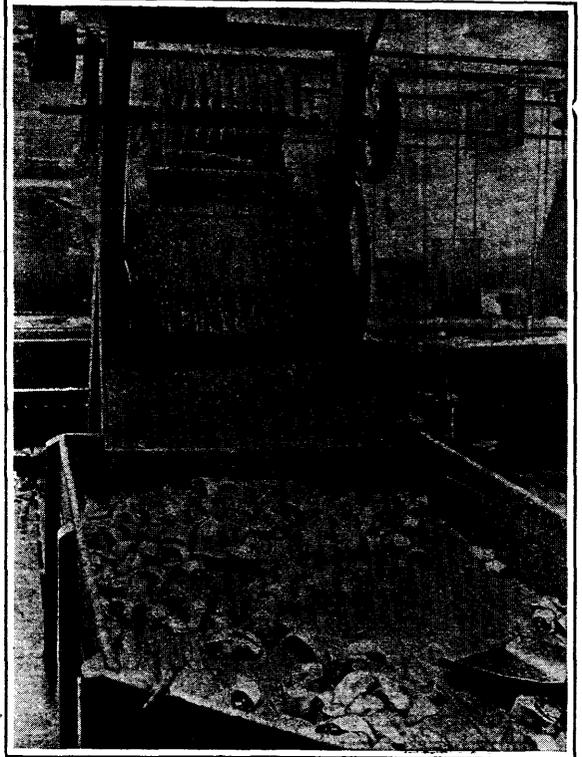


FISH ARE SKINNED, CLEANED AND CANNED BY ONE MACHINE OPERATION.

new methods of Specialization. No intelligent human being wants to return to candles or home dyeing and weaving; to the splitting and sawing of wood for the daily breakfast; to home butchering, lard rendering, candle-making that made the old "free days" continuous arduous toil from three or four in the morning till late at night three hundred and sixty-five days in a year.

We want to make use of all modern machinery and modern methods of production for the benefit of the human race. We want to plan so that the Machines will do ALL the disagreeable and heavy work. Division of labor is making wonderful changes in the old-time home, relieving, as it does, our women from the burden of domestic hand labor.

In the new and modern canning factories all retorts are made of copper, brass, enamel or silver. Floors are of concrete and tables have glass or snowy enamel tops. In



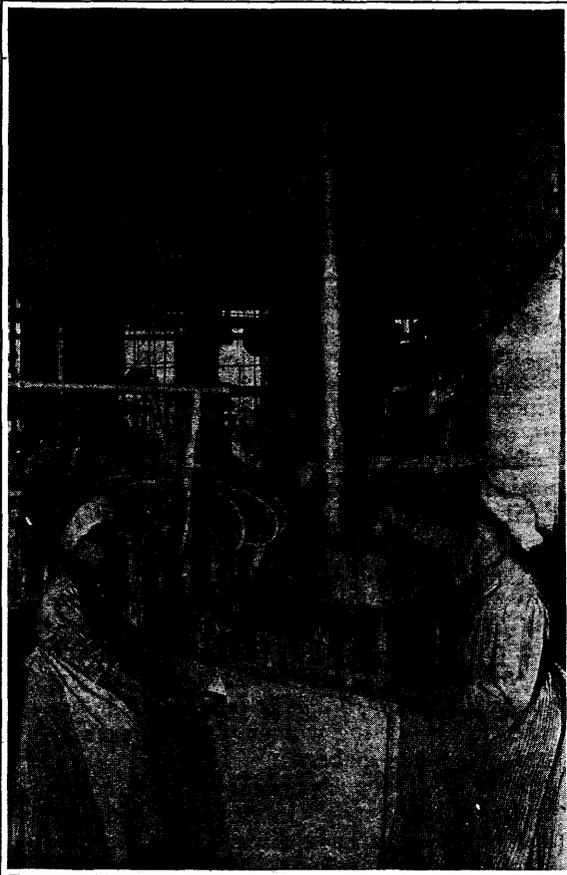
FISH ARE AUTOMATICALLY CUT THE RIGHT SIZE TO FIT IN CANS AND PACKED AWAY.

twenty minutes entire floors may be cleaned by turning on the hose. These great canneries resemble nothing so much as a surgeon's operating table.

The juice is extracted from trimmings not used in canning and used for fountain syrups. Apple cores and peelings are sold for wine and vinegar, sometimes for cider. Fruit parings or peelings often make a cheap grade of jellies and apple "waste" is the basis for the compound jams.

Corn silk is saved and used for medical purposes. Seeds from tomatoes, and pumpkins, stones from cherries, plums and peaches are used for oil. Nothing is wasted any more.

Most of us look with horror on any but a new-laid egg with an unbroken shell, and a guaranteed date thereon. The phrase, canned eggs, brings to our minds a horrid picture of a yellow, evil-smelling mess used by some of the most profit-mad bakers. Yet the time is coming, we are advised by the U. S. Bureau of Chemistry, when the canned egg will be with us as familiarly as the

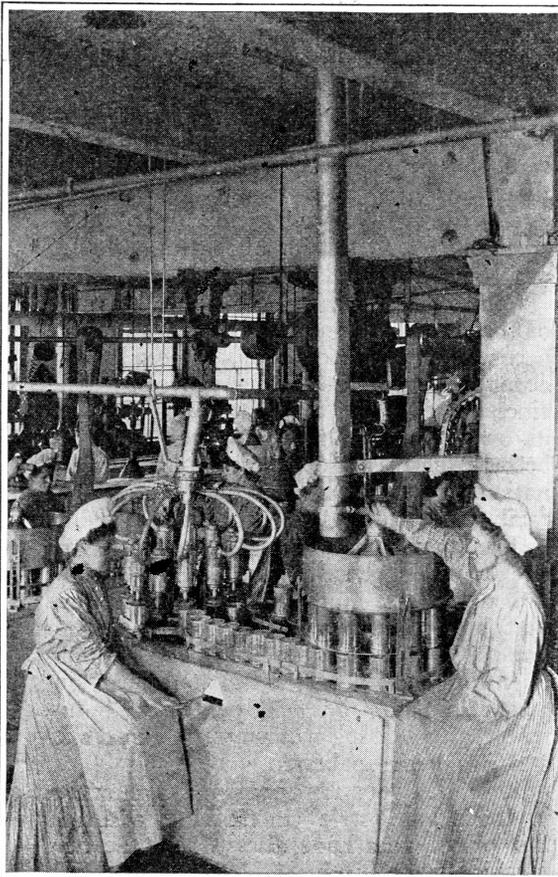


CANNING BEANS BY MACHINE.

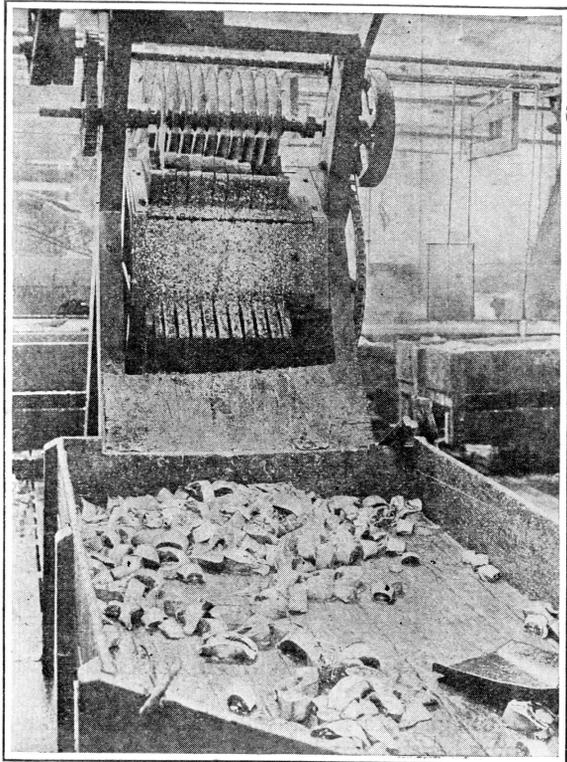
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storage egg and far more acceptably. To can the eggs in times and localities of plenty while they are strictly fresh is the big thing. According to the Department: "In a sterilized room we will have the canners dressed in white, their hands made surgical-

ly clean. Before each girl will be a tray of eggs at exactly the right temperature for canning. Perfect eggs will be dropped into sterilized jars which will be sealed." Yes, strictly "fresh, canned eggs" will be next, they tell us.



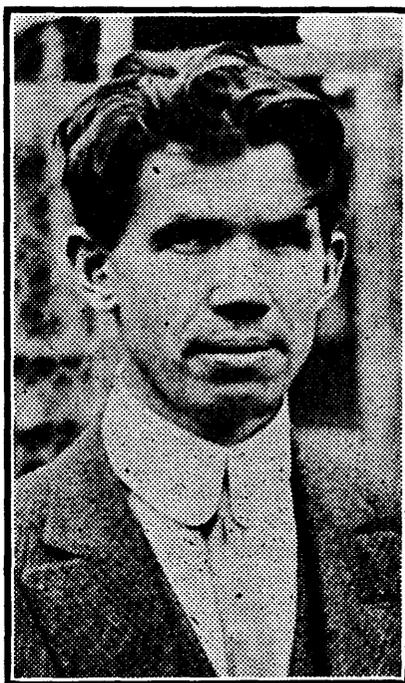
GLORIOUS PATERSON

By Patrick Quinlan

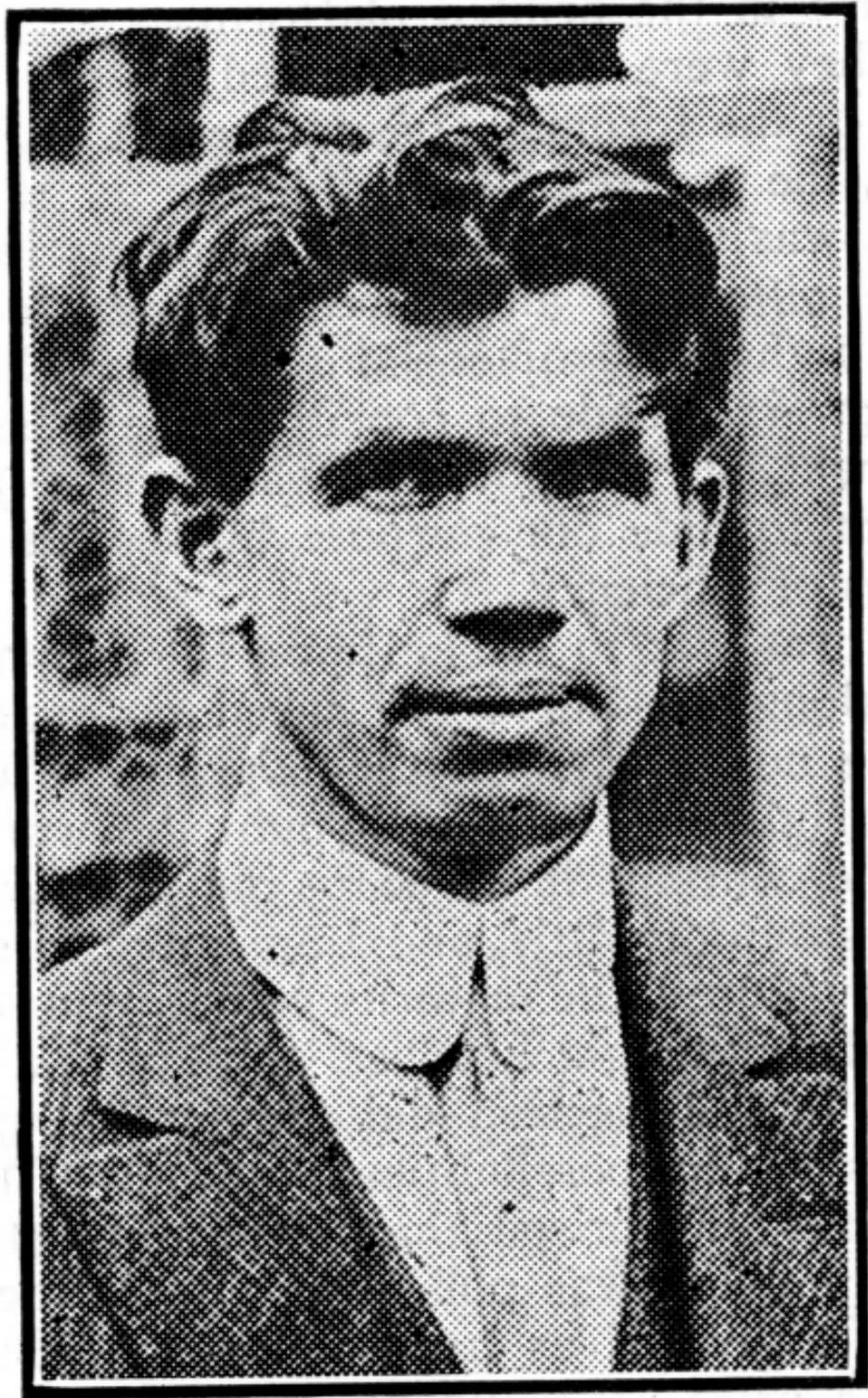
(Comrade Quinlan is out on \$5,000 bail, pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. He also was compelled to give bail on four other indictments, amounting to an additional \$7,500. Quinlan was one of the best fighters during the long strike of the silk workers.)

THERE has just been concluded in the silk city the most remarkable, the most unique and the most significant electoral battle ever waged in the annals of American municipal politics. The story of the great industrial battle that was fought last spring and summer in Paterson has been told in the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, and indeed in nearly every Socialist periodical in America, and is now a part of the industrial and labor history of this country. Our readers will easily recall the dramatic incidents of that historic struggle with its dynamic energy and electric enthusiasm. Well, that great industrial fight was transferred completely into the political arena, and this political contest had all the elements of the former, minus the tragedies that put a shadow over it. There was no gloom to darken the community, no tragedy to bring sorrow to the proletarian firesides.

The strike of the 22,000 silk workers of Haledon, Prospect Park, Clifton, Lakeview and the city of Paterson was scarcely ended—the wounds were not healed—when the Socialist party began its campaign. Local



PAT QUINLAN.



PAT QUINLAN.

and imported speakers began to arouse interest in the campaign and made things hum.

But, like all street campaigns, the impression made was hardly noticeable for a time. Then came the railroading of the writer to state's prison on the historic Third of July. This stirred the fires of class hatred that were beginning to decline to new life. A demand for political action that was almost volcanic was made all over the city. And the climax was reached when I was released from Trenton on the 29th of July, when I attended a reception of organized men under the auspices of the party a night or two after. Fully 15,000 men and women attended the meeting and the demand for political power was made in clear and forcible language.

From then on to the 30th of October large and small meetings were held all over town, the slogans at every one of them being, "Carry your industrial solidarity to the ballot box." "Control the city hall and the police stations." "Use both arms in the fight this time and we'll win future battles with less suffering and sacrifice." Questions of municipal ownership, political graft and the maladministration of the MacBride executive were mentioned as a matter of course in the printed platform.

They were not accentuated on the soap box or the forum. These were left to Blauvelt, the progressive candidate.

It was the class struggle in all its industrial bitterness and fierceness elevated to the high plane of social warfare. No attempt was made to conciliate the business element, big or little, nor was there any attempt to hide our purpose by speaking of taxes or efficiency.

It was war to the knife on the capitalists all along the line. We asked no quarter; made no deals. Yet the bourgeoisie were not frightened. They thought the workers would continue in the same old way, voting like sheep or cattle, and I am sorry to state many, indeed, the majority of our own party members thought likewise. Not until a few days before election did they wake up to the splendid possibilities at hand. (They are more surprised than the capitalists at the vote that was polled in spite of them.) Only a few of us had the vision. But it was a prize we could not capture for lack of confidence at home and lack of support

abroad. The German sick and death benefit societies contributed to our appeal for funds \$500; the national office \$50; Local New York City \$5. Money from the people of Paterson came in very small quantities, naturally. They are still financially crippled since the strike. But despite all these great handicaps we made things hum. The politicians and their wooden-headed followers were thrown into fits—consternation was in the air all round them—when the climax of all our agitation was reached on the night of October 31, when the most spacious auditorium in the city, the High School, was packed to its limit and as many as twenty-five hundred persons attended the overflow meeting outside, braving the bitter cold and sharp, cutting wind to hear speeches delivered by the writer, James M. Reilly, candidate for governor, and Gordon Demarest, candidate for mayor.

Next day, Nov. 1, the capitalist press was panic stricken and a demand was made on the Democrats to vote for Fordyce, the Republican-Fusion conservative Progressive candidate, in order to beat the Socialists. The betting was between Demarest and the banker, Fordyce. All the evening papers, the one Sunday paper, all Monday morning and evening papers had full page advertisements in which they stated that "If Demarest is elected Quinlan will be the mayor. A vote for the Democratic candidate Robert Roe is half a vote for Quinlan and his I. W. W. gang."

On election morning there was no mistaking how the workers were voting. Strong Democratic districts were going over to the Socialists, and big raids were made in the Republican bailiwicks by Demarest. At noon the word went out to all the dyed-in-the-wool organization Democrats to vote for Fordyce, and beat the Socialists. The *Evening Press* got out a special extra every hour up to the time Fordyce's election was safe. By 11:30 we knew that Demarest was second in the race over a thousand ahead of the Democrats. Blauvelt, an honest Progressive, deserved better, but was deserted by his party for the banker. He only polled 880 votes, the head of the ticket getting 2,000 more. The other candidates trailed behind out of sight. Fordyce had 7,300, Demarest 5,160, with

about 500 Socialist ballots rejected on technicalities.

* * *

The smoke of the battle has blown away, the din and noise of the conflict has ceased. Only the echo remains; we have now time to analyze the vote, to see who supported the ticket, and look for those who did not help the political fight of the working class.

First, the vote was as class-conscious and as determined as was ever cast in a municipal election. Second, it came principally from the silk workers. Third, it can hardly be called a protest vote, it was an honest attempt to capture the political power of the city so that it could be used for defensive or offensive purposes in the future industrial battles. Now it remains as we conclude, to ask: Who did not vote the ticket? Why was not Gordon Demarest, the Socialist, elected? The answer is simple. The

craft union men did not vote for him. Though a machinist by trade, and affiliated with the A. F. of L., the majority of the crafts affiliated with local trades council, the building trades, the musicians, the bartenders, the brewery workers, and others, voted for the old party machines. Because four or five of their members were given places on the Democratic and Republican ballots, they sold their birthright and betrayed their class in the hour of need. (With a few honorable exceptions, especially the cigar-makers.) One can not help recalling the words of the national poet of Ireland, Thomas Moore, when Irish traitors sold their country and blasted its hopes for more than a hundred years. Moore said: "Oh, for a tongue to curse the slave
Whose treason and whose cowardly
blight

Comes o'er the councils of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might."

Christmas Suggestions

FOR EVERYBODY: Helen Keller's Book and the Review 1 year.....	\$1.50
For Men: Myers' History of the Great American Fortunes, \$1.50 a vol.; all 3 volumes and 4 yearly Review Subscription Cards for.....	4.50
For Men: Chas. Edward Russell's Stories of the Great Railroads.....	1.00
For Young Men or Women: Love's Coming of Age.....	1.00
For the Agnostic: God and My Neighbor.....	1.00
For the Novel Reader: Prince Hagen.....	1.00
For the Wit: The Right to be Lazy.....	.50
For Women: Woman and Socialism.....	1.50

WHAT WE WANT IN OUR STOCKING

We want you to add 50 cents to the price of any of the six last mentioned books and have the REVIEW sent to one NEW name for a year.

Or send \$1.00 for a new Review sub. and a pack of our Socialist Playing Cards, originally illustrated, with humorous verses on every card.

Or \$6.50 for FIVE copies of Helen Keller's book (while it lasts) and FIVE Review sub. cards.

If Mr. Santa Claus should ask you—we are hoping that our office STOCKING will be running over with REVIEW subs. all through December.

MERRY CHRISTMAS!

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Lesson I

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

By J. E. Sinclair



J. E. SINCLAIR.

IN every stage of social evolution when men have stopped to examine critically the conditions around them there have been those who turned hopelessly away from the social tangle which they could not unravel to wander off into some fairyland beyond the pale of reality and there construct a new society in which pain, misery, and oppression were no more. Plato, Thomas More, Saint Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, and Edward Bellamy, are only a few of the great Utopians who, failing to grasp the significant facts of social development, thought to trick humanity into paradise by some happy accidental short cut, by painting in vivid colors the beauty and peace and quiet that shimmered in dreamland, or by passing some law that would change the world by magic.

Far be it from revolutionists to sneer at the endeavors of these master minds. Their mighty adumbrations have caused rulers to tremble, although there was little danger. The sluggish hearts of millions of workers have been stirred to a divine passion for better things by the powerful pleadings of these romantic dreamers. They have had their place. These were the first to catch faint

glimpses of the great Tomorrow through the distance and the gloom of time. Rather than mock at the ruins of the fair Arcadias which they built let us study with scientific sincerity the conditions that produced them and their theories, and weigh them in the light today.

Engels, in his masterful little book, "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," deals with the three great Utopians, Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, so ably that the student is here urged to read again the preface and parts I and II. He will not be long in coming to the conclusion that the Utopians of the first years of the last century did the best that they could with the materials at hand; that they attempted the impossible, and dashed themselves to pieces on the hard rocks of economic conditions that were as yet uncharted and until then unknown. The student will find that before the working class can be free there must be a degree of industrial development that did not then exist and that out of this industrial development intellectual weapons must be created with which to win the goal of our desire.

Utopian Socialism

In fact the more we study the more reasons we dig up to show how utterly



J. E. SINCLAIR.

impossible is any Utopia even today with all the industrial and intellectual machinery at hand for the task of building them. But the historical significance of the work done by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen is too great to be passed over in silence. Besides, are not many of us still fond Utopians expecting a Co-operative Commonwealth to be created for the working class outside the self activity of the working class and by institutions and forces foreign to and antagonistic to the working class? As we study the historical conditions that produced the nineteenth century Utopias we shall see that they were the creatures of bourgeois idealism, the dreams of a disgusted and disappointed section of the new master class, a section that had not lost all its manhood in the mad rush for gold but that still retained ideals that were strikingly at swords' points with the brute facts of life.

In order that the bourgeoisie, that is the capitalist class, should overthrow the centralized feudalism that restrained its business activity in a thousand ways, it was necessary that an atmosphere of political democracy should be created. It was also necessary that all the traditional nonsense pertaining to the feudal church and state should be consumed in an intellectual blaze kindled by the torch of "reason." Amid the wreckage of ancient institutions and with pure reason, the rights of man, liberty, equality, and fraternity as its watchwords, the capitalist class reared their new society. With much strong talk about eternal truth and justice this new ruling class proceeded to fasten upon the very workers who had fought for them the invisible chains of a new slavery more terrible than the cold iron links that had been melted in the social cauldron of the Revolution. Millions of these workers, lured on by the golden vision of liberty, had sacrificed magnificently in the glorious hour of their awakening from centuries of benumbing pain and unrequited toil.

But with the dawning of the year 1800 the scales of bourgeoisie idealism began to fall from many eyes. It was soon seen that bourgeois freedom was freedom for the bourgeoisie alone, that equality was a sham, and that liberty was a snare. The sublime thrill of the Marseillaise or the

ponderous platitudes of the politicians could not feed starving babies nor break the bars that confined thousands in debtors' prisons.

All over the civilized world hand and foot power machinery had been used for some time in production. These simple looms and spindles and dyeing apparatuses were being grouped into factories where social production was in embryo. Then in England there was invented the spinning jenny and then the power loom. Beside every waterfall in western England there rose a factory. Steam engines shaped themselves like magic out of scrap iron. Power production began its meteoric career of marvelous achievement. Coal and iron mining, transportation, science, and intensive exploration received tremendous impetus. Although by 1800 machinery driven by power other than human had not yet invaded continental Europe its presence in England and its rising murmur in America profoundly affected the workers of the entire world. Employers who were not fortunate enough to have steam engines or water falls were compelled to compete with those who had. The result was a lengthening of hours and a speeding-up heretofore unknown in industry.

The peaceful pastoral world, sad and somber enough in the dim light of labor history, was now turned into an inferno of toil with death and loathsome disease the reward of those who worked. Little children flogged to their tasks, women perishing by the crashing looms, men broken by poverty and drifting like derelicts from shore to shore, hopeless, homeless, crushed—what a picture even capitalist historians are compelled to paint on New Year's morning one hundred and thirteen years ago!

There had been famines before, but they had been because enough had not been produced. Now for the first time famine was made perpetual because too much was being produced.

In the throes of this great industrial revolution brought about by the beginning of power production, Utopian Socialism was born. It was not the child of hope and cheer but the daughter of despair. Its founders were not working men filled with the fine spirit of revolt and determined to carve for themselves

a new freedom in the face of fearful odds. They were disappointed members of the bourgeoisie. They were filled with the fine democratic ideals of Rousseau, Paine and Jefferson. They had taken the mottoes and slogans of the French Revolution seriously in their youth. They had pictured a paradise to be attained through political freedom; they found an industrial hell. Liberty's sweet dream had been transformed by victory into a nightmare of bourgeois brutality in which the sacred rights of men, eternal justice and the much-talked-of fraternity were nothing but memories. Fourier found that "the most pitiful reality" corresponded with "the most high-sounding phrases."

Viewed even in the tri-colored light of bourgeois idealism, things were very wrong indeed. "Under civilization poverty is born of superabundance itself!" says Fourier with a sad sarcasm that was characteristic of his genius. But it could be fixed. Fourier himself would show them how to fix it. By applying the principles of eternal truth and justice to society and planning things accordingly all this misery would be abolished. The task thrilled the great Utopians.

Each for himself and not for the other, these sincere men fell to work. "The solution of the social problem, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the Utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever, possible, by example of model experiments," says Engels.

It looked easy. All that was needed according to this conception was a sort of working drawing of a society that had all the bad features removed. "Pure reason" was all that was needed for the task. Surely nobody would be so rude as not to accept the work when it was done. The trouble was that the "pure reason" of one thinker was very unreasonable and impure in the eyes of the others and when the books and pamphlets freighted with new heavens and new earths got out among the people there was some amusement among the upper classes where they

were first read. There was some excitement here and there, but the world did not change. Thereupon the Utopians proceeded to put their plans into tangible form. The plans just had to work they thought. Model colonies, model factory cities, and all sorts of little Utopias sparkled and fluttered here and there all over the civilized world. Then the lights faded away and the dark night of capitalist exploitation settled down to its weary grind. Before the onward rush of capitalist development pure reason was helpless and the noblest plans of the noblest men were wrecked by ruthless economic forces impossible of being understood until the very idealism that had furnished the intellectual tools for the construction of these Utopias should be rendered obsolete by the mental progress of the race.

The fragile creations of the human mind cannot endure the stress and strain of economic forces that operate with relentless power to crush without pity and without "reason" every obstacle placed in their path. If we wish a new society it must come as a result of these economic forces and a clear understanding of the laws that govern their motion.

Socialism can only come as the result of a historical process. The industrial evolution that this implies carries with it a mental development that becomes an important subject for study. It thus becomes necessary for the student of social evolution to study the great successive industrial changes and at the same time study the development of human thought that accompanies these changes. The close relations that exist between the successive stages of industry and the successive stages of philosophy were pointed out for the first time by Marx and Engels. They were driven to this discovery by a study of the failures of the Utopians and by the study of industry itself.

The brief history of human thought given in Part II by Engels should be mastered by every student. The Utopians believed in eternal right, absolute justice, pure reason, etc. Yet in trying to apply these to society they failed miserably. Engels shows us why they failed in their reasoning and failing in that they failed in everything. There are two methods

of reasoning he shows—the metaphysical and the dialectic. The metaphysical thinker considers “that things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all.” To the metaphysician things stay put. Right was always right, wrong was always wrong. Society, life, and truth are static and eternal. Everything was but the embodiment of some “idea” that had existed somewhere in time and space since before either time or space were. Among the metaphysicians everything was either the child of an eternal idea or, as with the metaphysical materialists, a detached and independent creation without definite relationships.

To the metaphysical idealist it was a very easy matter to create an ideal society, as a separate and distinct whole, and superimpose it upon the life of mankind at any time or place chosen by the creating genius. The Utopias created by the metaphysical idealists proved in their multitudinous failures the impossibility of progress along such lines.

Engels traces the rise of the dialectic processes and modes of thought. Space does not permit anything but a brief statement here. In contrast with metaphysics, dialectics “comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending.” Instead of statics we have dynamics. The whole world becomes a process. Everything is in motion. Everywhere there is change, new relationships, evolution. Nothing remains; all is mutation. Nature is itself the proof of dialectics and modern science has established this method of reasoning upon a sound basis. Darwin’s monumental work shattered forever metaphysical philosophy.

As we proceed with our study we shall return to this. We shall learn how Scientific Socialism on its theoretical side is the offspring of dialectic reasoning. We shall see the great advantage of clear thinking, and we shall see that clear thinking is impossible without scientific method and precision. We shall see how Socialism, taking advantage of the scientific needs of the bourgeoisie, has seized the intellectual weapons for its achievement in the very arsenal of its enemies.

Among these weapons historical materialism, which is nothing but the application of dialectics to history, is the most powerful. The materialistic interpretation of history and the Marxian discovery of surplus value made Socialism a science. He who does not fully understand these does not understand Socialism. Engels, on pages 90 to 93, states these two great discoveries briefly and the statement is worth memorizing. Henceforth Utopian dreams can find no place in the equipment of a revolutionist.

With this let us bid farewell to the great Utopians. In spite of their inspiring endeavors they got us nowhere. In fact, Utopia means nowhere. Utopian Socialism is a phantom ship without a rudder. The misfortunes of this ship have furnished countless texts for the enemies of human progress, and yet we must heed these misfortunes. For we still have with us belated Utopians who pester us with petty political reforms born of an idealism that has long since perished in its conflict with modern science. These ghostly creatures of the mind are not of the working class.

Study Notes.

You will notice in the above article that we have taken just to page 93 in Engels’ *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*. Last month you were asked to read the entire book. This was to give you perspective. It is to be hoped that many locals have formed study clubs by this time. I shall try to outline the work so that it will help these clubs and at the same time be of use to the thousands of workingmen who will study these lessons in chilly lodging house rooms by the lonely light of flickering lamps. Patronize the public library frequently and for this purpose keep making lists of names and events that you wish to look up in encyclopedias and other reference books. Never be satisfied until you have learned all that can be learned concerning each topic.

The following outlines may be divided up among the club members in any way desired as the basis for addresses, essays, or round table talks.

I. History of English Thought.

(1) Duns Scotus and his question. (2) The philosophy of Bacon. (3) The ma-

terialism of Hobbes. (4) Science and Genesis. (5) The agnostics. (6) Why the struggle between the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie assumed a religious guise. (7) Science and the Church. (8) The religion of the bourgeoisie. Give economic reasons for creed and form of organization. (9) How the bourgeoisie made use of its religion on the workers. (10) Why the deistic materialism of Shaftesbury was obnoxious to the bourgeoisie. (11) The British bourgeoisie and the French Revolution. (12) The industrial revolution in England. (13) The revolt of the workers. (14) The reason for revivalism. (15) Economic reasons for the spread of piety from England to the ruling classes on the continent.

II. The Great Utopians.

(1) Influence of the idealistic materialism of the French philosophers on the early Socialists. (2) Early Utopias. (3) Social conditions that existed at the close of the French Revolution. (4) Saint Simon—His conception of the class war—His New Christianity—Position of the bankers and bourgeoisie in his Utopia—His idea concerning politics and economics. (5) Fourier—His criticism of bourgeois pretense—His ideas on woman and marriage—His conception of history. (6) Robert Owen—Social conditions as he saw them—His character—Idea as to character formation—New Lanark—Owen's communism—Obstacles as he saw them—His misfortunes—Later efforts on behalf of the workers. (7) Why all Utopias must fail.

Note: For the complete story of the work of these Utopians do not fail to consult the *New International Encyclopedia* or some other that gives a list of the books to read. Then get the librarian to get them if possible. Do not take the capitalist criticism of the works of these men. Get at the sources.

III. Evolution of the Materialist Conception of History.

(1) Greek philosophy—Its conception of nature—Its short comings. (2) Beginning of natural science. (3) The met-

aphysical method of thinking—Its fixity and rigidity—Its weakness. (4) The dialectic method of thinking—Its conception of life and nature—Relation to the work of Darwin. (5) Kant's great contribution. (6) Hegel—His philosophical discovery—The problem he propounded—His idealism—His incurable contradiction. (7) Modern materialism—Contrasted with the old materialism—Its dialecticism. (8) The class struggle between workers and capitalists—The first outbreaks—the effect on the conception of history. (9) The new conception of history—the class struggle a product of economic conditions—The economic basis of all institutions—Effect of the new conception on Socialism.

Questions for Review.

1. What solution did the Utopians offer for the social problems that confronted them?

2. Why did the hundreds of experiments made by them fail?

3. Were they right in making their appeal to all classes? Compare the proletariat of 1800 with that of today.

4. What does Saint Simon's idea of the complete absorption of politics by economics imply?

5. Give briefly the results of the industrial revolution in England? In America? Is this industrial revolution complete?

6. Compare the metaphysical and the dialectical methods of reasoning. How did the progress of natural science affect the development of our reasoning powers?

7. Compare the old materialism with the new.

8. State briefly what you understand by the materialistic conception of history. What has it got to do with Socialism?

When writing the answers to these questions it is not imperative that books be closed; but it is important that the answers be written out and that carefully. These answers can then form the basis for discussion since there will probably be many different answers. And discussion is the life of study.

VOTING, FIGHTING, EDUCATING

By Frank Bohn

IN New Jersey and Ohio the Socialist vote was generally less than in the presidential election a year ago. But in both Paterson and Akron the vote increased. In these cities the Socialist party came within a very narrow margin of victory. The truth would seem obvious that if a big vote is really desired by the Socialist party membership, the surest way to it is to help along the fight on the industrial field. Wherever a great strike has been fought out the Socialist vote has mounted—at Lawrence and Columbus, at New Castle and in West Virginia. On the other hand, it is just as evident that the class conscious workers, whether broken by defeat or cheered by victory, whether advised (by their strike leaders) to vote the Socialist ticket or back the old parties, or told to “strike at the ballot box with an ax,” line up to a man at the next election and vote the Socialist ticket.

Of course, this is a very natural result. It was foreseen by careful observers of the labor movement, who were blinded neither on the one side nor on the other, long before the Socialist propaganda was important enough to make it a fact. The Socialist agitator tells the worker that when he strikes the capitalist policeman and soldier club and shoot him, and that therefore he ought to seize the powers of government. Whereupon two per cent of the workers believe the agitator and vote the Socialist ticket. Then comes an industrial conflict that ties up the town. The agitator's humble words, which hitherto were all weakness, are then verified by the bitter facts of the class struggle. The seat of this struggle is in the industries. The workers are locked out, starved, clubbed, ridden down by cavalry and some of them killed. At the funeral the agitator again appears, his whole speech simplified into “I told you so.”

Members of the I. W. W. voted in Butte and the State of Washington. They would have elected our entire city ticket if they had received proper support in Paterson.

THE DEFEAT OF TAMMANY HALL

New York has always been known as a “wicked city.” The corruption of Tammany Hall has been so well advertised because the professional writers of books and magazine stories live in New York. The influence of the sporting fraternity and the underworld in New York City never could compare with that wielded by the Barbary Coast outfit in San Francisco before the cleanup. In fact, professional sports and crooks used to go from San Francisco to New York and complain that it was like New Haven, Connecticut, or Peru, Indiana. New York has always had the best municipal government in the United States, from the viewpoint of efficiency. It will probably take Chicago and Philadelphia twenty years to establish as sound an administration as Tammany Hall conducted at its worst. But had the professional writers admitted this, country people would not have found their articles interesting.

Tammany Hall represents, primarily, the great elevated, surface and subway traction interests. The reform movements have always represented the middle class taxpayers. Since the Civil war the reformers have been victorious about once in ten years. This year the fusionists not only scored a remarkable triumph in the balloting, but their movement meant much more than formerly. Their candidate, John Purroy Mitchell, is a Hearst Independence Leaguer, an advocate of the municipal ownership and operation of the new subways. However, his support is too incoherent for him to make much progress. Yet his election proves that New York City was ready to go far beyond mere reform and into the field of social progressivism. A diseased limb of the Wilson Democratic regime has been removed, and the Socialists, who wish to fight capitalism, not at its worst, but at its best, have every reason to rejoice.

DIRECT ACTION IN THREE STATES

In the northern peninsula of Michigan, in Indiana and in Colorado, the workers have been receiving valuable lessons in un-

ionism, politics and government. Both the copper miners in Michigan and the coal miners in Colorado have now been through the four normal stages of a mine strike. In the first stage the miners stay quietly in their homes or conduct peaceful, law-abiding parades in the public streets. In the second stage privately organized and armed gunmen of the corporations fall upon the workers, break up their parades and meetings, attack them in their homes and naturally drive them to retaliate. In the third stage the miners appear, rifles in hand, defending their homes and their constitutional rights against the plug-uglies. Then comes the militia, in Colorado 1,500, in Michigan 3,000 strong—in each case the whole armed force of the state. Strike picketing has been stopped, meetings and parades have been forbidden and broken up, if held. The homes of the strikers are entered on the plea of seizing arms, in fact to break, utterly, their power of resistance.

In Indianapolis the physical conditions of the strike were quite different than among the miners. No industry is so vulnerable to physical attack as a street car system. Everybody hates a street car magnate. The working people vent their bitterness spontaneously. There has never been a street car men's strike in the United States but that the working class of the whole city acted as one man, doing in every case exactly the same thing. And this is what they do—pile the street car tracks with debris, hurl bricks and boulders from the tops of houses upon the cars in the street below, attack and sometimes kill the scabs. The fierceness of their hatred drives the policemen of proletarian instincts to resign their jobs rather than protect the company's property and professional strike breakers. In Indianapolis three hundred working women marched to the office of the governor of the state, their leader declaring to the astonished dignitary that they were ready to bear arms in defense of the rights of the street car operatives. To claim, under such circumstances, that the working class is law abiding is to act the fool. The working class on strike is just as law abiding as it has to be and no more. None is deceived by claiming anything else. The growing limbs of the working class smash through the rotten shell of the law at the first provocation. Instinctively it feels that it is engaged in a social war. In such a place and

at such a time even the most weak-kneed Socialist does not make excuses for the workers' actions. He accepts them, understands them, and defends them. A great strike drives the mass of the workers to Socialism, and Socialists to a deeper understanding of the class struggle.

WHERE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION IS HARDEST

Often, indeed, do the old party organizers discuss a seemingly curious feature of our work. Why does the Socialist party fail in the greater cities? That we have made so little progress in country districts and villages is easily explained by reference to economic and social conditions. But why should we go on so slowly in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and St. Louis, the five greatest cities in the land? In the municipal elections two years ago we carried at least thirty smaller cities and towns. All but two of these contained less than forty thousand people. So far, only one city with over a hundred thousand people has been won, and only two with over fifty thousand. Of course, there are fundamental reasons for this, and before making suggestions as regards the work of organization in the larger cities, we shall search for and examine the causes of success as well as failure. It is evident, of course, that the Socialist party will fail in its ultimate mission until it succeeds in carrying the greater cities.

Certain large considerations distinguish the work of organization in the larger cities from that conducted in towns of under fifty thousand people. First of all, there are certain physical aspects to be mentioned. The first of these is the matter of relative size. In a town of ten thousand in Ohio practically everybody knows everybody else. A man is not only familiar with the population in general, but he is well acquainted with his neighbors in particular. Many of them have been his boyhood friends. This bond of neighborliness is a very large asset in propaganda work. When a man becomes a Socialist, scores of his fellow citizens ask the reason why and immediately proceed to examine the subject. Seeing his neighbors every day—meeting the same persons every evening in the barber shop, the cigar store or saloon—the individual agitator works upon them until they accept his views. Similarly, a single successful Socialist meeting

in such a town is much more likely to have lasting effects than in a greater city. If a Socialist agitator talks to five hundred and makes a good impression, his speech will be the subject for discussion by the whole working class of that town the next day. Likewise, in the small cities there are few intellectual and social attractions to take up the time of the working people. A Socialist lecturer who would not think of speaking for more than an hour in New York City may without danger to his reputation continue for two hours or more in the town up state. In the small city the workers have time to read, time to think, time to go to meetings, and time to talk to their friends.

In a city with more than a million people every one of these conditions are reversed. A speaker talks to a thousand people in New York or Chicago, all the while realizing that however much he may impress his audience, nine-tenths of them will forget all he said immediately they get outside the door. One does not know personally the people who live in the same apartment house. The population in a work-class district rapidly changes. Many languages act as barriers to the spread of thought. Few strong friendships of long duration are developed among the workers. These conditions make local organizations hard to develop and harder to maintain.

There are other and weighty reasons why the Socialist party does not quickly succeed in the great city. The economic interests affected by the municipal government increase not in arithmetical but in geometrical proportion. That is, in a city of a hundred thousand people the public utilities deeply affected by politics are not ten times greater, but perhaps a hundred times greater than in a town of ten thousand people. The crop of graft reaped by the local politicians is, therefore, likely to be a hundred times as great. It follows that the capitalists with a stake in the city government will fight the Socialist party that much harder. In the great cities the capitalist politicians are the bitterest enemies of the Socialist movement.

Then, again, in the small town there is no well-defined labor movement. In the large cities there is usually a reactionary labor union machine working hand in glove with this or that capitalist political crowd. When patronage is dispensed the labor politicians are not forgotten. Until the labor

unions become revolutionary in character they must ordinarily be reckoned among the enemies of the Socialist party.

Finally, the development of a coherent and efficient Socialist political organization in our half dozen greatest cities calls for a degree of organizing power, of intellectual force and personal character, if you will, which our party has not yet been fortunate enough to draw into its service. For this problem there is no definite solution. But we ought to do much more to hold the virile and intellectual young people we get in our organization through both inspiration and education. The vitally important subject of the social and educational centers to be conducted by our party, through its local branches in our cities, we shall treat in a future article. We must eventually be in a position to do at least as much for our young people as the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. do for the young of the middle class. In the cities we do not now hold more than one-fifth of our new members. If we are to expect service from these young workers, we must first render service to them.

THE VILLAGES AND RURAL DISTRICTS

The small town of from ten thousand to thirty thousand people, as we have already said, is unified by a common language and type of mind. It is easily accessible by reason of its physical conditions and numbers, and is quickly captured because it contains no great economic forces opposed to the Socialist party.

At the other end of the gamut, at the base of the nation's life, lie the spreading rural districts with their innumerable villages. In this connection census statistics are always interesting. We are so much in the habit of giving attention to the number and size of our rapidly growing cities that the census figures for the rural districts are at first amazing. The United States is still a rural nation. In 1910 the country population, by which is meant all persons living in the country or in villages of less than 2,500 people, numbered 53.7 per cent of the whole. In Ohio, where the Socialist movement is more advanced than in any state east of the Rocky Mountains, and which will probably be the first state we shall carry, the rural population numbered 44.1 per cent of the whole. In Wisconsin it numbered 57 per cent. In North Dakota

where we are in sight of a victory in the state election, there are almost no cities, the rural population numbering 87.7 per cent. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the columns of the REVIEW, little can be done, either of a legislative or administrative character, by the Socialist party until it controls state governments. It is, therefore, perfectly evident that the matter of advancing our movement among our country people is one of vital importance.

Let me say here that I have during the past three years somewhat changed my view concerning the value of our propaganda among farmers. I have done so, both because of greater familiarity with our western farming people and a more careful examination of census and other statistics concerning rural population and wealth. In the decade ending 1910 the number of farm owners increased 8½ per cent, while the number of farm tenants increased 16½ per cent. Meanwhile, the number of mortgaged farms increased 18 per cent. While it is perfectly true that a section of our farming population, specifically those owning good land within easy transporting distance of adequate markets, are earning money, it is equally true that the great mass of our farmers are in a stationary or receding position economically. It is not our purpose here to explain or elucidate this point. We shall take it for granted.

In the country districts of the Middle West, the Southwest and the far West the Socialist party has made encouraging progress. Hundreds of locals have been developed wholly among farmers. In the far West tens of thousand of these farmers are ex-wage workers who have run away from the tyranny of the shift boss to place themselves under the bondage of the railroads and the ten-per-cent-mortgage holder. The number of actual wage workers on these farms is now colossal and is growing annually. Everywhere west of the Allegheny Mountains real capitalist farming is becoming the order of things. As the gasoline engine displaces the horse, the mule and the hired hand, a great army of tenant farmers, mortgage-ridden farmers and small farmers generally, will be crushed down into the ranks of the wage workers or turned into a serf class that will rent its machines as well as its farms. In the South and Southwest this is already largely the case.

Meanwhile, the country village, that wearisome, petrifying community of from 200 to 2,500 people, is understood by few Socialists in the larger cities. These villages have lost their little, old-fashioned factories and are rapidly losing their stores. They are filled with large families of children, for whom there are no jobs, no cheap entertainment, no outlook. The annual wages of the second-hands, the casual farm laborers, the few store clerks, the left-over carpenters and bricklayers is pitifully small. Here is material for the Socialist party propaganda which can be reached before it enters the industrial field in our large cities.

THE SOCIALIST STATE OFFICE AND THE RURAL DISTRICT

In all matters pertaining to organization the large city takes care of itself. The small city books its speakers through the state office, but otherwise it is self-directing. Socialist farmers dwelling in and about the country villages are dependent upon our state offices in a peculiar way. More or less desultory propaganda is likely to develop in every rural community. But without help from without no organization is launched, no real educational work developed. Socialist and socialistic farmers purchase almost no Socialist books. Quite likely they read a single Socialist paper and think that they are performing their whole duty when they vote the Socialist ticket on election day. With a little effort they can be educated at least as easily as the city wage worker. We need more literature specifically for the farmer. Yet the farmer's greatest need is our time-proven classic Socialist literature. The danger of the Socialist movement in the country is that it remains purely a populist political movement. The farmer must be led to understand the industrial conflict from the wage earner's point of view. An educational movement that will, during the five years to come, develop thirty per cent of the rural population of a state into sound revolutionists is, of course, infinitely better than a sentimental propaganda which will enlist but not train seventy per cent of them.

ORGANIZING IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

A single meeting with an effective public address may build up the movement in a town. In a country district an organizer should remain at least several days, calling

on the sympathizers in their homes, canvassing for literature and subscriptions, and teaching them the methods and purposes of organization. During the autumn and winter months every rural county should try to have a salaried organizer for as many weeks as possible. It should be the main business of the state office in agricultural states to study local conditions and direct this work.

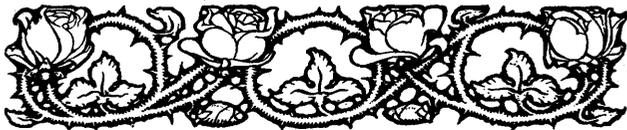
The rural organizer should be perfectly familiar with the farming industry in general and with the peculiar conditions of the people among whom he works. He must be willing to work eight hours a day, meanwhile living in the homes of the people among whom he is organizing. As our country population is almost wholly American born, the organizer should use the English language without difficulty.

In this work of organization it is necessary to discover a local secretary who will collect the dues, canvass for Socialist papers and literature and keep in touch with the state office. Propaganda meetings had best be held only during the autumn and winter months. Much depends upon the advertising. Where social and intellectual attractions are few, people are considerably impressed by any distinction which attaches to the name and personality of a speaker. Hence, all the favorable qualities and the interesting experiences of the organizer should be dwelt upon in the advertising. With schoolhouses free and entertainment furnished by members and sympathizers, it ought now to be easy indeed for the state office in any agricultural state to keep several rural organizers routed from November

1st to May 1st. The additional dues from these rural districts will pay for these organizers if they are properly selected and managed. No better policy can be developed in the agricultural states than to expend nearly all of the surplus funds of the state office in this form of work. Rural America has been profoundly affected by the social crisis. In the cities of over 100,000 people only one-sixth inherit directly the mighty traditions of Jefferson and Jackson and of the Civil war. Millions of young men and women growing up in the country will find their way to the cities in the coming ten years. In an address before the summer session of the State Teachers' College at Greeley, Colo., July 18, Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States commissioner of education, said:

"More than 65 per cent of our children are educated in the rural schools, and they form a large part of our population in the cities. Probably no city produces as many citizens as it kills, and the modern civilization with its complex problems and its nerve strain really eats children in the city."

Again and again let it be pointed out to the farmer and his wife that, even though they own a little land and have enough to eat, their many children will be forced into wage slavery and destroyed by the conditions which that slavery implies. In the twentieth century this is, to parents, the greatest material consideration of life. Today the American farmer, born a fighter, is "agin the government" and at war with the great corporations. Let us bring them into the Socialist party, not as progressives, but as social revolutionists.





BOUND FOR VIENNA

OVER twenty socialist comrades have entered the race for the REVIEW trip to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Vienna Austria, next summer. Every mail is bringing letters from new enthusiasts who want to know how to secure this free trip and those who have already started toward winning it ask us to tell our friends that the work is easy and that they are not only making the climb toward three hundred REVIEW subscriptions steadily and surely, but are winning dozens of new people to an interest in socialism.

Comrade Rush, of Cedar Rapids, writes: "Getting subs. gives folks an opportunity to ask about socialism. The work grows pleasanter all the time."

The Central Socialist Club of Haverhill has chosen Miss Olive Sophia Leavitt, a seventeen-year-old member of the Local, to represent them on the REVIEW plan, promising to give her all the support possible. It makes the work doubly pleasant and easy to have the united co-operation and support of your Local in this way. It will also give the Local comrades an opportunity to get their report on the Congress first hand.

Our old friends, Comrades T. F. Lockwood, of Cleveland, and Floyd Ramp, of Oregon, are going to be sure winners. Comrade Seward enters for Spokane and Eckard, Ruth, Potts, Dinlocker and Rittenberg from Pennsylvania.

Comrade Spinney hopes to be the second REVIEW delegate from Massachusetts and Oscar Helm was the first to get started in Arkansas. Shubert Sebree was the first man under the wire from Indiana, and S. E. Thompson, from Illinois, and C. S. Crain, noteworthy for his fine work on the Emancipator, is going to put Oklahoma on the delegation map.

John Henderson, the youngest member of Local Puyallup, made his start a running jump with twenty-five yearlies. Harry Sib-

ble is one you can bank on going from Vancouver.

DON'T YOU WANT TO GO ALONG?

Those who have already started want to make the party across as large a one as possible. Every State in the Union should have at least two delegates. We would like to send ten. The REVIEW offer is one you cannot afford to miss. Secure credentials from your Local and start in taking subs. there. Then visit the neighboring locals and get them to back you up.

We would like to send every socialist editor in the country. If they would explain our plans through the columns of their various papers, scores of friends who would like to see new delegates attending the greatest gathering of socialists the world has ever seen would be glad to send subscriptions to the paper.

OUR PLAN.

Our offer is the greatest one ever made by any magazine. We will send every socialist comrade to the International Congress at Vienna next summer who will send us three hundred yearly subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW before June first. Where you cannot secure a yearly subscription, we will accept two six month subs. to be applied as one yearly. These subscriptions must be paid for at the regular rate of \$1.00 a year; 50 cents for six months.

For every one sending in the required number, the REVIEW will pay railroad fare from any point east of Chicago and back, steamship fare across and back, railroad fare to and from Vienna and allow \$25.00 for hotel bills in Europe.

DON'T YOU WANT TO GO ALONG?

We would like to send a party of at least fifty REVIEW delegates.

EDITORIAL

Co-operation in Italy—From the viewpoint of a revolutionary Socialist, the fatal weakness of co-operation as usually practiced in England and Belgium, and on a smaller scale in other countries, is that it enables the more thrifty portion of the working class to make individual savings. These individuals thereupon begin to think and feel like petty capitalists, becoming more concerned about their little savings than their wages or working conditions, and often forgetting altogether the struggle of the wage-workers against the capitalists. This stupefying effect of the usual type of co-operatives has proved a serious offset to their undeniable advantages. REVIEW readers will therefore be glad to hear of a new type of co-operative which thus far at least, seems free from this serious objection. In *Harper's Magazine* for November, John L. Mathews describes "the art of mutual aid," as practiced by the farm laborers of Italy. These laborers until very lately, have been but a step removed from chattel slavery. The land of Italy is for the most part held in large estates, and either not for sale at all or offered at a figure so high that the ownership of a farm is beyond the wildest dreams of the farm laborers. These laborers have thus found that they can not hope to escape slavery by rising individually into the owning class, and they have come to realize in a thoroughly practical way that their only hope is to unite. A series of energetic strikes a few years ago secured a general raise of wages in northeast Italy amounting to fifteen million dollars a year, divided among hundreds of thousands of laborers. But even after the raise the wages of an Italian farm laborer rarely exceed sixty cents a day.

Getting Rid of the Boss—Too many men were looking for work at these wages to leave much prospect for successful strikes, and the rebels turned their attention to the new method of getting

rid of the boss through co-operation. One group of 450 families pooled their savings, pledged their credit, and leased a large estate with a magnificent but deserted palace, which had belonged to one of the high officials of the Roman Catholic church. These families of laborers are today living in the episcopal palace, doubtless overcrowded, but at least far more comfortably quartered than ever before. They are operating the big farm co-operatively, raising their standard of living a little, and adding improvements in the way of modern machinery, blooded stock, commercial fertilizers, etc., which will surely increase their earnings in future. And observe that this capital which these workers are gradually acquiring is not being "divided up," it is being kept together and used to improve the future living conditions of all the workers alike. The group just described is only one of many groups who are becoming their own employers. Many others are operating large rented farms. Still others are taking contracts for railroad construction and other rough outdoor work, the organized group taking the place of the private contractor, and making its collective bargain with the government or the corporation which has the work to give out. In this way, by doing away with the contractor, the workers are able to get better wages. This movement is as yet only in embryo, and big developments may be looked for soon.

Modern Cities—Under this title two workers for "municipal betterment," Horatio M. Pollock and William S. Morgan, have prepared a book lately published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York, which is full of the news of recent progress toward some of our Socialist ideals, which deserves careful consideration on the part of Socialists. The book contains chapters on city planning, on the housing problem, on the paving and cleaning of streets, on the water supply, the milk supply, the dis-

posal of sewage and garbage and the other problems of sanitation, on the conservation of human life, and the development of municipal home rule. Along all these lines and more, the authors, drawing their facts from hundreds of cities in America and Europe, report a degree of progress that twenty or thirty years ago would have seemed beyond belief. A resistless tide has set in the direction of these reforms. The only opposition to them comes from petty grafters and hopeless fossils who are being swept out of the way as the movement progresses. But note two things. One is that in nearly every case these reforms are the work of capitalist parties, not of the Socialists. The other is that while they are a very real benefit to the wage-workers, they are even more beneficial to the capitalists. The young people who grow up in these modernized cities are more efficient than their parents, and the capitalists make bigger profits on their labor.

The Socialist Party and the City—Our party confronts here a situation that calls for clear thinking and straightforward tactics. If we were to forget the class

struggle and make our campaign on these popular reforms we might "capture" a few extra offices. But the offices and votes would be won at the price of all that makes the Socialist Party worth working for. These reforms are coming whether we lift our hands for them or not. If we divert the energies of our most active members into a campaign for these reforms to the neglect of Socialist education and of the class war against the capitalist, we are digging the grave of our party most effectually; such tactics will turn it into a cheap imitation of the capitalist reform parties; it will be unable to compete with them and will languish. Yet we must not make the opposite mistake of antagonizing the reform measures. Nearly all of them are on the whole good for the working class, and the sooner they are adopted, the sooner the workers will find that they leave the gulf between capitalist and laborer still unbridged. Good luck to the reformers. They are doing many little necessary things and doing them well. Let us Socialists keep our energy for the big things.

Why War With Mexico?

Because the Mexican oil fields are richer than all the other oil fields in the world combined and Wall Street Capitalists want to grab them?

We Workers Should Worry!

General Sherman said, "War is Hell!" If Capitalist Rockefeller and his Standard Oil crowd want to fight Capitalist Rothschild and the English Capitalists for these oil fields, let them go there! But every red-blooded Socialist should protest against workers being sent to Mexico to murder Mexican workers. In order to protest intelligently you must read John Kenneth Turner's great book entitled, "Barbarous Mexico". It will show you behind the scenes in Mexico. Comrade Turner secured seventeen photographs showing the unimagined horrors practiced over the border. They appear in this book. No capitalist publishing house in this country DARED publish this exposure. Turner's book is bound in blue silk cloth, gold stamped, and contains 360 pages. Until December 31st, we will send you, upon receipt of \$1.50, a copy of this book, postpaid, and the International Socialist Review for one year. *This offer will not appear again.*

Charles H. Kerr & Company, 118 West Kinzie St. **Chicago**

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Two Internationals.—"There are two internationals," said my witty friend, "one of them has abundance of ideas, but no members; the other has 7,500,000 members, but not an idea." Of course I told him he is a liar, and he is. But there is enough of truth in his epigram to make it worth passing on.

In the month of October both internationals held congresses, so the comparison of them is inevitable. The syndicalist congress met in London; the International Trades Union Secretariat met at Zurich. The London gathering is said to have represented a membership of 250,000; that held at Zurich represented the imposing number mentioned above. Those who gathered in London drew up a "program," which was, in fact, nothing but a statement of very general principles; those who assembled at Zurich talked of such practical matters as mutual support in time of strike, and the establishment of bureaus of information. In London they discussed the overthrow of capitalism, those valiant representatives of 250,000, and at Zurich the representatives of the 7,500,000 discussed the things done last year and those to be done this year.

The International Syndicalist Congress.—As I write I have before me the more or less official reports of these two congresses, published in the Bulletin International and the International News Letter. The syndicalist congress, we are told, consisted of 33 delegates. The French Confederation General and the American I. W. W. were not officially represented. The abstention of the great French organization, in fact, is one of the most significant facts about the congress. The French have, in effect, proclaimed to the world that they believe in syndicalism, but not in dual unionism. They belong, of course, to the International Secretariat, or the International Federation, as it is now to be called, and they refused to leave the great conservative organization for a small revolution-

ary one. Incidentally, it may be recorded here that there is much talk of a change of spirit in the C. G. T. Joseph Steiner in a recent article in *Neue Zeit*, shows that the French unionists are gradually returning to a faith in the usefulness of political action. His general theory is that anti-political unions gain importance only in countries where the Socialist Party fails to represent the working class. The anti-political movement in France, he says, was the direct result of Millerandism in the Socialist Party. Of late, especially during the great fight about the new military law, the French Socialists have fought the fight of the working class magnificently. Partly on this account, partly for other reasons, the C. G. T. has gradually changed its attitude toward political action. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the French unionists should remain with Socialist workers of Germany rather than to ally themselves with more or less anti-political organizations which were represented at London.

The ten countries represented were: Argentina, Brazil, Holland, Spain, Belgium, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and France. Of course the organizations represented are for the most part small, some of them are local trade unions; others are national propaganda organizations. But excepting in the cases of Italy and the South American countries only numerically unimportant organizations were represented.

The most practical organization work accomplished was the adoption of a plan for an international bureau of information. This organization is to have its seat in Holland and is to consist of five members named by the Dutch organizations, and one corresponding member in each country. Its work will be the publication of a weekly bulletin and the supervision in general of international propaganda.

But the chief work was the drawing up of a statement of principles. In view

of all the hit-or-miss discussion which we have had, an authoritative statement like this should be of general interest. Here it is: "This congress, recognizing that the working class of every country suffers from capitalist slavery and state oppression, declares for the class struggle and international solidarity, and for the organization of the workers into autonomous industrial unions on the basis of free association; strives for the immediate uplifting of the material and intellectual interests of the working class, and for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the state.

"This congress declares that the class struggle is a necessary result of private property in the means of production and distribution, and therefore declares for socialization of such property by constructing and developing our trade unions

in such a way as to fit them for the administration of these means in the interest of the entire community.

"This congress recognizes that, internationally, trade unions will only succeed when they cease to be divided by political and religious differences; declares that their fight is an economic fight, meaning thereby that they do not intend to reach their goal by trusting their cause to governing bodies of their members, but by using direct action; by the workers themselves relying on the strength of their economic organizations.

"And in consequence of these resolutions and declarations, the congress appeals to the workers in all countries to organize in autonomous industrial unions, and to unite on the basis of international solidarity, in order finally to obtain their emancipation from capitalism and the state."

The most striking thing about this document is the fact that it is a proclamation of anarchism rather than of industrial unionism. We have here no analysis of modern industry, no explanation of the advantages of industrialism over craft unionism. What we have is a declaration of war on capitalism and the state, as though they were two separate things and equally and eternally twin enemies of the working class.

The International Federation of Trade Unions.—Those who met at Zurich did at least one good deed. On the motion of Mr. Perkins, who represented the American Federation of Labor, the name International Secretariat was changed to International Federation of Trade Unions.

In 1911 the editor of this department took occasion to remark that the meetings of the Secretariat were made as stupid and unimportant as possible. Perhaps this statement is still applicable; but with tremendous upward rush of the labor movement the world over, it is now impossible to make them as stupid and unimportant as they used to be. Vital organizations are bound to grow in size and spirit, whether their leaders desire it or not. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, these meetings are coming more and more to take on the character

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"Organization of the Unskilled"

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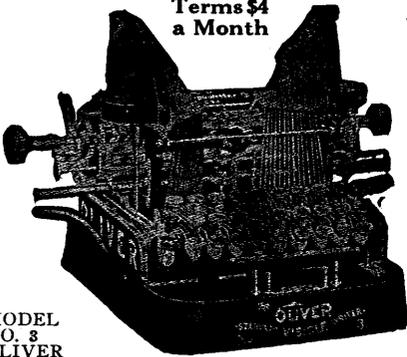
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of real international congresses of labor. This year 25 international trade union secretaries were present at the sessions, though they had no votes. The change of name was another sign of progress. But the most significant fact was the character of the renewed discussion of the proposition to call really representative international congresses. The French and American delegates have in previous years advocated the formation of an "International Federation of Labor," which would mean, of course, the holding of great international labor congresses comparable to the triennial meetings of the Socialist movement. On a resolution introduced by Mr. Perkins, this matter came up again. This American proposal was vigorously opposed by Legien. He said, in effect, that great international gatherings would be certain to develop differences of opinion, and therefore it is wiser to stick to the present organization and gatherings, which discuss only minor matters of detail. To the present writer this argument sounds downright frivolous. Coming from a German who is accustomed to see passionate discussion of fundamental problems cement the wings of the labor movement into deep and permanent unity, it is totally unintelligible. Legien was, however, able to postpone a final consideration of this matter until next year. In the meantime it is to be referred back to the various national federations for consideration and report. There is good reason to hope that the change will be voted next year. And then we shall have for the first time a real international of the forces fighting for the working class on the economic field.

In the way of practical business, three things were done. (1) It was decided to put the International News Letter on a permanent basis. To this end the dues to be contributed toward the support of

this publication were raised to a dollar a year for each thousand members. Hereafter the Letter is to be published in English, French and German. (2) It was decided to hold a special conference at Vienna in October to determine the best way of helping the Balkan workers to reorganize. At present the unions of the Balkan countries have been kept absolutely crushed by the war. There are already some \$20,000 in the international treasury to be used in assisting these organizations to regain their former position. It is proposed to make use of the present occasion to bring about working class unity in this harassed and disorganized region. (3) On the motion of the Swedish delegates it voted to ask the organizations of all countries to introduce into legislative assemblies laws providing for the eight-hour day and the abolition of night work, and then report back to the international office the degree of success attending this effort.

According to one French spectator the only enthusiasm exhibited in the course of the sessions came at the end, when it was decided to meet at San Francisco in 1915. The cautious Legien really warmed up for a moment. "At San Francisco," he said, "there will be an international exposition to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. Bourgeois congresses of all sorts will be held there. The capitalists, the militarists, will claim this great work as their own. And then the workers must be there to say: 'This is our achievement.'"

No, my friend was not quite right when he said one international has the ideas and the other the members. And after all, the important thing is the tendency, the possibility. I am not at all sure that the syndicalists will gain members, but I feel morally certain that the International federation will some time be dominated by ideas.



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A Great Victory in Italy.—It is not merely that the Socialist vote was increased, or that the Socialist group in parliament was more than doubled. We have better reason for being deeply gratified at the results of the elections held in Italy on October 26 and November 27. At the last election the Socialists elected 42 deputies; a few of the districts represented by these they subsequently lost at by-elections. Just about a year ago the party was torn by the struggle over the Turkish war. The Reformist group refused to oppose the war; the majority of the party members took the regular Socialist position and fought bitterly against the war at every point. As a result of this state of affairs there was a split in the party. Or rather, when the party convention at Reggio Emilia voted to expel a group of Reformist leaders all the Reformists withdrew in a body and formed a new party. They took with them 15 members of parliament. By this action the Socialist group was cut down to 25 and the party lost several thousand members. In the political campaign which has just ended the Reformists opposed the Socialists in 50 districts. This naturally increased the difficulties of the situation.

But the chief circumstance which made the outcome doubtful is the fact that under the new electoral law Italy for the first time enjoys full manhood suffrage. This measure has more than doubled the number of voters. And the new electors are nearly all illiterates or men of very little education. To be sure these are members of the working class, but of the lower sections of the working class. The church would be expected to wield a strong influence over them, and one would not expect their intelligence with regard to class interests to be high.

The Socialists put up candidates in 300 districts. Their campaign was absolutely uncompromising. And the result has magnificently attested both the rightness of the Socialist philosophy and the intelligence of the workers. Full details are not at hand as the REVIEW goes to press, but it is reported that the Socialist group will number at least 53. The Reformists have 19 seats. The ministry

of Gioletti will remain in power, but with much reduced majority. It has no program, and faces the necessity of issuing bonds to keep the government afloat. More and more the people are awakening to the fact that the war was a terrible mistake. With a strong group in parliament and a united, revolutionary membership, our Italian comrades are magnificently situated to make a great fight.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



Woodrow's Dancing Academy.—On the 21st of August the United States Government took over the Big Casino Dance Hall and Saloon at Tonopah, Nevada. Judge Morrow, of the Federal Court in California, sitting at Carson City, Nev., appointed a receiver. Tonopah is one of the few remaining genuine mining towns. The Dance Hall is one of the finest in the country. Most of the time, there are employed in it from twenty-five to thirty girls, who dance and sell drinks on a percentage basis. Uncle Sam has been raking in the money over sixty days now. On being asked how she liked her new boss, one of the dancers replied, "I should worry! I am working for the GOVERNMENT." When the boys go down to the Casino of an evening they call it Woodrow Wilson's Dancing Academy, or "Bryan's Tango Class." As the Review correspondent arrived in Tonopah she heard it remarked that Frank Bomreau, the receiver, had arrived on the same train with "three new chickens for the dance hall." The Government pays the girls 40 per cent on all bottled goods they dispose of and 50 per cent on the receipts for dances.

From Way Up North.—A comrade writing from Dawson, Y. I., says: "I thank you for the magazine of the last mail. The slaves on this big river are always on the move, chasing the meal ticket, but I am trying my best to get subscriptions, as I recognize the fact that the REVIEW peddles the right 'dope.' It is so clear and simple that even the humblest of scissor-bills understands what he reads. It is worth the REVIEW's weight in gold to see their faces light up and shine after reading a copy."—Gottfried Sandberg.

From a Frisco Red.—Just returned from a trip to Mexico on the United States transport Buford. I passed "Tom Mann's Speech to the Soldiers" around on the transport. It certainly made a hit with them. I clipped it from the REVIEW. Went to see my dentist and got one "bone" out of him for a year's subscription to the REVIEW, which I herewith enclose. Yours for the REVIEW, first, last and always, as long as it's revolutionary. Your comrade, M. Merit.

The Civil Service Socialist Society, London, England, orders a bundle of November Re-

THE BIG CASINO



I.V. SMITH
PHOTO.

VIEWS and is also becoming a stockholder of the publishing house.

From a Red Revolutionist.—"I am glad that I can send in ten subscriptions to the REVIEW and will send more the next time. I am only 17 years old, but I feel like I can do as much work in the REVIEW line as a man can. I am a red-headed red revolutionist.—Walter S. Smoot. (More power to you young comrade. When we get 100,000 revolutionists, the capitalist class will be going south—for life.)

From the "Live Ones."—The following comrades have sent in ten or more subscriptions to the REVIEW during the past month: Price, Kerman, Cal.; Geyer, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Yeager, Thompson, Nev.; Burke, Lewiston, Maine; Weaver, Adron, Ohio; McIntosh, Leavenworth, Kansas; Hay, Bozeman, Montana; Tillison, Dayton, Texas; Fearing, Decatur, Ill.; (25) Hathorne, Beverly, Mass.; (30) Johnson, Daly City, Cal.; Herron, Tipton, Ind.; Weiss, New York; Horverson, Paril, Ill.; Joseph List, J. Plain, Massachusetts; Olson, Twin Falls, Idaho; Daverkosen, Nevada City, Cal.; Nef, Bozeman, Mont.; Falk, Halleck, Cal.; Woolver, Yuma, Ariz.; Cammack, Paso Robles, Cal.; Beaty, Utica, Kansas; Anderson, Jamestown, N. Y.; Hall, Terre Haute, Ind.; Bartel, Peoria, Ill.; Curry, Peoria, Ill.; Herron, Tipton, Ind.; Butler, Kennewick, Wash.; McLain, Atlanta, La.; Wray, Terre Haute, Ind.; Smoot, Paris, Ill.; Clemens, Oak Creek, Colo.; Tittel, Stockton, Cal.; (24), Kendall, Mountain View, Cal.; Charnetzky, Baltimore, Md.; Sand, Bay City, Mich.; Noble, Berkeley, Cal.; Allison, Petaluma, Cal.; Stange, Yates Center, Kansas; Bartelney, Centralia, Ill.; Petermair, Dubuque, Iowa; Hynes, Minneapolis, Minn.; Denison, New Philadelphia, Ohio (20).

Going Fine.—The demand for our new pamphlet on "The Catholic Church and Socialism" is steadily increasing and we are receiving many splendid letters. Comrade Kules of New Mexico writes: "Sold 40 copies inside of 20 minutes tonight. It is a wonderful book and sells on sight." The national office orders 500; International Publishing Company, Cleveland, 500; Social Dem. Pub. Co., Milwaukee, 200. Get busy in your local and order a bunch.

Free Speech on Trial.—On October fourth, Frederick Sumner Boyd, who was indicted

during the Paterson strike for advocating sabotage, was sentenced to serve from one to seven years in Trenton Prison, and to pay a fine of five hundred dollars. The court which convicted Boyd had already sentenced Alexander Scott, an editor, to fifteen years, because he dared to criticize the Paterson police for clubbing men and women on strike. Five other I. W. W. organizers are awaiting trial for exercising their Constitutional rights of free assembly and free speech. They are: William D. Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Patrick L. Quinlan and Adolph Lessig.

As Boyd is the first labor organizer to be convicted of advocating sabotage, it is vitally important for all labor organizations that his case be taken through the courts. As this number goes to press, there is not enough money collected to permit Boyd to appeal his case. Are the workers going to let Boyd go to jail like Ben Legere and his comrades in Little Falls, or will they free him as they freed Ettor and Giovannitti in Lawrence? Money is needed, and it must come from the workers. Upon Boyd's acquittal or conviction depends the acquittal or conviction of every future strike-leader. **YOU ARE ON TRIAL.** Send all contributions for the Boyd Defense Fund to Miss Jessie Ashley, 27 Cedar street, New York City.

Vancouver Strike

Comrade Rayson writes from Vancouver: "The strike situation on Vancouver Island, looks better every day. The coal companies, assisted in their dirty work by the McBride and Bowser government, hired assassins and capitalist papers, have failed to break the ranks of the strikers in their fight for better working conditions, higher wages and union recognition. Two hundred of our brothers have been railroaded to jail on the evidence of those paid to give such evidence—without the option of having a trial till December. Two comrades were sent to jail for two years for "unlawful assemblage." Comrade Jacl Place, M. P. P., is among those awaiting trial under this great and glorious fake of British Justice. It looks like we were living in Mexico or Russia. But we will win!"

The Catholic Church and Socialism

The Catholic Church has attacked the Socialist party. This causes a STRANGE ABNORMAL CONFLICT, fierce and vital, which every citizen must understand in order that it may be stopped. Both Socialists and Catholics have misunderstood the issue.

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Election Report.—The REVIEW goes to press too early to give much news on the election, but from reports sent to us it looks as though Ohio were still the Red Banner State. Coshocton, Canal Dover, Martin's Ferry, Shelby and Conneaut, elected mayors. Conneaut in the face of the combined opposition of the old parties. Akron, the scene of the big rubber strike, came near to electing the Socialist candidate.

Comrade Charles Edward Russell polled the biggest vote ever cast for a Socialist mayor in the face of the whirlwind campaign carried on by the reform fusionists. Comrade Lurio was the first Socialist alderman to be elected in New York City.

Mayor Lunn increased his vote 1,000 in Schenectady, but was defeated by the united opposition of the old parties. Five members of the Common Council were elected and five supervisors.

In Massachusetts the Socialists returned Charles H. Morrill to the House of Representatives for the fifth time. The New York Call reports the Connecticut vote dropped fifty per cent.

New Jersey will probably loom large on the map hereafter. The Patterson silk workers almost succeeded in electing the Socialist mayoralty candidate. Mayor Brueckman, who rendered such effective service to the Paterson strikers, was re-elected with a majority of the town council.

Erie, Pennsylvania, reports an almost doubled vote. The South Connellsville administration was returned to office with five councilmen out of six. At Allentown, our old friend, Robert Johnstone Wheeler is to be the entering wedge, having been elected councilman. West Brownsville reports four victorious councilmen against the combined forces of the two old Fossils.

Local Goldfield Demands Referendum.—On October 13 Local Goldfield, Nevada, adopted a motion demanding a referendum by the party on the selection of the National Executive Committee and other national officers, and ordering a copy of the motion sent to the REVIEW and other Socialist papers. We believe this motion fairly represents the wishes of a majority of the membership. The present constitution puts the control of the party organization into the hands of officials who for the most part get their living from the dues paid by members. Some method should be devised for bringing the officers and committees more directly under the control of the rank and file. The necessary amendment to the constitution should receive careful consideration, and several plans along this line ought to be ready for discussion by the National Committee when it meets next May. Meanwhile the party members of every State should make sure that they have a representative on that committee who will support the measure they want.

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Justus
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From Leavenworth.—Albert McIntosh, our old friend at Leavenworth, sent in eleven new subscriptions this month. We think we are going to grow in that part of Kansas from now on.

For the Teachers.—*The Normal Instructor*, a magazine published by the F. A. Owen Publishing Company at Dansville, N. Y., is one of the periodicals our new socialist teachers will find full of lively and practical suggestions for the school room. *THE REVIEW* is indebted to this magazine for the half tone engravings used in our article on a Cup of Tea, which appeared in the November REVIEW. *The Normal Instructor* makes many points in geography both interesting and instructive to the children through the aid of photographs. Send 10 cents for one or two sample copies.

Katterfield Lectures.—L. H. Katterfield, who was for two years manager of the National Lyceum Department of the Socialist Party, is now out with a lecture of his own, "HOW TO GET WHAT YOU WANT." For particulars regarding dates, etc., address him, care of *Workers' World*, 536 Wells street, Chicago.

Australia and Free Speech

The Socialist party of Australia has sent out an Appeal to Reason circular declaring that they mean to fight for free speech until it becomes a fact in that country. Comrade Gordon Brown writes: "The American comrades must know that here in Democratic Australia, the land with the most 'advanced legislation,' where every person over twenty-one is entitled to vote, we are compelled to fight for the right to hold meetings on Sunday on the public streets. Eight of the boys are already serving various terms of imprisonment for trying to speak on the streets. Every Sunday evening, after the Salvation Army has taken up its usual collection, one of our boys steps out onto the roadway and begins to speak. Immediately a host of police, pimps and detectives gather around. They permit a crowd to collect and then, when our comrade says he has no permit, he is marched off to the watch-house. The last two weeks we have varied the procedure by performing a peripatetic stunt—much to the discomfiture of the police. In this way more time has elapsed before the arrest. Next Sunday we propose to chain our speaker to the post. It will be considerable time before the police will be able to release him and—meanwhile—some good propaganda work can be done.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is fast becoming a favorite in Australia and soon we shall be making a claim for an Australian edition.

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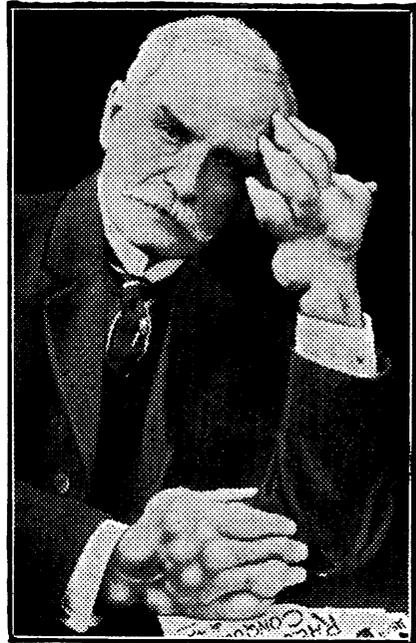
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Local Tonopah has taken in over 500 new members since the last election. And the Police Judge, elected last spring, is on the job 365 days a year. Comrade Minnie Abbot, who visited Chicago and made a hit with everybody in the REVIEW and National office this month, reports that the political experiences of Local Tonopah would make a big volume. She says they have only started in winning offices and mean to grab everything in sight within the next few years.

Worth \$5.00.—Comrade Rocker, of Bellows Falls, writes: "I could not get along without the REVIEW. The September issue alone was worth \$5.00 to me." Every time we get a letter like that, we roll up our sleeves and work a little harder.

I. W. W. to Help.—The Press Committee of the I. W. W. at Vancouver has sent out a letter demanding the co-operation of all organized and unorganized workers in securing the release of the miners awaiting sentence. Address I. W. W., 34 Cordova street, Vancouver, B. C., and send donations from your union to the same place.

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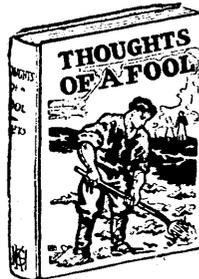
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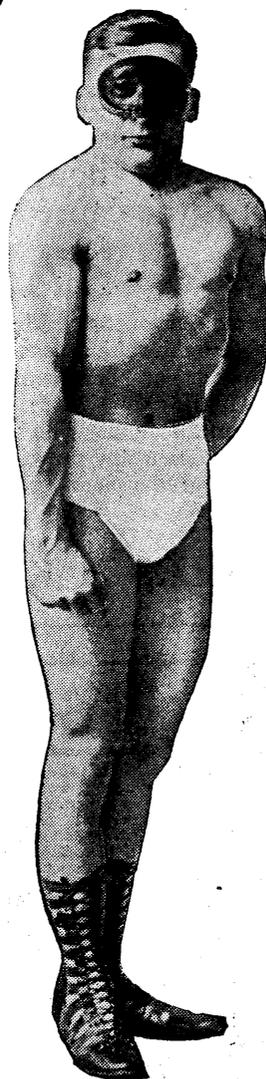
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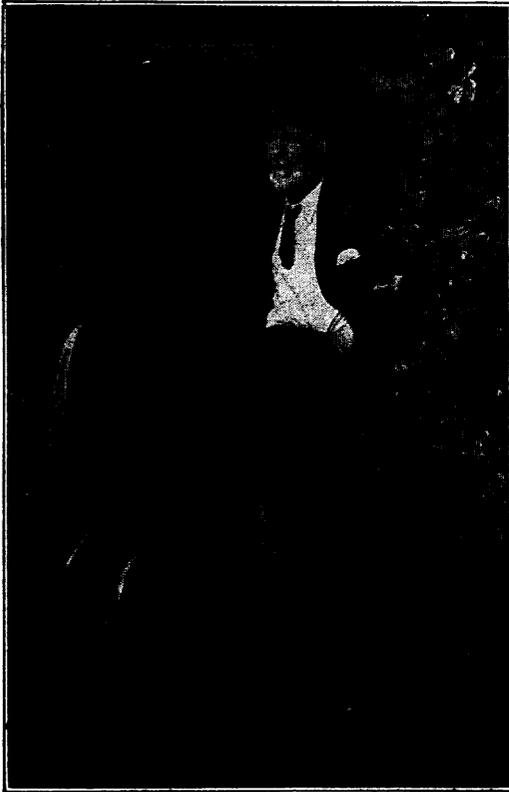
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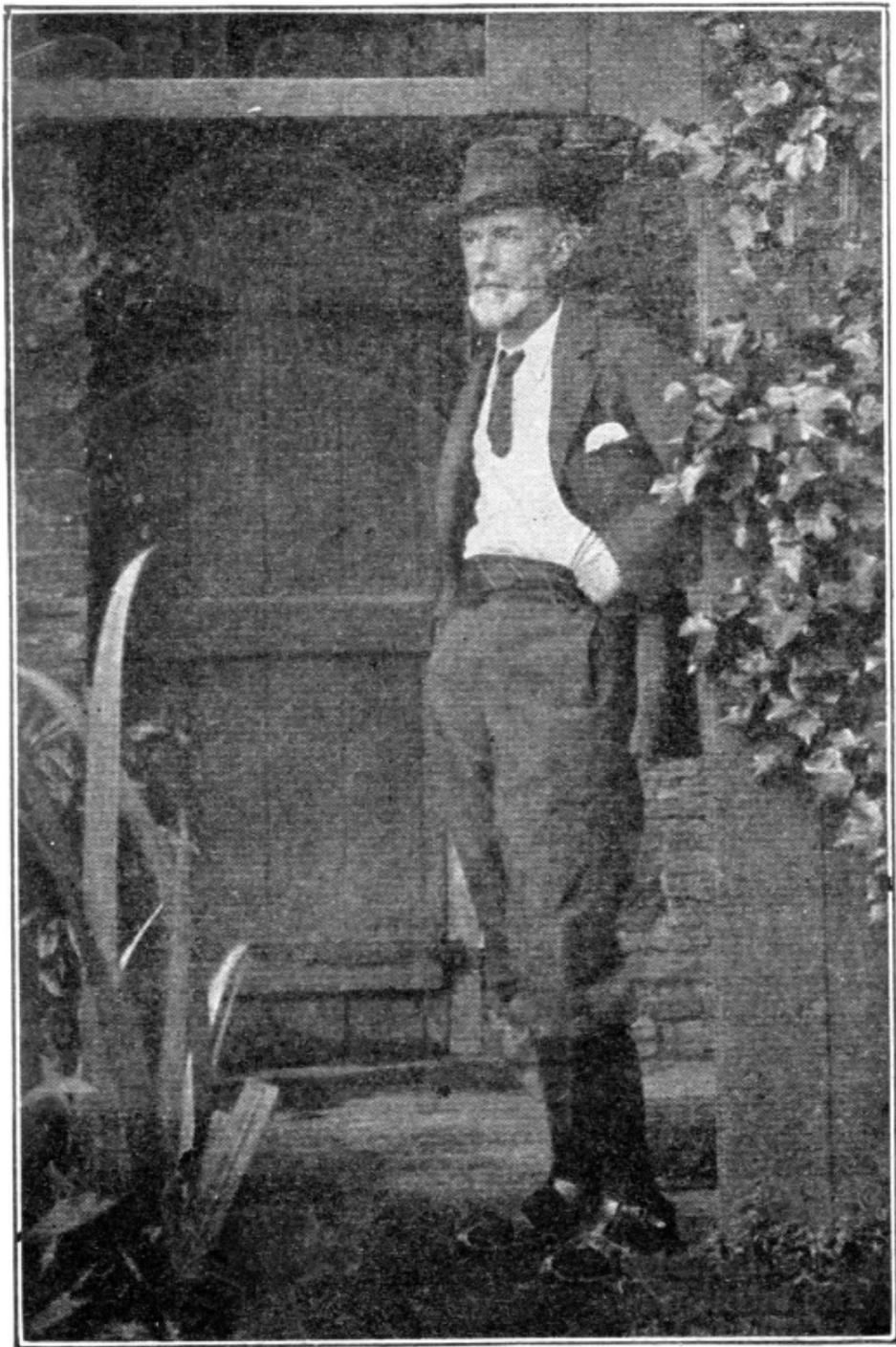
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