

AUGUST

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*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**



A. MACHIA

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By **ROBERT H. HOWE**

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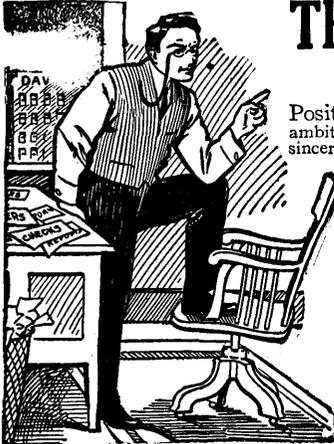
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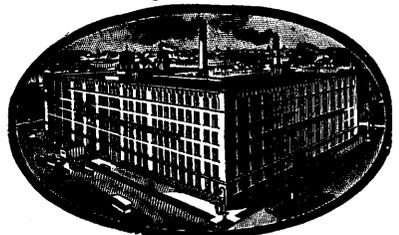
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AUGUST, 1915

LOOKING  
'EM OVER

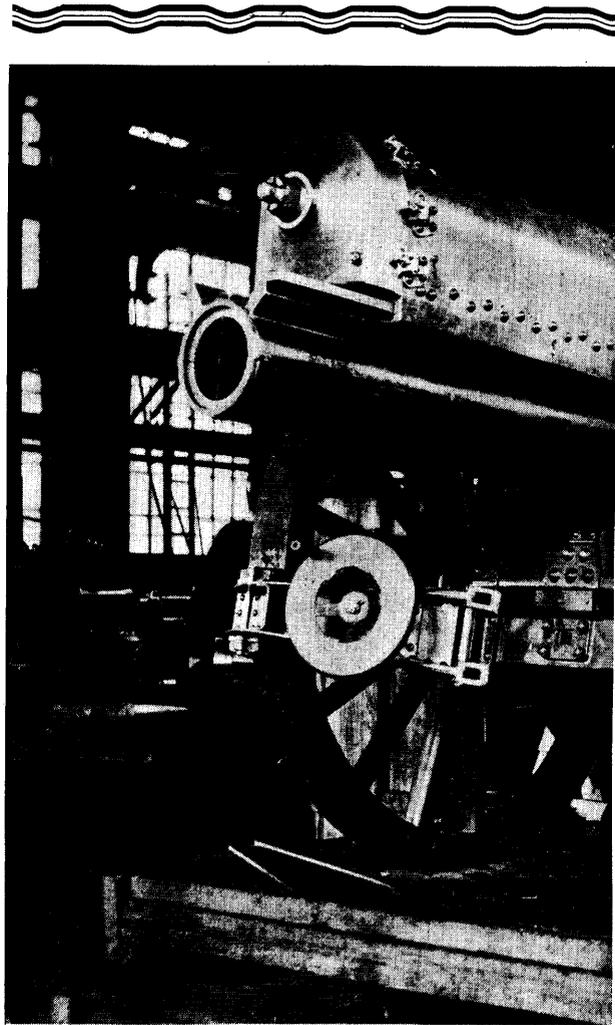
By  
CARL SANDBURG

Editor's Note.—This photograph was taken by a Steel Worker, on the job at Bethlehem, especially for *The Review*. Others will follow in future issues, with articles on "Aiding war in 'Our' Country."

A COUPLE of months ago the world found out something. It was this: The soldier pumping bullets from a high power rifle in the trenches is a futile hero after all, and counts for nothing unless he has good factory hands somewhere back of the trenches feeding him rifles and cartridges.

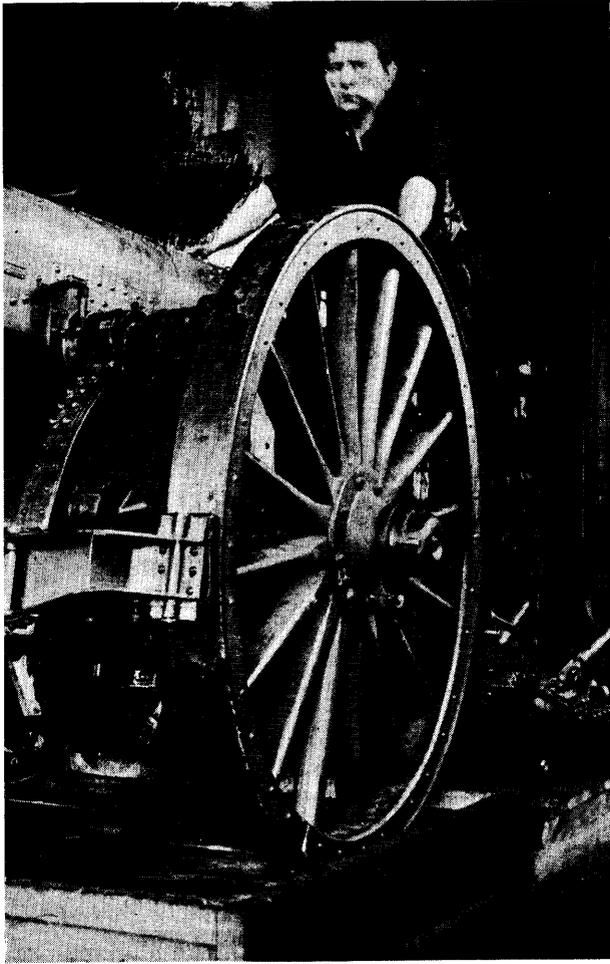
When the soldier comes marching home in his uniform and buttons, with a brass band playing national airs, the girls wave their handkerchiefs, the fathers and mothers embrace him, and the government pensions him.

Now, since the cry of munitions' shortage from the allies lately, it has sunk into the mind of the world that the man in overalls back home at a lathe drilling steel and shaping iron is somebody when it comes to the job of war-making.



VERY BUSY DAYS IN THE

Next to us on the street car in the early morning is a man all over smudge, and his clothes stink of rust and grease. Have a little respect for him, if you like war. Maybe he's as much of a war-making hell-raiser as any of the sharpshooters and bayonet artists in the trenches of Flanders or Poland. Maybe he works in a Chicago factory that used to manufacture milk cans and now is turning out shrapnel. Maybe he's only a punch press hand toiling nine hours a day at a monotonous job in a Detroit motor car shop which has a contract for 10,000 automobiles to be delivered to the Russian government within a year, for hauling food,



BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS

guns and soldiers along the 800-mile battle front between Galicia and the Baltic sea.

If we're going in for attention to heroes, we've got to take our hats off and salute the factory hand as well as the soldier.

Yes, by the great war god of Mars, we are now finding out that war is fought with guns and somebody has to make guns or the war won't be fought at all, at all.

Next thing we know some one will come along and say that IF all the workers of the world now making guns should stand up, fold their arms and say to the

rulers of the world, "Not a gun will we make, not one damn gun for you or any other war-wild war fool anywhere"—then there wouldn't be any war.

We will suppose several workingmen have live imaginations and can picture the consequences of daily acts they perform. Here is one of Swift's wage slaves in Kansas City. He is riding a car to work in the morning looking over the paper. He reads that the Germans have delivered a furious attack on the cemetery at Souchez. And he meditates:

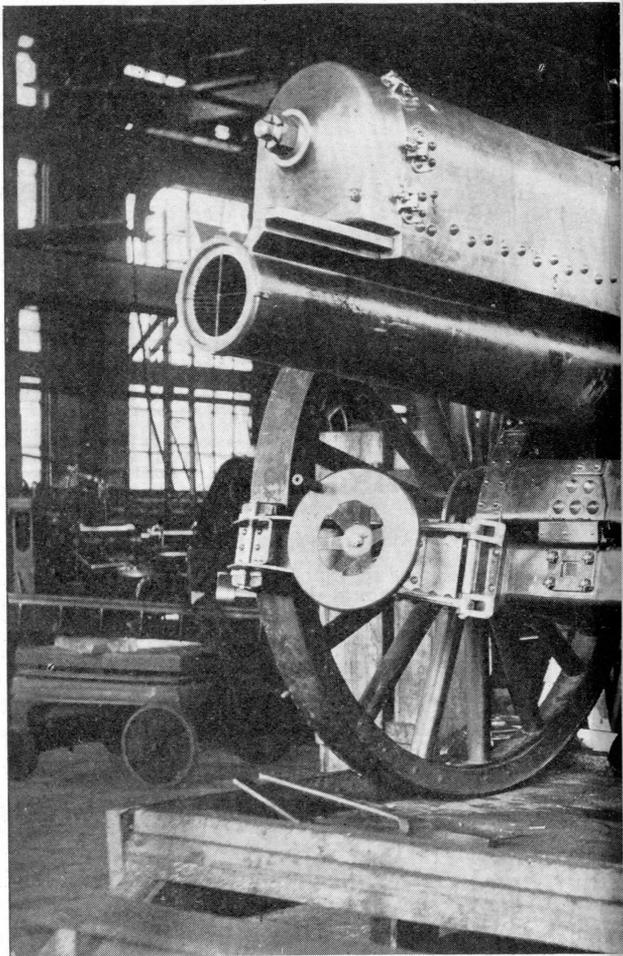
"I wonder if the imperial government of Germany has begun feeding the soldiers any of that sausage mixed with bran that we put up in millions of pound packages and shipped to them two years before the war started. Say, I've got a hand in this war just as much as anybody over there."

A Bethlehem machinist getting wages from Charley Schwab might be sitting on his back porch looking at his wife's bed of pansies on a Sunday after the family has been to church and heard that men should "love one another." He picks up a Pittsburgh newspaper, reads on the front page of night attacks at Ypres and how in the morning on the battlefield between the trenches "the bodies were piled like cornstalks in harvest time." He turns to the rotogravure section and sees photographs of one-legged men and men without any legs at all. And he lays the paper down, looks at the pansies, listens to the prattle of his children, does a little thinking, and says to himself:

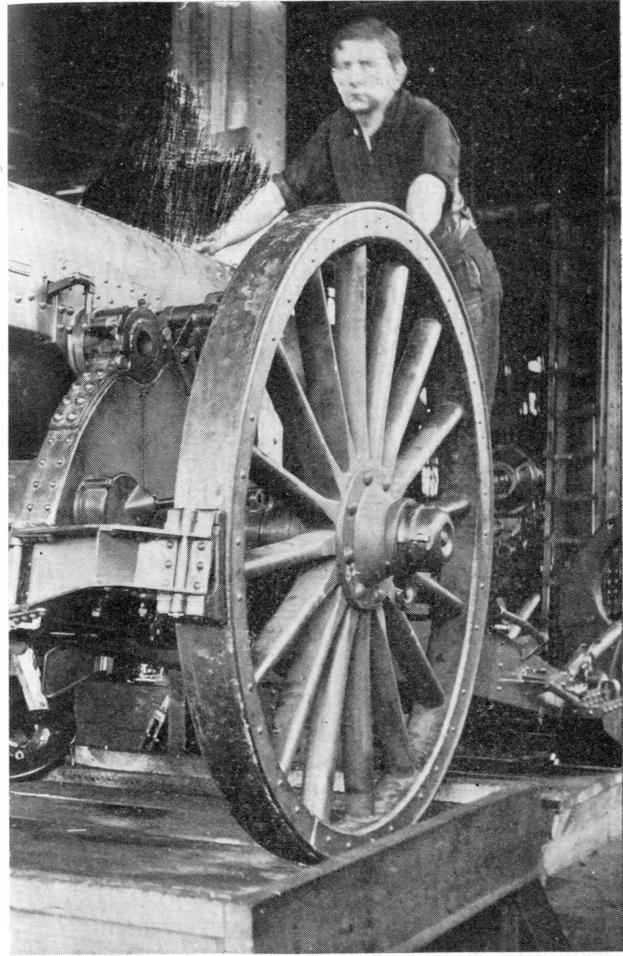
"I work on a lathe turning cannon barrels. I am in this war as much as the men who aim the cannon and turn it on the enemy. The only difference between me and the artilleryman is that he has danger, sleeps in the rain and lives in filth, and earns the honors of a soldier, while I work for wages and help Charley Schwab and his bunch make millions. The soldier works for his country; I work for Charley Schwab. One of us gets glory; the other has his regular meals." Regular meals and a home and a wife—that's all.

CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN G. PORTER, member of the House Foreign Relations Committee, turns loose this one:

"Men who make arms and ammunition



VERY BUSY DAYS IN THE



BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS

to ship to Europe are as guilty of murder as the one who fires the shot."

All right, old head! Make a real speech when Congress meets again and see what you can do about Rockefeller violence in Colorado, murder of women and children there by John D. Rockefeller, Sr. (Baptist), and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (Baptist). Some of you pacifists playing for the church vote make us tired. Will you permit us to pound it into your head that these men in the workshops whom you call murderers would have their places filled from an unemployed army if they went on strike and would be clubbed and shot if they tried to keep scabs from coming to take their jobs?

WE hand it to England for the news her censor lets go. Bill Haywood and Clarence Darrow, to name no more, say that England has more free speech in normal times than the United States. Anyway, more news comes from England than any other country. Strikes, dissensions, quarrels, riots, Bernard Shaw—more anti-English news comes from England than any European country.

In Germany the lid is on tight. Berlin *Vorwaerts* suppressed. Leipzig Social-Democratic daily suppressed. Labor weeklies suppressed. Speeches of Liebknecht leak across the borders in dribbles so we don't know all that superb fighter is thinking and saying.

Now, when the imperial government, carrying on this wholesale suppression of speech, "permits" a peace plea of the German Social-Democrats to be wirelessly from Berlin to Sayville, U. S. A.—how much of this peace plea shall we take as the real thing and how much shall we take as another Bismarck telegram?

In this U. S. A., however, we have free speech. And Vic Berger tells us in the *American Socialist* that even if Germany loses the war, the Social-Democrats will establish a republic. The danger then is, says Vic, that the Russian czar, being a cousin of the kaiser, will help the kaiser destroy the republic of the Social-Democrats.

KARL LIEBKNECHT in Germany and Bernard Shaw in England are the two greatest working class mouth-pieces that stand out in this war.

Many have spoken to sound warning or announce wisdom or suggest tactics. These two, Liebknecht and Shaw, stand alone in their manner of loading the blame for the war on the ruling classes of all nations involved.

Liebknecht earned for himself the hatred and denunciation not only of the Kaiser but of all Germans rallying behind the Kaiser. Also Liebknecht had to stand up against ridicule and belittlement from German Socialists standing with the Kaiser.

So Bernard Shaw not only got hatred and denunciation from the British government and its newspapers and orators. Also, Shaw had to stand for derision from British labor unions backing the government.

Both men spoke in their separate nations with a terrible loneliness. Organized mechanisms of physical force and of publicity were almost a massed unit against them.

Yet each in his own nation said the same thing: It is a war imposed by a quarrel among rulers of nations, and at the bottom there is no quarrel, no dispute, no cause for sacrifice of blood, between the working classes of the nations involved.

Liebknecht in Germany refused to fall for the fallacy that the German nation is fighting a war of defense. Not from Liebknecht has there come any word that he was fooled by the argument that "the Cossacks have crossed the borders into Germany and we must defend the fatherland." He knew that was bunk. He knew that fake has been used by kaisers, kings and czars for ages.

So in England, Bernard Shaw refused to swallow the doctrine that Germany is alone responsible for the evil of modern militarism. Shaw pointed to a junker class in England which is almost exactly like the junker class of Germany.

THE English people have been driven to poverty and slums in such large numbers that the English government now has a hard time getting anything but runts and scrubs of men for its army,

according to news articles sent from England by Charles Edward Russell. The Socialist press has told this story many years. The increasing number of "Hooligans," desperate slum-bred men in English cities, is well known. Bernard Shaw in his attacks on the British government scored it for neglect of men at the front and widows and children at home.

Why Germany has a better physical population to draw its soldier from is told in "Germany and the Next War," by Gen. F. von Bernhardt. The general is a member of the general staff of the German army. He sat around the table where the Kaiser and his aids laid all the strategy of defense and offense in the present war. He was an adviser, an authority. Under the system that prevails in Germany, his book was read by members of the general staff before it was printed. If the ideas in the book were hateful to the Kaiser or in any way reflected the war party and the war philosophy unfairly, the book would have been suppressed as quickly as a Social-Democratic printing plant is shut down when it goes farther than the German imperial government pleases. Now Bernhardt has written some remarkable pages of social doctrine. These ought to be widely known. We cannot understand one of the most important backgrounds of the war unless we see motives explained by Bernhardt in this passage:

"It is in the direct interest of the State to raise the physical health of the town population by all imaginable means, not only in order to enable more soldiers to be enlisted, but to bring the beneficial effects of military training more extensively to bear on the town population. \* \* \* A warning must be issued against the continual curtailing of the working hours for factory hands. The wish to shorten working hours is an immoral endeavor. Strenuous labor alone produces men and character. Apart from the requirements of the moment, we must never forget to develop the elements on which not only our military strength, but also the political power of the State ultimately rest."

Pages 243-245 of Bernhardt's book are among the most remarkable in all modern social philosophy. In blunt American words they mean: Feed and house the working class better. Not because as human units and human beings they are entitled to proper food and houses, but

because only out of a well-fed and well-housed working class will you be able to draw first-class soldiers who can march and fight and dig trenches in the next war.

The difference between England and Germany: One neglected the working class, starved the proletariat into under-sized bodies with bad housing and food. The other went in for a program of better houses, food and social insurance toward the making of soldiers for the next war.

CHRISTIAN BRINTON wrote an essay on the life and work of Constantin Meunier, the Belgian sculptor, who lived among coal miners and carved wonderful bronzes of men, women and horses around the mines. We get a curious slant at that war-torn land from this passage:

It was not in France, England or Germany, but in a smaller, more compact and densely populated community that labor and the laboring classes first assumed their rightful place in the domain of art. It was not until the rise of latter-day industrialism, not until they had gained unity and organization, that these serfs of civilization captured the citadel of art. \* \* \* No country is more industrial than Belgium. Within a few decades the meadows of Hainaut, the leafy copses of Liege, and the valleys of the Meuse and the Sambre have been seamed and blistered by myriads of collieries and iron foundries. The whole face of the land has been seared and the sky blackened by fumes from countless belching stacks and blast furnaces. Man, in place of remaining bucolic and pastoral, has become a dusky subterranean creature. His back is bowed and the song upon his lips has turned to a bitter cry for easier hours and better pay.

Everything, it would seem, has conspired to annihilate art and the sense of beauty, yet both have survived, and have taken on new significance. The novels of Camille Lemonnier, the verse of Emile Verhaeren, and the gentle mysticism of Maurice Maeterlinck have all flowered upon this somber battlefield of industry. In painting, Frederic and Laermans reveal a personal and suggestive mastery, while the plastic evocations of George Minne display a dolorous and penetrant appeal. \* \* \* The art of Belgium is predominantly serious.

It was here they had co-operatives that led the world. It was here they called the most notable general strike the world has seen. What the working class is doing there now, hemmed in amid the worst food, housing and unemployment problems that any nation has ever known, is a question. This from the Belgian,

Gregoire Le Roy, is a poem called "Silences," and fits the hour:

Thus shall they go towards the call,  
Till lonely and despoiled of all,  
Naked and poor we face the eternal hour!  
And, seeing our heart as a temple with no god,  
And closed our soul to every new delight,  
Empty our hands, and in our eyes no sight,  
We shall make question of ourselves.

**L**IARS are working overtime already writing the history of this war. Here's the hugest human cataclysm in all the march of man. Along with it is an amazingly wonderful machinery for collection and transmission of information, facts, observations of human eyes.

This vast swirl of battling human atoms is not understood except by a small remnant of philosophers, poets and humorists.

No report of facts, no mass of information, will tell anybody what this war is about, what it means, why it is. We've got to have viewpoints to understand, facts and information.

Twenty-one million men in uniform

with guns trying to kill each other. "Why?" is the one pointed word that burns in the hearts and heads of workmen who think. It's the most terrible "Why" that has ached at their hearts in all history.

Big, easy-going men like the new mayor of Chicago say the world "has gone mad."

Every house in the world where people have been sleeping and eating easy is smitten with something like a vague dread—a fear that the war may leap over its present borders and reach them. So they are thinking a little, trying to grasp an understanding of it all.

In cafes in Chicago, San Francisco and New York, war-bred philosophers are saying: "Let America hurl ten million of her best fighting men into it. What harm? We are satisfied, hypocritical, more than ever a nation of crooks, double-crossers and liars. What will a war destroy that can't be replaced? Let's have a bath of blood."

## Woodrow Wilson on Force

The essential characteristic of all government, whatever its form, is authority. There must, in every instance, be, on the one hand, governors, and on the other hand, those who are governed. And the authority of governors, directly or indirectly, rest in all cases ultimately on FORCE. Government, in its last analysis, is organized force. Not necessarily or invariably organized, armed force, but the will of a few men, of many men, or of a community prepared by organization to realize its own purposes with reference to the common affairs of the community. Organized, that is, to rule, to dominate.—  
From *The State*, page 572.



WELSH MINERS TAKING A HOLIDAY

## A REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE WITHOUT LEADERS

By MARY E. MARCY

**A** MIDST the gloom that has surrounded the press during the great European war, the news that 150,000 Welsh miners have gone out on strike for a 5 per cent increase in wages, comes as a gleam of hope to us all. Only a short time ago when the strike threatened, the pompous British Government issued a proclamation to the effect that every miner would be imprisoned or fined \$15.00 a day for every day he was on strike during the war. Labor leaders, conservative as usual, begged the miners to remain on the job, and submit to arbitration; the Government threatened, the press has called them unpatriotic, but the bold and class conscious miners of Wales laughed in their sleeves and walked out to the tune of 150,000 men.

And this is an example that should be followed by all bodies of laborers. The time to strike for more pay or shorter hours is when the bosses need you most, when you can cripple the whole country at a critical hour. The British mine owners have seized the opportunities offered by the war to raise the price on coal; the cost of living has advanced steadily and now the Almighty English Government is wailing upon its knees because the miners upon whom the whole success of the war may depend, have taken advantage of the situation to enforce their own demands. Instead of thinking of the interests of the British capitalist class or the profits of their employers, they have considered their own interests.

Factories manufacturing the munitions



WELSH MINERS TAKING A HOLIDAY

of war will soon feel the coal shortage and the indomitable British fleet will be laid low by the grimy hand of labor unless the English Government gets off its high horse and realizes that the miners have it just where they can do everlasting damage.

And what can the government do in the face of this gigantic strike at a time like this. It cannot fine and imprison 150,000 men. It stands discredited today before the labor world of Europe. Its own magnificent decree whereby every striking miner shall be fined daily, or imprisoned, has been flung in its face. It must bend the knee, as always, before the direct action of a class conscious group of industrial workers.

When William D. Haywood was in Europe in 1911 he wrote up the strike of the Welsh miners for the REVIEW at that time, when the conservative officials spent all their strength in opposing that strike. Haywood says the idea of a general strike threw the officials into a cold sweat. At that time the authorities and mine owners expected the miners would be peaceable and law-abiding as they had in previous labor struggles, but this strike in 1911 had a different beginning.

The first morning of the strike a strong detail of pickets was thrown around the pit. It was their duty to see that no one went to work, neither the engine winders, stokers, pumpmen or electricians. The police were then organized into shifts to guard the property, but they couldn't run the pumps. Although one crew worked thirty-six hours the water in the mine was getting the best of them. It would be only a little while before the pumps would be drowned. There were over 300 head of horses in the mine.

The next morning an army of bread-winners poured out of the rows of stone houses. They charged the ramparts of blue coats, tore down fences and brick walls for weapons and stormed the colliery again and again. These Welsh miners went on strike in violation of an agreement. In fact Haywood reported that their chief grievance was against agreements with the mine owners that kept their hands tied and defeated them in every battle with the employers.

But the need for, and demand for, industrial unionism, class unionism among the Welsh miners has been growing from that day to this. Haywood declared they

were some of the most militant and class conscious workers he had ever met and this strike bears out his statement.

It seems that the time has come among the Welsh miners when they will refuse to be misled by reactionary officials or to be brow-beaten by any government. They have realized their own strength and their own needs and have taken the initiative to supply them.

It is a universally acknowledged fact that the British Government is the freest and most liberal in the world, that the British working class possesses more liberty than the workers of any other nation. But it is also true that the British ruling class has done less for its workers than the ruling class of many other countries. This is because they have not felt the need of strong, healthy workmen as they do today during stress of war.

Germany, on the other hand, has rigidly followed the advice of its military experts and accomplished much for good sanitation, and wholesome factory conditions for its workers, because it wanted millions of healthy, hardy soldiers in the event of war. It also curtailed the liberties of the workers in every possible way. It regarded its working class like the farmer regards his cattle when he feeds them well in order to bring more on the market. The Germans knew that healthy men make the best fighters and she has seen to it that healthy conditions surrounded them in the interests of the German capitalist, and the German army.

But this German paternalism has resulted in robbing the German workers of much, if not all, of their revolutionary spirit, while the free institutions of England have fostered the spirit of revolt and independence. Under these circumstances, we read with much surprise and gratitude of the threatened strike in the famous German Krupp works. We do not, however, believe that it will result in anything more than a murmur as the German workers have shown themselves to be wholly incapable of any active resistance to any burdens the government has thought fit to lay upon them.

In the meantime the Welsh miners are declaring that they "have nothing to arbitrate." Their fine class spirit deserves the victory we trust will be theirs!

# AMONG THE HARVESTERS

By

NILS H. HANSON



**T**HIS is a great year for the men who gather in the crops. Never before has there been made so much effort in trying to organize the harvesters who are one group of the most important toilers in the world.

Few realize the immense amount of power possessed by the ragged "low-down harvest bums." They don't all know it themselves, but this may be said about the workers in any industry. Still we all agree that bread is one of the most important necessities of life. Sometimes we are forced to get along without almost everything else that is supposed to be essential to human life but if bread is also deprived us, we may as well say, goodnight, for good. Whether it be in the palace or in the hovel men must have bread, though it be in different quantity and quality. This reminds me that we used to be taught in the schools of Sweden of a terrible period when that country was so devastated by war that the people were compelled to exist for a time on bark bread and water.

Along the roads and in the slums, bread is actually the staff of life to millions of human beings. In the jails and penitentiaries the authorities sustain life in their victims by bread, and often by bread alone. Spirits are broken on the bread diet, but prisoners are required to suffer and not to disappear altogether, and, as bread is the



LOOKING FOR WORK IN THE HARVEST FIELDS  
OF OKLAHOMA



CHASING THE JOB NORTHWARD

cornerstone of life, it is given them in small quantities.

FALSE ADVERTISING.

Most bread is made from wheat flour. And it is the harvesters of this immense



LOOKING FOR WORK IN THE HARVEST FIELDS  
OF OKLAHOMA



CHASING THE JOB NORTHWARD

wheat crop, estimated this year to be 930 million bushels, and which will probably sell at over a billion dollars, it is these harvesters, who are this year trying to get a trifle more of what rightly belongs to them.

Of course they are up against a hard proposition. In the past wages have been so low that nine-tenths of the men have gone to the harvest fields in a half starved and miserable condition. For months they have depended upon the kindness of "good hearted" people who hold them in bread lines and feed them in soup kitchens in the winter. And these soft-handed charity bunglers can never seem to understand that the smaller the wage the sooner will the harvesters be forced back to ask for charity.

The U. S. Department of Labor has undertaken to supply "hands" to the farmers, whereby they have made things far worse than ever before. This department states that "workers are expected to pay their own expenses to and from the places of employment," and expects that its kindly auspices will mean "larger profits to the farmers."

When we read the following advertisement which was sent to innumerable newspapers and local agencies for posting in the large centers of population, it almost looks as though the Department of Labor was trying to make business for the railroads as well as to aid the farm employer:

"Wanted—Eighteen thousand men, willing to work at wages ranging from \$2 to \$3 a day and board; English-speaking white men preferred; persons other than English-speaking apply to W. G. Ashton, Commissioner of Labor, Oklahoma City, Okla."

Members of the department state further:

"We are to do our best to confine the labor army to men of industry and steady habits. Usually there gets into a crowd of this size a number of men of vagrant habits, who do much to demoralize the men who are disposed to be industrious. We want to weed out as many of that type this year as possible. C. L. Green, general inspector in charge of distribution work, department of labor, stationed in New York, will go to Kansas City, from which place he will co-operate with state authorities in Oklahoma and Kansas. Men who are sent to the harvest fields from other sections of the country must pass inspection before Mr. Green and the state authorities referred to. Later Mr. Green will take up this kind of work with state authorities farther north.

The following statement signed by J. Manzon, John Stewart and A. V. Azuana in Kansas City, Mo., on June 23rd, shows how this government system works to clean out the harvesters and to the securing of low paid workers for the farmers:

#### STATEMENT.

We, the undersigned, vouch that Antonio Hermoso, Jose Ruiz, and E. Saurez were in Enid, Okla., before the 20th of June and were run out of town with about 2,300 other men on that date, and came north with us. They landed here yesterday and shipped out for the Santa Fe Railroad to work on a section for \$1.50 a day (they to board themselves).

They gave us the following story: In New York they went to the federal employment office; shipped to Kansas City, Mo., to there apply at the federal office. On June 6th, they were given a ticket for Enid and then paid the fare from New York to Enid, the amount being \$27.75.

Arrived at Enid on June 7th, and remained till June 20th, paying all their own expenses during that time. They told us they were sent to a farmer twenty-five miles from Enid on the 14th and paid their fare going to his place. They were compelled to walk ten miles more to the farm house and when they arrived the farmer advised them that he already had all the men needed. They returned to Enid, where they remained till the 20th, when we were all driven out of town.

On the 19th these three men went to the mayor of Enid and told their story. He said he could do nothing for them.

Signed this 23rd day of June, 1915, Kansas City, Mo.

There is always a summer rush of thousands of men who come from east, and west, from north and south to earn some money in the grain belt. For a while the railroads are almost friendly and "riding" is rather easy during April and May while we flock toward the golden middle states. Hundreds may often be seen riding on one train. I was one of a bunch of one hundred and twenty-five men—all going east for the Kansas harvest.

#### FEEDING THE MEN.

At first John Farmer sees the big flocks come with a rather pleasant look upon his face, because he knows that the more men that come the less he can hire men to work

for. He knows that it is supply and demand that regulates wages when men are unorganized. But when they continue to arrive his face begins to change. He realizes that the wholesale advertisements about a "bumper" crop have caused altogether too many men to move in his direction. The hell-of-it is that most of them are broke and have to eat. Then comes the problem of feeding the men who harvested the crops last season and who have gone hungry most of the time since then.

Then the town marshals and railroad bulls get busy to prevent any more men from landing. The railroads send out iron rules to their crews advising them that brakemen will be fired for transporting any more "hoboes." All easy riding is stopped and in order to get a ride the harvesters have to travel in numbers so that they can force the train crews to take them along.

With some of the railroad men any kind of a union card entitles a man to a free ride; others refuse to recognize anything but a trainman's card. If our brother railroad men realized that the man he puts off in the snow-covered mountains or sun-baked desert is an unemployed human being, a victim of the present social system, perhaps fewer of them would greet us with, "You can't ride on my train." You would think they were Jim Hill or Morgan coming along with a brake club in hand, condemning the poor, hungry devil who is trying to move to another place where he may get work and a chance to live.

"His train," murmurs the "bum," as he walks down the track, the track which he and his comrades have laid sometime before. And he hopes that the man who threw him off may too some day face the same fate along the "big, open road."

The vigilantes soon got busy in the different towns and drove out the men for whom there was no work. At Caldwell, Okla., these armed brutes, led by a preacher, beat up several members of the I. W. W. and gave fellow worker Wilson and another would-be farm hand thirty days for vagrancy, the law that can always be used against the workers.

I happened to be in Salt Lake City at the time of the Joe Hill hearing, May 28th, and I heard the pleas put up by both sides. In company with thirty others I left the court room thoroughly convinced that Joe

was innocent of the charges and that if he is convicted it will be because he is a member of a revolutionary organization, and the author of the I. W. W. song book.

#### WAR WAGES DURING WAR PRICES.

Strenuous efforts are being made to prevent the migratory workers from organizing this summer. The farmers would rather see them living on handouts in Chicago, New York or Kansas City than pay them living wages. But the workers are saying to the farmers:

"You are expecting war prices for your wheat and you will have to pay war wages, too, or do the work yourself. Three dollars for a ten-hour day is the lowest wage we are going to accept this year, with fifty cents extra for every hour overtime."

We have not only the slugging, hold-ups, and possible jail sentences to contend with while we ride the rod for thousands of miles in order to earn a "stake" for the winter. Some of us go up against the employment sharks. You have probably heard of the type of buzzard that will send workmen off for several hundreds of miles where some accomplice will employ them for a day or two and then discharge them. This enables the employment shark to bleed every applicant with a few dollars in his pocket, of several dollars apiece. I know of cases where government employes have sent men several hundreds of miles (the men paying their own fares) to work for farmers who have been dead for several years.

#### SOLIDARITY OF LABOR.

But it is not only the employer and his servants, the public authorities, with whom we have to contend. The workers, themselves, are their own greatest enemy. It is the lack of solidarity, the lack of sticking together that causes all our unemployment and our wretchedness. Most of the "organized" railroad men are ready to obey the rules of their masters and pitch in to us in order to hold their jobs. They stick to the boss instead of sticking to the workers of their own class. And next month when this same railroad man is in the fix we are in today, he will find other "organized" workmen who will throw him off a train, or scab on him, or spy on him, at the commands of the boss.

But as the migratory workers learn to unite, to stick together, they will be able to

ride, and to eat and to get more of the value of the crops they harvest.

#### ONE BIG UNION.

What the workers need is CLASS solidarity—ONE BIG UNION OF ALL the workers. When they learn that by uniting together and sticking up for, instead of fighting, each other, they can win ANYTHING, can even abolish the present system wherein they are robbed of nearly all they produce, the workers will be the real Masters of the Bread. Railroad men will learn that the man who rides the freight is a workingman, a comrade in the struggle, and will lend him a hand. The mechanic will learn that the unskilled worker is as important as the skilled laborer, and that the skilled laborer must co-operate with him in a common struggle against the exploiting bosses. The driver of the engine who hauls the grain from the fields will

learn that he would have no job if there were no "low-down bums" to reap and thresh the grain and he will unite with the dollar and a half a day man against the master class.

The harvest workers are being organized into the Agricultural Workers organization of the I. W. W. And in spite of the brutal methods used to prevent this organization, they are waking up to the fact that they have a weapon in their own hands before which the farmers will prove powerless. They are learning that when they unite with their fellow workers they will have the whole country at their mercy—for bread is the staff of life.

Organize with your comrades, you harvest workers, you railroad men, you mill and factory and mine workers—organize to take control of the plants, the lands and the roads and mines you operate. Organize to make this the world of the workers!

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## 'BOES

By C. S.

I WAITED today for a freight train to pass.

Cattle cars with steers butting their horns against the bars, went by. And a half a dozen hoboes stood on bumpers between cars.

Well, the cattle are respectable, I thought.

Every steer has its transportation paid for by the farmer sending it to market, While the hoboes are law-breakers in riding a railroad train without a ticket.

It reminded me of ten days I spent in the Allegheny County jail in Pittsburgh. I got ten days even though I was a veteran of the Spanish-American war.

Cooped in the same cell with me was an old man, a bricklayer and a booze-fighter.

But it just happened he, too, was a veteran soldier, and he had fought to preserve the Union and free the niggers.

We were three in all, the other being a Lithuanian who got drunk on pay day at the steel works and got to fighting a policeman;

All the clothes he had was a shirt, pants and shoes—somebody got his hat and coat and what money he had left over when he got drunk.

Footnote—This incident teaches: (1) Buy railroad tickets when you ride anywhere; (2) have respect for policemen; (3) obey the government, it is kind to its soldiers; instead of killing them for riding on a railway train without a ticket, it only gives them ten days in jail on bread and water.

# THE REDS OF GERMANY

DOWN BUT NOT DEAD

By  
FRANK BOHN



**L**IEBKNECHT came back from the front to attend a meeting of the Reichstag just before I left Berlin. Over the 'phone his voice had a cheery sound. Of course I longed to get to him as soon as possible.

At his house, next day, I found him preparing his papers for a party meeting on Monday. Let me say at once that not the least pleasure at the home of Liebknecht was to meet a fine, intelligent woman who shares both his views and his work, and whose strong face betrayed no sign of fear or worry. Comrade Liebknecht himself was spare and brown from work and exposure and in fine shape physically. His recent physical exercises have apparently done him no harm to the outer man, however much they may have outraged the inner life.

Those American comrades who remember Liebknecht on his recent visit here no doubt have a vivid recollection of his personality. They will remember his eagerness, the frank openness of every look, the warmth of his heart. During



KARL LIEBKNECHT



KARL LIEBKNECHT

the ten months preceding our meeting he had suffered disillusionment as few men of the world have suffered. Forty-four years ago last August his father had led his party in its infancy. In 1870 the party stood like a rock for internationalism and the social-revolution. Its leaders, including the elder Liebknecht, had gone to jail without thought of shrinking. Through forty-four years the stupendous machine of the party organization had grown. It came to number ten millions of adherents over the age of sixteen. Then the day, *der Tag*, came. Out of a hundred and eleven "Socialist" members of the Reichstag, Liebknecht stood *alone*. Now the early Christian martyr amid the flames felt that he was "alone with Almighty God." The isolation of Liebknecht was loneliness, made more lonely by bitter disappointment in the failure of his very own.

"I wish to know first just how you are, personally," I said.

"Well, here I am, still living and still hoping," he replied. "You in America must not lose all faith in us."

Of course it is impossible for me to recall our conversation here. To put the matter mildly his experiences in the army had been rather difficult. However, he was quite happy to be employed in a work regiment, digging ditches, moving baggage and burying dead horses, rather than in a regiment of the line at the front, which service, indeed, would have been quite unbearable. He told me he had received an endless number of threatening letters. Again and again the patriots had threatened to take his life. Every conceivable insult had been put upon him.

"Oh, how I have labored to get one man to stand with me in the Reichstag," he said, as we walked through the Tiergarten. The insults heaped upon him by the powers he has always fought and the dangers which beset his path from that direction were as nothing compared to the bitter dregs he was forced to drain from the cup held up to him by some of those who have been known to the world as German Socialists. To remain cheerful and optimistic, to greet the friend from afar with smiles and say, "Of course, things could not now be worse, but they will presently take a turn for the better"—that requires a faith in the great fundamentals of history and of working-class progress

which I hardly expected to find in Germany.

There were one hundred and eleven members of the Reichstag. Half of these, at least, knowing their duty, hid their cowardly lives behind the cloak of the Russian scare and bowed down. These was a small group of a dozen or so honest patriots who supported the Kaiser loyally, put on uniforms, went to war and have actually engaged in the conflict. For this element I have considerable respect. There were exactly fourteen others, members of the so-called "Revolutionary" left, who went slinking out of the Reichstag, refusing to say aye or no. One man stood by our principles without having to hesitate a moment in consideration as to where his future lay. The duty before him was clear enough.

This man, Liebknecht, so far as the Reichstag is concerned, is the only remaining spark of the fires of '48.

"The working man of Germany," said Mrs. Mehring to me, "is as brave as a lion when he is led by his master. Alone or among a crowd in the streets, he trembles in his boots when a policeman comes in sight."

It is a sad but true fact that the out-and-out Revolutionaries in Germany are so infinitesimal in numbers that thought of real opposition to the powers that be is quite impossible. Germany is not a political nation and never has been. *It is absolutely a physical force, a direct action nation.* In the English or American sense, political rights are unknown in Germany.

The old time German Socialist had a peculiar faith in the number of his votes. One German sword outweighed them all, of course.

### Mehring.

The last of the old Marxian crowd in Germany is Franz Mehring, a fine representative of the type of revolutionary scholar who years ago placed German Socialist theory fifty years ahead of its practice. Mehring sits like the muse of history, watching the process, understanding all, feeling the rush and pull of each tremendous current, himself absolutely powerless to stem the tide this way or that. We had hours together, time and again. He speaks of everything and everybody with coolness and care, the intensity of spirit required by the occasion being furnished by Mrs. Mehring. "They put me in a rage,

these compromisers, these trimmers," she said.

"Tell me just why those representatives of the Reichstag acted as they did."

"With a vast majority," said the Mehrings, "it has been a matter of salary, of the commonest sort of economic determinism. They receive three thousand marks a year. Most of them have salaries from the party beside, the members of the party executive receiving from us over five thousand marks a year. This whole crowd began life as poor, hopeless lawyers or school teachers. They are now perfectly quiet, respectable middle-class persons who would no more think of losing their position in life than they would of going into the streets naked."

"Is there any hope of doing anything?"

"It is absolutely inconceivable," came the reply. "The time to act was the first of last August. All the more active element is now in the army. We must wait and wait for developments. That is all we can do."

The Mehrings gave me a copy of the revolutionary magazine which they, in company with Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin published some time ago. They called it the International. It is exactly the size of the International Socialist Review. Of course it was instantly suppressed by the government, but the first issue of ten thousand copies were distributed throughout Germany. I found them being sold at a party meeting at Leipsic. This publication contained trenchant articles by its editors—just what you would expect from them. All this group lacked on the great day was the power of more numbers and freedom from the death band of the party machine.

#### Rosa Luxemburg.

"Of course you must see Rosa," said the Mehrings. "Call at the jail directly and maybe they will let you in."

I was soon there, presenting myself as a most respectable American citizen who had long ago been interested in the writings of Fraülein Luxemburg. The governess of the jail received me most politely, but regretted that during time of war it was impossible to permit such a visit. This official was a woman of strong character and full mind and our hour together was most interesting. However, the greatest disappointment I suffered in Germany was



ROSA LUXEMBURG

RECENTLY SENTENCED TO ONE YEAR IN PRISON BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE SHE ADVISED THE SOLDIERS TO REBEL AGAINST THEIR OFFICERS

not being permitted to meet the one comrade whose action adequately represents our party during the war.

The pathetic thing about the German Socialists is the infinitesimal size of the fighting portion of the party. I met dozens of perfectly sound men, members of the party, who understand Socialism and who have worked in the movement with great loyalty and ability. The astounding thing, the almost incomprehensible fact, is the way they take the matter of the war. Talk with the average man who supported Bebel's majority against Bernstein's old minority. His face will show that he is somewhat ashamed of himself. He agrees with



ROSA LUXEMBURG

everything one says. He is rather sorry that the great revolution was not successful thirty years ago and that the Kaiser is not in hell covered with hot cinders. Meanwhile he has no policy, no notion of what he is going to do tomorrow. Yet he is found editing a party paper or speaking at a party meeting with no more intention of starting anything than a German school teacher who goes to the school at eight o'clock every morning and leads the children as they sing "*Die Wacht am Rhein*."

#### Classes.

I was out walking with a machinist, 32 years old, who has been a member of the party since he was 18. He is also a member of the International Metal Workers' Union. He has read Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Kautsky and Bebel. He has heard all the great leaders of German Socialism speak publicly. We had known each other nearly a week when he found out I had been a teacher of history.

*"You a college professor, and deign to walk in the park with me, a common workingman?"*

"What in thunder do you mean?" said I. "Aren't you as good as I? Aren't we both Socialists? You have children and a house and lot. I am without either. I have no earthly possessions whatever. I tried to be a machinist once, but broke so many tools the foreman discharged me. Come along and forget what I told you."

"Ah! America must be a wonderful country. You are all equal there," he said.

"No," I replied, "not quite. There are still some slight differences."

In the German social-democratic party there is a class of rulers just as separate from the class of voters and dues-paying members as the army officers are from the rank and file. Let us come to this great fact again, again, and again. Socialism simply cannot develop anything but theories in a country so permeated with class notions as is Germany. The foundations of democracy have simply never been laid.

#### "Tears, Idle Tears," We Know Not Why They Fall.

At a party meeting in a suburb of Berlin, I found nine-tenths of the membership against the government. They applauded vociferously when one of the members of

the Vorwaertz analyzed the position taken by the party majority and subjected it to caustic criticism. After the meeting I fell into conversation with some of them and one of them said, "When our representatives in the Reichstag voted in favor of the credit last August we wept tears of bitter sorrow."

"Did you, indeed," I replied. "Can you tell me, when the war started, did Von Hindenburg and Von Moltke weep? Did the Kaiser shed any tears? Did Grand Admiral Von Tirpitz stand on the bridge of his flagship and add to the saline solution of the sea?"

I do not remember what they said or whether they replied at all or not. Their first statement was enough for our complete information. When the guns began to shoot, the tears of our comrades began to fall.

#### Wanted—Ten Thousand Fighters.

On August 1st, last, the German party numbered about nine hundred thousand dues-paying members. Of these, perhaps one hundred thousand were really Socialists. If these had stood alone, with a press and a leadership devoted to revolutionary ideals, there would have been no war. If ten thousand men and women had been perfectly willing to face the firing squad or had packed the jails; had they sent messages of true rebellion to their comrades in France, Belgium and England, all the king's horses and all the king's men would have stayed within the borders of Germany. One person went to jail—heroic Rosa Luxemburg. Half a dozen like her quickly communicated with each other and took what action they could. From our inmost heart southward, we revolutionists of America glory in the strength of their character and the firmness of their resolution.

The Socialism of Germany is not utterly a stench in the nostrils of the world. While the student of history, when he compares the miserable weakness of the German Socialists in August, 1914, with the heroism of the fighters of a score of the world's great revolutions, may still mix with his pity and disgust a sense of admiration for the little remnant of strong men and women who have refused to bow down to either the Kaiser or to the cowardly and degraded majority of their own party.

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# LAWSON and LIBERTY

BY

FRANK P. WALSH

Chairman of the United States  
Commission on Industrial Relations

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Editor's Note.—A monster Lawson Public Protest Meeting was held in Chicago on Sunday, July 11th, at which Mr. Walsh delivered a masterly address. He is a very busy man these days, but was kind enough to furnish The Review with a stenographic copy of his speech, from which we take the following excerpts.

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I take the kindly spirit that prompted you to invite me here today, and this most generous and heartening reception, to be not altogether personal, of course. In fact, I hold to my heart the thought that it proceeds from the idea that I am your servant, in common with the balance of the citizenship of this United States, temporarily called to fill a position that means much to the thought and welfare of this nation, small as my work may be in attempting to perform my duty in it. (Applause.)

I came here principally, because this was a meeting to protest against the conviction to lifelong imprisonment of an American citizen, John R. Lawson (applause), under circumstances which must shock the conscience of every intelligent American citizen.

Many men have been convicted of murder in the first degree in this country prior and subsequent even to the conviction of John R. Lawson. The crime charged is a horrible one; the taking of human life with malice and premeditation. Apparently the courts of the country, or one, at least, has passed upon the character of that conviction, but I stand here today to present the facts in as unimpassioned a manner as the feelings of a man with red blood running through his veins permit, so that the case of John R. Lawson, beginning today, may be presented in its entirety, or as clear as may be, to the American people.



Int. News Service.

JOHN R. LAWSON, ORGANIZER FOR THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, WHO WAS SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT IN ROCKEFELLER-RULED COLORADO

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Int. News Service.

JOHN R. LAWSON, ORGANIZER FOR THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, WHO WAS SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT IN ROCKEFELLER-RULED COLORADO

I have had an official duty in connection with this matter. It was to inquire into the very heart of the cause of the situation in the state of Colorado. In order to do that, inquiry was made among those men who dug the coal; among the men who led them in their struggle for what they believed to be economic freedom and human liberty. It called upon me to demand the presence of the operators of the coal companies in the state of Colorado. The case of John R. Lawson is the case of the coal miners of Colorado and the case of the working people of America. (Applause.) The personnel of the officials of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (absolute masters of the bituminous situation in the state of Colorado)—I say this advisedly, because it is declared thus over the signature of the manager of that company, L. M. Bowers, who acts for John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that "the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company fixes the price and condition of labor in the coal mines of Colorado and every other company falls into line." The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, dominant politically in the State of Colorado, controls not only the local coal fields, which was the theater of this great crime against John Lawson and family, but absolutely controls the votes of a supposedly sovereign people in the state of Colorado. The ruler of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company is John D. Rockefeller, Sr., represented by his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., said to be the largest investor of industrial stocks and bonds that ever lived in this world; the representative on the ground was Lamont M. Bowers, chairman of the executive committee of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. On the other side in this struggle, the United Mine Workers of America, represented by its president, Mr. White; Mr. Lord, who sits upon the platform; locally, John R. Lawson, member of International Board; Edward L. Doyle, the secretary-treasurer in Denver, and Mr. Frank J. Hayes. I am speaking now of the largest personages that have to do with the case of John R. Lawson.

When the Commission on Industrial Relations came to the City of Denver we called upon the representatives of the Mine Workers and the representatives of the operators or presidents of all the coal companies to present to us that data which they believed would best make for a fair, honest and deep investigation of the Colorado situation. We received responses from the president of every mining company in the state of Colorado and from the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America. When Mr. Lawson and Mr. Doyle called upon me, at my hotel, they suggested that they believed that the very heart of the system existed at No. 26 Broadway, New York, and they presented to me, in person, a telegram, taken from the wire by a Union operator from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Jesse F. Welborn, the president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, which they claimed contained conclusive evidence that the statements given by Mr. Rockefeller before the Congressional Committee was incorrect and that, as a matter of fact, all of the respon-

sibility, to the smallest executive detail, came from 26 Broadway, New York. The original of that telegram, under the power given this commission, was called forth from the manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and from that telegram, presented by Mr. Lawson, came the letters which this commission compelled the president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company to produce. Mr. Welborn first refused to produce these letters, but after consultation with counsel they brought forth letters which called for others afterwards submitted at the New York hearing, which, in turn, gave us the data which finally brought forth the letters that told the whole story of Colorado at the last hearing of the Commission on Industrial Relations in Washington.

I believe I might truly say that I am the chief witness to the crimes for which John R. Lawson is condemned to stay in punishment until God takes his soul from his body. On the face the charge is murder in the first degree. Let me state what I believe to have been the crime for which this man is convicted. After submitting this telegram he appeared on the witness stand in the city of Denver. At that time the president of our country had appointed a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and the workers were demanding that the coal companies treat with this official body. Mr. Lawson took the stand and stated, "I have been charged with practically every crime on the calendar, ranging from violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to murder in the first degree. A commission has been appointed by the highest authority of a free people to meditate these questions that caused this deplorable situation in the state of Colorado. I, John R. Lawson, predict that the government will be defied. I have no testimony to give to this commission except this message to the government at Washington: 'Is John D. Rockefeller greater than the government? Is he higher than the law?'" That stands in the record of our Denver hearing. Again he was called to the witness stand in the city of New York. He came while the voice of the late president of Harvard still rang through the room, Charles W. Elliot, and for intellectual vigor, for manly conduct and for choice of expression, John R. Lawson suffered none in comparison with President Elliot. We had just heard the testimony of Mr. A. Bonton Hepburn, a bank president of New York, who is one of the few men who give out the money for the Rockefeller benefactions, and members of the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Foundations, also a director in the American Agricultural Chemical Company, at that time using hired thugs to crush its workers in New Jersey. Lawson had sat there and heard Tony Wiater tell his pitiful story, showing that in an industry that has prospered far beyond any of the late years the same American Agricultural Chemical Company, from which perhaps a million dollars of the securities of the Rockefeller Foundations and his benefactions is taken. He heard Wiater tell his pathetic story: That working from early morning un-

til sunset he was unable, by fourteen dollars per month, to earn enough to keep bread and butter in the mouths of his little family and clothing upon their backs. So John R. Lawson testified, perhaps with some heat of feeling. His declaration, epitomized, was this:

"The so-called great foundations of this country are not charitable in their essence. They are not distributing money honestly acquired. They are giving away the withheld wages of the American working class. Twenty thousand of my people are in the wind-swept canyons of Colorado. They have refused to accept the terms laid down by the overlords of industry, who have been testifying before you for the last few days. I have a message for Mr. Rockefeller. When I read of the giving of the \$250,000 for the establishment of a refuge for migratory birds in the south, I say, I wish to God the little children of miners of Colorado were birds. When I see again that the dollars that go to the relief of the stricken in Belgium also furnish machine guns that strike out the life of my people in Ludlow and in other cities of the mountains of Colorado; when I contemplate here, as I must, that the dollars that raise the April toll of death of children from spinal meningitis are also the dollars that bought the bullets that shot between the eyes the child of my friend, William Snyder, while he was caressing his little sister in Ludlow that day, I must cry out in protest. When I read again that an appropriation of half a million dollars is made for the investigation of the hookworm disease in China, I might logically wish that my people were Chinamen instead of toiling Americans."

In my opinion, plainly and bluntly spoken, these two brave fundamental statements are the crimes for which John R. Lawson has been convicted, under the guise of a charge of murder in the first degree, in the state of Colorado.

Now, my friends, I will quote freely from the letters, the machinery for the production of which was placed in operation by John R. Lawson. They cut a great figure not only in this contest in Colorado, but as propaganda for better industrial conditions every place in America and upon the earth. I read now the famous Christmas letter of good cheer to the officials of Colorado from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., through the pen of his son. They had just been informed that non-union miners were being brought in from the east and south—from the south, of course, were the negro miners that were brought in to take the places of those men displaced by the strike in Colorado—and the response came cheerful and warm. On December 26, the day after Christmas, this son of his father wrote that the letter was received and that he was glad to see that conditions were improving in Colorado; that his father said that he had watched with great interest all the happenings in Colorado and he expressed unusual satisfaction over the way things were going.

Now, what had happened up to that time? Nine thousand of his faithful employes had earned for him, in the comparatively few years that he controlled that company, nine mil-

lions of dollars. Mark you, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., had never been there in his life and his son had been there but once. In addition to this there was added to the value of his property, according to the testimony of Mr. Rockefeller, twenty millions of dollars, which might be called unearned increment, the Rockefeller share of which would be something like nine millions of dollars. These workers who had therefore earned for him approximately eighteen millions of dollars were in tents in the cold canyons of Colorado, where I visited with them, their wives and their children, while we were holding our hearings in the city of Denver. Jeff Fair, prior to that Christmas day, had armed a band of four hundred men with firearms and explosives and turned them loose among the peaceful citizenry of the state of Colorado. He said before our commission that he didn't know these men. For all he knew, they might be red-handed murderers. Prior to the writing of the letter, Mr. Lippit had been assassinated upon the streets of Denver, and Lee, whom they claimed to be their faithful servant and the protector of their property, had been shot from his horse while performing his duty. A child had been shot nine times through the legs, and a man killed, in the firing upon tent colonies in the cold field; yet this man, whose son had testified that he, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., knew nothing of the situation in Colorado, that he was a retired investor that was paying no attention to business whatever, we find was shown to have had the absolute knowledge of everything that happened in Colorado and expressed unusual satisfaction to his employes on the ground.

We proceed a little toward the setting of the scenes for the day that Lawson was tried. The Rockefellers, flushed with what they believe to be their successes in Colorado, are now proceeding to wipe out union labor everywhere. This is a strong statement, but I take it from the letter to Lamont M. Bowers, that "the time is arrived to do that. Let us enlist in the cause and go forward to the campaign for the open shop in 1916, and beyond." Now, I have heard many doctrinaires, professors of political economy and social economists, discuss the meaning of the term "open shop," but it has a definite and concrete meaning in the state of Colorado. It means that if you are a union man you are told to go up the canyon and if you don't go you are hit over the head by a gun. So there can be no doubt about what the campaign for an open shop means when written by Lamont M. Bowers to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

In another letter which marks well the attitude of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the other coal companies in Colorado towards John R. Lawson and the entire industrial situation, we find reference to an article written by a Professor Stevenson, of the faculty of Columbia University. We didn't go into the source of that article, whether Mr. Stevenson was paid for it or used it to get an old age pension from the Carnegie fund. When I asked Mr. Carnegie the question as to whether or not he didn't believe that the hope

for pensions on the part of the professors might warp their minds toward the economic theories of those who are going to pay the pensions, he cynically and jocularly said: "Why don't you ask Elliot? He gets one of them." Well, I did happen to ask President Elliot, and Mr. Elliot said: "Oh, yes, they undoubtedly do influence us, but always for good."

Quoting Professor Stevenson:

"It has been said that seven hundred thousand children give up their lives annually on account of the under nourishment of themselves or their parents, due to low wages in industry. I deny," said the professor, "that the figures are correct, but assuming that they are, it proves nothing, except that the deaths of these children are a blessing. They ought never to have been born." He said further that the thing that prevents the onward march of republican institutions is the labor union, in its membership and constituency. That the members are worse than the thugs of India and are usually professional murderers. That was the kindly comment of Professor Stevenson. One month later we have a letter signed by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., addressed to Fay Lee, his publicity man, enclosing the article of Professor Stevenson and saying, "That is the soundest and most splendid presentation I ever saw of the question of capital and labor." (Laughter and applause.) "You will proceed at once to make use of it, both in the Colorado campaign and in our Union Educational Campaign."

Again, a clergyman named Newell Dwight Hillis, at present occupying Beecher's old pulpit in Brooklyn, who has this very day invited the unspeakable Carlson of Colorado to likewise preach on the Colorado situation, delivered a sermon, which has been denounced for its falsehood, first by every union man connected with the proposition, and second, by the dean of the law school, lately removed, partially on account of that, the able, aggressive and brave Professor Brewster of Colorado (applause), again by the New York *Survey*, and publicly called a liar by George Creel in *Harper's Weekly*. In that sermon he stated that Mr. Rockefeller had offered the unions everything, even to the recognition of their union, in Colorado. Mr. Rockefeller, you will remember, testified before the Congressional Committee that he was fighting for the rights of the independent American workman and that he would sacrifice every dollar of his great fortune and that of his father rather than recognize that organization. At least that is in effect what he said. Mr. Rockefeller sent this letter to Ivy Lee and asked him to make use of that in his Union Educational Campaign. Already they had published the so-called "Colorado Bulletins," setting forth the alleged facts in Colorado, which, in the main, were a collection of palpably stupid slanders upon the men that were fighting for economic freedom and the union officers who were leading their cause in the state of Colorado. After many of the lies in them had been exposed, after the president of the company had testified before the commission

in Colorado as to the falsity of the bulletins, the publicity agent who wrote them was made a director in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and paid six thousand dollars out of the personal account of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

And so runs the record in Colorado. Not charged by any person connected with organized labor. Not baselessly charged by me from this platform or elsewhere, but confessed in writing by the owners and operators of the coal companies of Colorado.

Now the proof is undisputable that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company hired lawyers, that they controlled courts, that they controlled administrative officials such as Jeff Fair, but I want to say, my friends, that the limit of shame was reached in the Lawson case, because in that case they hired and paid for the witnesses upon whose testimony, mainly, John R. Lawson was convicted.

The chief witnesses in the attempt to connect John R. Lawson with the crime of murder of the deceased Mr. Nimmo were two men who, upon cross-examination, were compelled by that splendid champion of the Colorado workers, Horace U. Hawkins, who is defending these men, to confess that at the time of the alleged occurrence they were pretending to be with the United Mine Workers of America, but as a matter of fact they were spies, hired by the Baldwin-Feltz Detective Agency and paid by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and other iron companies. At the very time these cases were being prepared and were testifying, they were upon the per diem of the detective agency and were being paid for by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the other companies.

There are other matters that I might give as a background, but I have already kept you longer than I have expected. Other crimes were committed in the state of Colorado by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. The smothering and burning to death of women and children—all of the evidences of that terrible day at Ludlow. Why do I say so specifically that this is a crime of the coal companies? I would hesitate to do so. Rash judgment is a bad thing. No man, especially one charged with investigatorial duty, should, in advance of his findings, or his own judgment, make such a statement. So I better tell you as I stated before that I speak from the letter of Lamont M. Bowers, addressed to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., telling him that they view with satisfaction the creation of another state troop that the state will not have to pay, and that therefore the state officials are jubilant about it. That was Troop A, consisting of the mine guards, employes and hired gunmen of the coal companies. That was the troop that, within the same week that the letter was written to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., assailed the peaceable inhabitants of Ludlow colony and committed arson, murder and robbery, and wiped certain of them from the face of the earth. That is the reason I say that that was the crime of the coal companies. Specifically, I have been criticized by Mr. Rockefeller for referring to that as the massacre of Ludlow. He pointed out that these

women and children were not shot, but smothered to death. I confess that eleven of them were smothered, likewise burned, but Mr Snyder's boy, who Monday after next is himself to be tried for murder in the first degree, was shot between the eyes by a bullet from these mine guards, while caressing his little sister; and one of the noblest of whom I have heard testimony given, Louis Tikas, was slain like a dog by a hireling of the coal companies of Colorado, masquerading as a lieutenant of the state militia, although he also held a commission—K. E. Linderfelt. I call attention again to the shocking death of James Fyler, an American citizen, shot five times through the back while lying upon the ground; and the sad death of Mr. Bortolotte murdered in the presence of his wife and family, upon that same day.

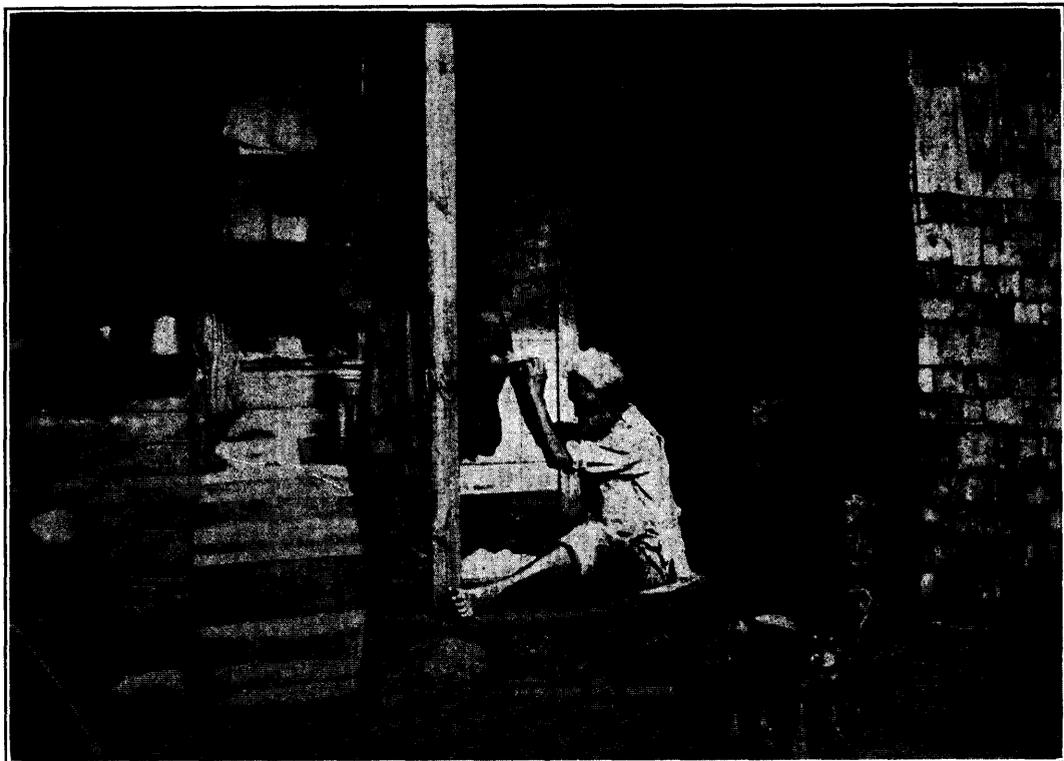
It is charged, always, when facts are brought out in a field of bitter controversy, such as this contest that is now going on in industrial affairs certainly must be conceded to be, that there is something of self-interest or something of animus on the part of the investigators. God knows there has been no such feeling consciously animating my mind or moving my heart. I cannot see the individuals engaged in it. I have for Mr. Rockefeller nothing but sublime pity. I read in the papers a few days ago, that upon his 76th birthday, he doubled the guard at Pocantico Hill; that he built a new fence inside of the old one and put a double row of barbed wire upon the top of it and proceeded to celebrate his birthday. What a pitiful situation. Another picture: Here, among her fellow citizens maligned, charged with being a criminal, is an old lady some 84 years old; whether right or wrong, engaged during practically all of her life in a militant contest for what she conscientiously believed to be right, with the love and affection of millions of her fellow citizens, free to come and go whither she will, while this most powerful financial potentate that ever lived upon the earth is a prisoner in a prison of his own making. I feel sorry for him, and I illustrate so that you will know that there is nothing personal in anything that has been done in this investigation but he has been looked upon as representing the system that flouts free government, that intimidates officials, that sneers at the highest authority, as these letters show; that derides the government of a great state, and whose directors boast among themselves that they whip public officials into line and cause them to do their bidding!

I wish to close by a statement which has not been carried by the press of this nation, and that is that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and McKenzie King, his employe, are today in open defiance of the government of the United States. At a hearing in the city of Washington Mr. Rockefeller was asked whether or not he wrote the statement that the press of this country carried as his testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations. You, as the people of America, were entitled to have his testimony, truthful testimony and not the testimony of any other man assuming to speak for him. McKenzie King, who was in

the Colorado field, right up to the day almost of the conviction of Lawson, was asked whom he talked to and what he said and what he discovered in Colorado. He boldly refused to answer. He confessed that he had collected much data and evidence covering the situation in Colorado. He refused to tell whether that data was in Washington, New York or the Dominion of Canada. I pressed him on all of those propositions and he point blank refused to give that testimony to your instrumentality. We find this lapse in the law, that while the Commission on Industrial Relations has full power to compel attendance of witnesses, that yet we do not have the power to punish for contempt, and must allow these men, accompanied by Star J. Murphy, the personal attorney of Rockefeller, to throw this defiance into the very teeth of the people of the United States.

I am a believer in free institutions; I know the people have the power, if they only exercise it; I know that they have been misrepresented in the past, and you know it. Now we have a square issue made. Is the Congress of the United States representative of a sovereign people of this nation, or are they the tools and hirelings of the industrial overlords? (Applause.) If they represent the people (and I am hopeful and believe they do), then the first action of this Congress will be to cite to the bar of the House of Representatives John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and Mr. McKenzie King of Canada. These questions should again be propounded to these men. They are written in our record; I have them here this afternoon. If the men refuse to answer, then they should be brought before the grand jury of the District of Columbia, as provided by the statutes of the United States, and indicted for a crime against the government and sent to jail. (Applause, shrieking and stamping of feet.)

Now, my friends, as has been said many times, better than I can say it, perhaps, as we look at the concrete case of John R. Lawson, as we read of the death of an unfortunate man in one of these conflicts, our heart goes out in pity for the pain and suffering of the individual, for the miseries and woes of the wives and children of the John Lawsons, and Bortolottes, and the Zancanellis of the conflict. We see there typified one case, and our attention is drawn to it, but is there not a great, dark background that ought always to loom in the consideration of these questions? Do we, as citizens, as brothers and sisters of a common humanity, do what we ought to bring about conditions from which could arise no Ludlow horror and no conviction of a Lawson? Can I imagine a system of society filled by intelligent people? May I hope, at least, for a society where every man will get what he earns, no less, and just as important, no, no more? That the heart-destroying, soul-shriving idea of production solely for dividends and profits may give way to production for the good of all mankind. (Much applause and shouts of "Hurrah!")



POI MAKING—BEATING THE TARO ROOT

# T A R O

## The Oriental Poor Man's Bread

By MARION WRIGHT

WITH our own baker's loaves growing smaller and the price higher it will be of interest to learn how poor folks of the Orient and South Sea islands make shift for the staff of life. Where the bread fruit grows it has been popularly supposed that all a man has to do is cut off the loaves, slice them up and serve, but not every native owns a bread fruit tree, and just between ourselves, bread fruit is not what it is cracked up to be. Taro has it skinned a mile in that Taro furnishes a potato, flour, mush, or pot greens, just as you like.

"Fish and Poi" is known as the food of the Hawaiians. Poi is a paste or mush made from pounded Taro roots. As the natives originally conveyed the mixture from bowl to mouth with their fingers it

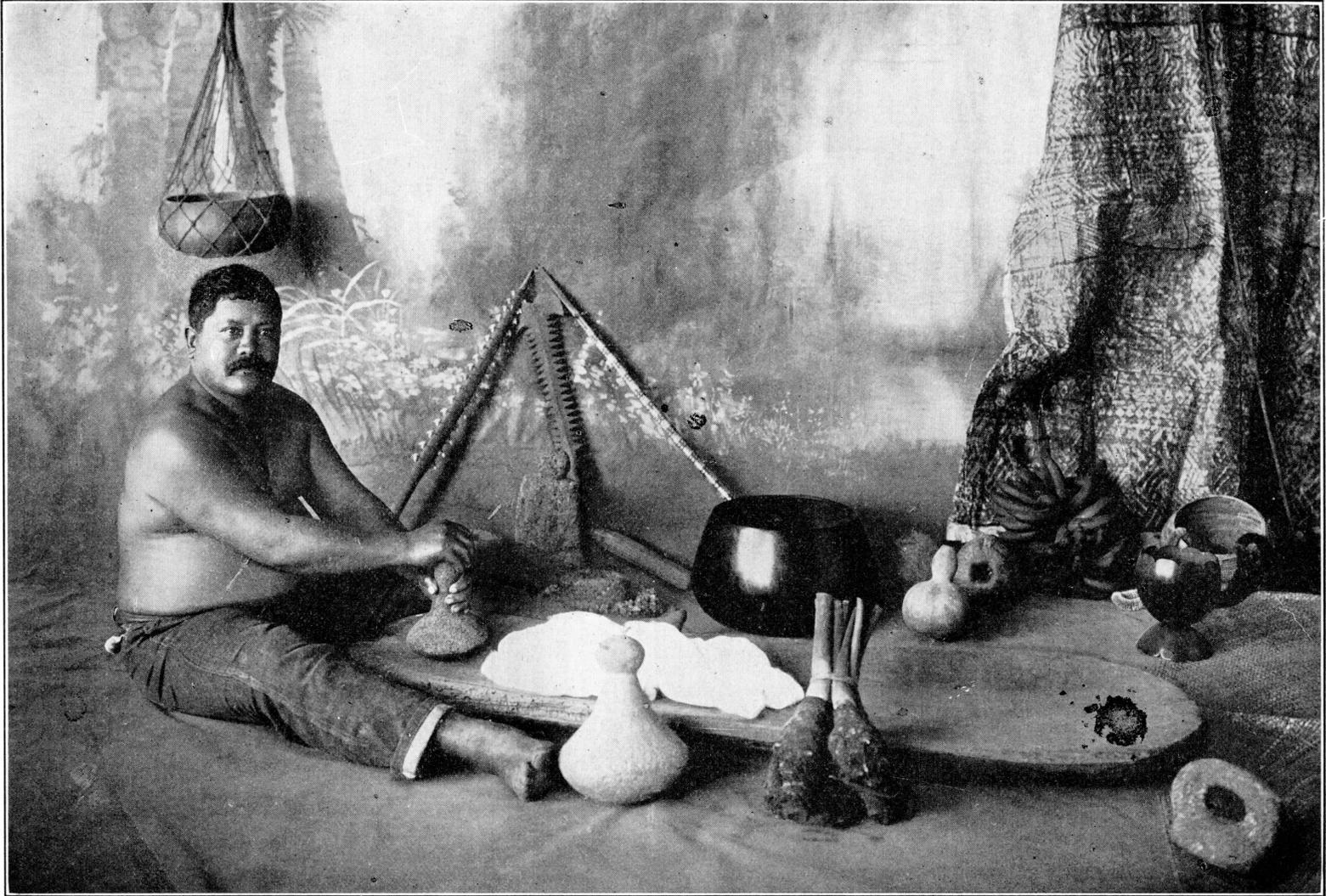
came to be graded as "one finger Poi," which was the best, and "two finger Poi," the kind which required two fingers to lift it.

Taro, botanically known as *Colocasia antiquorum esculentum*, is a perennial plant, one to two feet high, with heart-shaped pettate leaves and large fleshy root-stocks, from which the Poi of the Hawaiians is made. In other islands of the South Seas, Japan, Porto Rico and China the tubers are cooked like potatoes and the young tender leaves are used as a pot-herb, like spinach or turnip-tops. It is one of the principal food products, not only of the native Hawaiian, but of many of the native races of the Orient.

In Hawaii there are two distinct individual strains of Taro, the one with red or



POI MAKING—BEATING THE TARO ROOT



pink flesh and the other white. Of each of these strains there are many sub-varieties, each with native names. In its habit of growth and the character of the root the Japanese Taro is entirely different from the varieties under cultivation in Hawaii, while the Chinese variety is still different.

Taro holds about fifth place among the products of Hawaii, in area of land devoted to its cultivation and in value of crop. The investment in Taro growing approximates \$500,000. Taro cultivation is exceedingly profitable, and land suited to its needs, provided it has water rights, brings a high annual rental. During the spoliation of Hawaii the natives lost not only their coconut and sugar land but their Taro land as well except for a small patch here and there. "Civilized" white capitalists overlooked no opportunity to take the native's land, grow on it what the native had been growing before, make the native work it and sell the product back to him at a fancy price. And if you should ask them about it they would undoubtedly reply, "Why shouldn't we? We OWN the land, don't we?" The average rental per acre in the vicinity of Honolulu for Taro land ranges from \$40 to \$50. The retail price of Poi in Honolulu runs from 2½ cents to 5 cents per pound. One acre will produce from 12 to 15 tons, which sells for from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per hundred pounds.

The land suitable for cultivation of water-Taro, the variety which is principally grown, is a rich, deep, muck soil, bordering the streams or occupying the lowest portions of the valleys leading back into the mountains. Land to be capable of growing Taro must have an abundant supply of running water, and it needs also to be very rich. Many of the fields now in cultivation have been planted to Taro with hardly a rest for a hundred years or more. The old Hawaiians understood the need of fertilizing and often allowed their patches to go without a crop for one season. They also planted certain burrs or weeds among the Taro and spaded them under as a green fertilizer.

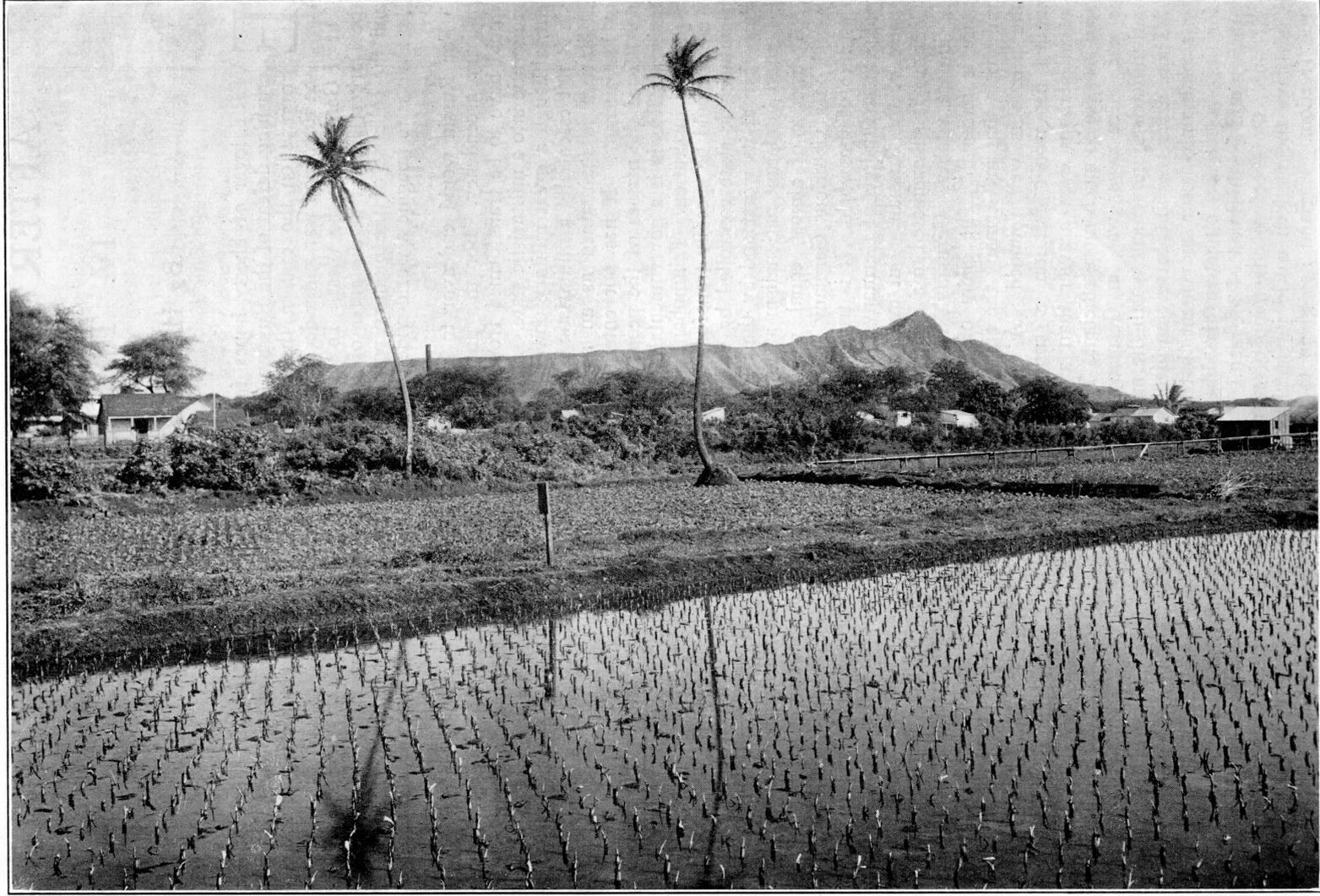
The irrigation system of the ancient Hawaiians is still in use for the growing of Taro. Although they knew nothing of technical engineering they developed an excellent system of irrigation. They made the ditches as well as the laterals to follow the

base contour line to limit the fall and wash as much as possible. In fact some of the most wonderful irrigating systems in the world have been found among savage peoples, notably among a mountain tribe of the Philippines whose hill-side water system is a marvel of perfection, constructed without a single surveyor's instrument, or the knowledge that such a thing existed. Necessity is indeed the mother of invention. Besides having to deliver the water, the ditches of the Hawaiians had to be arranged so that each individual chief or owner would get his rightful share of the water; and so fairly were these water rights adjusted (without meters) that many of them hold good today and water is divided and delivered to the patches according to the ancient custom.

Taro is cultivated in patches of varying size. Each patch is surrounded by a dyke containing openings to admit the water and allow its exit. Before planting the water is allowed to drain off the field. The ground is then dug up or plowed with a rice plow and is fertilized with the leaves, stems and trimmings of the former crop. Taro is propagated by means of the crown of the plant with its accompanying leaf stalks. At the time the crop is harvested the upper portion of the root is cut off; then the leaves are cut off, leaving about six inches of leaf stalk on the crown of the root. These tops, called "Hulis," are either planted in a circle around a little mound of dirt or in rows across the field. They are placed about a foot apart.

In about a month after the huli has been planted the roots start, and the crown throws out new leaves. The period of maturity varies according to variety, running from a year to fourteen months from the time of planting. Cultivation consists in keeping the patch clear of weeds and the soil between the plants is sometimes stirred with pick or shovel, care being taken not to loosen the roots.

Taro provides several articles of food. The tops when boiled are eaten as greens and resemble spinach. The root is boiled or baked and eaten as a potato. The root, dried, is ground into a flour called "Tarena." But the chief use of the root and the object of growing the Taro is for the making of Poi, the staple food of the native Hawaiian.



# AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

## IV. The Second International

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

EVERY lover of liberty hopes for a crushing defeat of the Russian Government on the eastern theater of the European war and a decisive defeat of Germany in the West. To imagine the Darkest Russia at the gates of Berlin and the collapse of the military power of the allies is to imagine a world-wide calamity.

For Russia would endeavor to hold its military ascendancy. For this purpose it would have to be transformed from a bureaucratic into a militaristic state. At present, although a great military power, Russia is not essentially a militaristic country. Militarism is maintained as an auxiliary to bureaucracy. It has not entered into the life of the masses of the people. Militarism in Russia is a governmental and not a national institution. Triumphant in war, Russia would be speedily transformed into a militaristic state controlled by unlimited despotism at its worst and by the narrowest, most intolerant nationalism at its best.

A disaster of almost equal magnitude would be a victorious Germany ruling the destinies of the world. It is true that the political institutions of Germany are in advance of the Russian. But everything in Germany is subordinated to a national idea of intense vitality. Germany's militaristic state is national. The claim of German militarists that in Germany the army is of the people is well founded. A German mailed fist would fall on a conquered world perhaps even heavier than a Russian because so much more efficient. There is not, there never was, in Germany an anti-militaristic movement worth the name.

There never was in Germany an ideology or a philosophy, or a movement that had for its motive or objective the liberty, equality and brotherhood of all men.

France, the freedom champion of mankind, gave the modern world its ideal of true freedom. England has given to the

world the instruments of freedom. Even in Russia we witnessed religious, literary and political movements aiming at equality of all races.

The German ideal is to liberate all mankind by making them into good Germans.

And I do not exclude the German Social Democratic movement from this characterization.

It was said of Marx that his philosophy was German, his economics English and his politics French. Marxian philosophy or economics have only a remote and indirect bearing on the attitude of the Social Democratic party of Germany in the present war. Marxian politics are involved directly and immediately. And if the above characterization of Marx's views is true, then the politics of German Social Democracy are not and never were Marxian. Be that as it may, the history of German Social Democracy since August 4th proves conclusively that it has for decades traveled the road of most tragic self-delusion.

Its first self-delusion was that it was revolutionary and hostile to the present social order. Its second delusion was that sometime somehow it will be the instrument for the overthrowing of the present social order and the establishment of Socialism. There is no lack of declarations on its part to that effect. These declarations came in time to be considered in a light similar to the Christian injunction of "love thy neighbor," something impossible either of fulfillment or abandonment. These revolutionary declarations became pious phrases good for opening and closing of conventions and platforms.

The Social Democracy became, in the meantime, something else. It began the process of adaptation to a presumably hostile state. This process consists in giving much more than in receiving. For the social state resembles an organism in this respect: as soon as it finds in its midst a body

hostile to its existence, it sets to work to transform this antagonistic body into a friend. And so it came to pass that capitalist society has changed German Social Democracy much more than the latter changed capitalistic society. It transformed a theoretical antagonist into a practical supporter. German Social Democracy has long before the war ceased to aim for Socialism or work for Socialism.

What German Social Democracy did on August 4th and since is in perfect accord with what it did for a long time before August 4th. Believing that by and large it was moving on the road to Socialism, it in fact helped to upbuild a militaristic state, that may yet plunge the world into a darkness worse than the mediaeval, into a tyranny of mailed fist and iron heel. Certainly, the bulk of German Socialists were sincere in their desire for Socialism. But the writers and the speakers insinuated into the minds of their followers "possibilistic" and "practical" ideas which paralyzed their desire and efforts for Socialism. Worse yet, millions of Socialists, were made to oppose Socialism, believing that they were working for it. Has not Christianity suffered the same fate? And every liberating movement of the past? The Socialist movement may be destroyed not by open opposition or persecution, but by substituting something else under the same name for the masses to follow. This has happened in Germany.

The masses were deluded, but not the leaders. The Scheidemans, the Heines, the Suedeuns knew long before August 4th what the Social Democracy really was in their hands—an instrument for keeping the working class in spiritual and political bondage to a militaristic state—and we conclude that this was the deliberate aim of those leaders. A writer more competent than I will some day assign to these leaders a place in history in company with other traitors of movements which they pretended to lead.

On August 4th was inscribed the last page of the Second International. On that day it concluded its existence. Therein we see nothing to lament. Its work was done. Its task completed. And a glorious and tremendous task it was. It found the working class in intellectual and political bond-

age, a pitiful nonentity politically and economically. It set to task to arouse in the working class a consciousness of its true interests and power. It has succeeded splendidly. From a social and political nonentity the working class of Europe has been raised to the dignity of a social and political factor of the first magnitude. If we look back into history to the great men and great movements that came, did their work and passed away and what little impression they left on the contemporary world, if we consider the short time since the Second International came into being, the achievements of the Second International will appear tremendous.

Yet the Second International is a thing of the past. The talk of continuing it or reorganizing it is futile. Again the name may be retained and they may go through the motions, but no attention will be paid to it.

One has only to read the resolutions of the Second International to see at once how perplexing, to say the least, they would appear if proposed at an international gathering after the war. Problems whose solution appeared obvious to the Second International would appear in an entirely new light after the war.

Take the problem of nationalism with its solution of the Second International by a declaration of international solidarity of labor as against national unity. How would a resolution that Socialism knows no country and will never, never advise the working class to cut one another's throat at the behest of the capitalists, sound after this war? The working class of the world may arrive at such a conclusion, but never with the help of Scheidemans or Heines, unless the world consents to become German.

And no one will take seriously a Socialist resolution against the prevailing colonial policies, when as a matter of fact the present war is waged not for foreign markets as the Socialists are wont to assert, but for colonial empires.

The program of the Second International was in a higher potential, the program of the Socialist party of every country.

Now, the war once over, the present programs of the Socialist parties will sound as out of date as the novels of Fielding or the cosmology of the bible.

# THE REWARD OF TRUTH-TELLING

By M. E. M.

SOME of us still imagine that the academic mind may lead the world in progress, that university men, professional men of high mental training, may be expected to point the way toward a broader and happier civilization.

But the facts do not square with our hopes. Neither among the colleges nor the churches is there the slightest evidence of any considerable deep-rooted movement for the material improvement of industrial conditions in Europe or America.

We have yet to hear of one church or one university whose aim is the abolition of poverty—the greatest social evil in the world today. We know of no college or church that even devotes itself to the prevention of preventable disease or of unemployment. A few petty reforms have found their origin in the university but most of these have died young through inaction.

This is not the fault of the students, many of whom enter the colleges and universities every year with their hearts filled with high hopes of a career of usefulness to society. They imagine they are about to drink of the fountain of truth and hope to take their degrees more fully equipped to meet the emergencies of life because of the years they have spent in study, attending lectures, in the laboratory and in research work. They believe the university requires the truth above all things. This is a mistake some never recognize because their minds are so crammed with twaddle beneficial to the capitalist class.

The institutions of any given period of society represent the dominant interests in that society and, as the capitalist class is overwhelmingly the ruling class in the "civilized" world today, we find reflected in the church, the state and in all institutions of learning, the interests and viewpoint of this propertied class.

It was therefore to be expected that Professor Scott Nearing, one of the leading exponents of sound economics, one of the keenest minds engaged in research in the field of sociology and economics, should have been eliminated from the list of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

Nine years ago Dr. Nearing entered the sacred halls of the Philadelphia institution as a member of the teaching force in the Wharton School of Finance. He had previously studied at the university, and, later, had acted as secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association. From the first he was a thorn in the flesh of big business in that feudalistic state. He effectively fought for child labor laws, and, in that way, secured the displeasure of the powerful mining and other interests of the state.

He advocated workmen's compensation laws. He told the public about the over-capitalization of the transportation system of the city. He examined the wages paid to the workers of the country, and wrote books explaining the abominably low remuneration in many of our industries.

Last month the Macmillan Company, New York, brought out Prof. Nearing's work on Income, which they announced as "an examination of the returns for services rendered and from the property owned in the United States" (net price \$1.25), from which we quote the following on page 199:

The recipients of property income and of service income face each other and prepare for the conflict. Those who have put forth the effort, declare their rights to the products of that effort. Those who own property hold fast to their property titles and to the prerogatives which are inseparable from them.

Law, custom and business practice have made property income a first charge on industry. There can be no considerable readjustment of income values until the preëminent position of property is overbalanced by some social action.

The present economic tendencies will greatly increase the total amount of property income and the proportion of property income paid with each passing decade. Land values will continue to rise as population grows denser, demand for land increases and methods of using land are perfected. The return to capital (the interest rate) shows every indication of advancing. It certainly will not decrease in the near future.

The day when capital could be easily dissipated has passed away. When once created, capital does not disappear. Instead, every conceivable method has been devised to perpetuate it. It may even add to itself, as it frequently does, when earnings, instead of being used for the payment of dividends, are reinvested and turned directly into new capital.

The workers, meanwhile, are living, for the most part, a hand-to-mouth existence, successful if they are able to maintain health and keep up appearances. Against the value of the products which their energy creates is charged the property incomes for which the labor of someone must pay. Today, the producers of wealth are saddled with an enormous property income charge which increases with each passing year—increases far faster than the increase in the population; and which, from its very nature, cannot be reduced, but must be constantly augmented.

Were there no protest from the producers of wealth, the future of capital would be a bright one. With increasing stability, increasing safety, decreasing risks and increasing land values, the property owners might face a prospect of unalloyed hopefulness.

Actually no such situation exists. On the contrary, there is every indication that, with the passing years, the producers of wealth will file a protest of ever increasing volume against an economic system which automatically gives to those who already have.

While the spirit of protest grows in intensity, the form remains a matter which future years alone may determine. An appeal to the available facts leads to the conclusion that the most effective protest the producers can make will be based on a clear recognition of the distinction between SERVICE INCOME and PROPERTY INCOME. Shall the economic world decide that only those who expend effort shall share in the wealth, which is the result of that effort?

Shall the economic world decide that each person expending effort is entitled to all the value for which his effort is responsible—no more and no less? Shall the economic world set its stamp of approval on EFFORT and its stamp of disapproval on parasitism, by turning the income (that springs from) activity INTO THE HANDS OF THE WORKERS, and denying income to all others?

Has the time arrived when a few may no longer live in idleness upon the products created by those who give their lives to labor? Shall not the social blessing be bestowed upon those who labor and the social curse be hurled upon the idler and the wastrel? Lo! these many years has mankind looked forward to a day when economic justice could prevail. Is not this the day and this new century the seed-ground for its fulfillment?

So reads the last chapter of Prof. Nearing's new work on income. But the capitalist class of Pennsylvania has doubtless observed that with each new contribution, Scott Nearing enlarged his public. College youths, university professors, trade unionists and rebels of every hue alike, widened their horizon by reading his works. Facts and figures proved an unanswerable indictment of the capitalist system and the fine hand of the propertied interests arranged for the removal of one of the few remaining scholars in the state university.

Even articles and works of a largely statistical character brought Prof. Nearing into disrepute among the capitalists of Pennsylvania, who maintain state universities and colleges and other institutions of "learning" NOT for the propagation of truth, nor for scientific research that may benefit society as a whole, but for the inculcation of information and ideas that will prove economically and industrially PROFITABLE to the property-owning class.

Probably Professor Nearing did not enter upon his labors in the spirit of revolt with which so many young men embark upon their professional careers today. He brought to it, we believe, rather the broad vision of the true scientist, who observes and records and draws his conclusions from the data at hand. Note the scientific spirit with which he approaches his subject in the Adequacy of American Wages, recently published in the Annals of the American Academy:

"The adequacy of American wages, like any other question in social science, should be discussed in a spirit of honest truth-seeking. Everywhere the problem is leading to endless and often to bitter controversy between employers and wage earners, who ordinarily base their contention that wages are 'too high' or 'too low' upon tradition or prejudice rather than upon scientific analysis. The result is dissention and misunderstanding. The student of economics approaches the matter *scientifically*." (The italics are ours.)

Naturally he concludes that "American wages are inadequate, grossly inadequate, when viewed from any point of vantage afforded by the available social facts. . . . Speaking generally and in terms of family living, the present American wage scale is pathetically, grotesquely, viciously inadequate."

The University of Pennsylvania is a quasi public institution. Before it appealed to the state for aid, private capitalists had donated to it some \$18,000,000. And they ruled its policies through the agency of a self-perpetuating board of trustees with an iron hand. This board contained many capitalists, but not one working man. The Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, the Girard Trust Company, the big department stores, the gas company and multifarious other

corporations were well represented. But labor, not at all.

The members of this board naturally became restless under the stinging accusations of this youthful instructor, and many rumbblings were heard. Nearing was offered other positions, but refused to accept them. His salary remained stationary, in spite of the recommendations of the head of the Department of Political Economy.

In the middle of June the trustees held a meeting, and a few days afterwards Prof. Nearing was curtly told of his discharge. No reason was assigned therefor. No case since, perhaps, that of Prof. Ross, has stirred up such a protest in the academic world. Few cases have shown so plainly the power of capital. In most other instances, the trustees can point to poor teaching, general incompatibility, lack of personality, bad character. They can thus divert attention from the real issue.

But here the case is a clear one. Professor Nearing is recognized by his fellow professors and students as one of the most successful teachers in the university; as a man of high moral standards; as a congenial colleague, as an excellent administrator.

"In losing Dr. Nearing," said Simon N. Patten, head of the department of economics at Wharton School, "the university loses one of its most effective men, a man of extraordinary ability, of superlative popularity and a man who, to my mind, exerted the greatest moral force for good in the university.

"He had the largest class in the university—there were 400 in his class—and no one could have done his work better. I taught his course fifteen years and superintended it for ten, and I know."

The testimony of Prof. Roswell C. McCrea, dean of the Wharton School, of J. Russell Smith, professor of Industry and others, is similar in its nature. The fact that Dr. Nearing's resignation was not made public until after the college body had scattered and were unable to get together in protest meetings, is indicative of the known popularity of Dr. Nearing and the fear that, if the report was circulated in any other portion of the year, the uproar would have been most disconcerting.

The issue is clearcut. Prof. Nearing was discharged—discharged at the time of the year when it was impossible for him to obtain another job for the coming season in

the academic world—because he held views obnoxious to the conservative board of trustees.—*American Socialist*.

The removal of Scott Nearing might have been foreseen long ago. He was a man among a class of men generally composed of caterers and panderers, a true scientist in the field of American industry and economics, who found, and, this is his unpardonable offense, made known the facts and conditions surrounding the production of wealth in America.

College professors are required to SUPPORT and eulogize the Rockfellers, the Morgans, the Baer mine owners, in order to hold their jobs just as governors and congressmen and politicians are expected to serve the interests of the capitalist class, and as the Billie Sundays and less spectacular clergy are encouraged to preach to the workers those "virtues" that shall mean more output in the factory and greater profits to the employers of labor.

The old party politician who fails to protect the interests of the propertied class commits political suicide. John P. Altgeld wiped out all hope of future political favors when, as governor of Illinois, he signed the pardon for the so-called Chicago anarchists, although it was acknowledged even then by Chicago newspaper reporters and the Chicago police force that the men imprisoned were innocent of the charges for which they had been sentenced.

The day of the clergymen who have meddled with things "temporal" (unless it be to the interest and profit of the capitalist class) has always been a short one. The college professor who performs brilliant research work in any field without due regard for the interests of the profit takers, is removed, both to make an end of his inimical investigations and to serve as a warning to other scientists.

The rewards for men in the professional classes are for those who serve the men who perpetrate gigantic social robberies, for those who lie about and misrepresent, the working class and the conditions under which it labors.

There is little freedom and less incentive for professional men to do honest, scientific work under the present system of society. Real education is only possible when untrammelled by the economic power of a ruling class.



## ONE BIG UNION ON THE WAY

**W**HEREVER you run into a bunch of railroad boys these days who are alive and kicking, you will be surprised at the growth of the get-together sentiment. While recognizing the benefits they have received from their different brotherhoods in the past, they are grasping the idea that One Big Brotherhood would bring home the bacon when it comes to putting up a fight against the big bondholders who own the roads.

The idea of One Big Union, which will take in every worker in the big railroad family from section hand up, is going to be given a clear track as fast as the men grab the fact that they are never going to be able to get more money, better conditions and shorter hours unless they go after it themselves.

Of course, now and then you will run

across a bonehead who still believes that the interests of the men who run the road are identical with the men who own the road.

We have received hundreds of letters from railroad boys since the articles appeared in the REVIEW on "Fixing the Pay of Railroad Men," and the following quotations are taken at random.

An engineer writes: "Our present, organizations not being fighting machines, are everywhere at a standstill. Meanwhile, the rapid installation of electric power is taking place faster here than in any other part of the country. This fact alone is waking up the ultra-conservatives who have been coddled along with good runs by the company for years. They see their finish. It began two years ago, when suburban trains were increased from 5 to 15 cars; through trains from 8 to 15 or more cars,



and passenger mileage was cut 40 per cent. Freight trains went up from 30 to 85 or more cars. Forty per cent of the engineers were set back firing and almost 1,000 firemen were turned loose among the unemployed on this line alone."

A trainman states: "I know from bitter experience that any one who offers anything out of the ordinary company come-on stuff is called crazy by the stools who want to curry favor with 'the old man,' but I wish you would print the following extract from an editorial which appeared in our *Trainman's Magazine* for July. It is as follows:

"When it is remembered that at least one-fourth of the membership of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the pick of America's best workmen, is entirely out of service or only partly employed, when every increase in business is cared for without the employment of an additional man, when every order for engines and cars shows that tonnage will increase and the number of the employed decrease, when every avenue of employment is closed because men can produce so much more than is needed, when even common labor is out of the question, there is room for discouragement, call it any name one likes."

"You can count on me to start the One Big Union ball rolling in our organization."

A railway clerk sends us a resolution of Cleveland, Ohio, Lodge, No. 47, an extract from which reads: "Resolved, That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks go on record as favoring Industrial Unionism, and amalgamation of railroad and transportation organization into One Great Union.

The best news comes from Boston, Mass., where a railroad educational league has been formed by a bunch of railroad workers. Their first leaflet contains so much good stuff that we will print it in full, sincerely hoping that these educational leagues will spring up all over the country:

### To the Railroad Workers of America

Boston, Mass., June 27, 1915.

The railroad brotherhoods, wherever organized, are beginning to realize that all the orders must work together in their struggle with the railroads in efforts to gain shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions. And further, to counteract the degrading effects of abused power

of corporate wealth and the demoralization resulting from installation of labor-saving machinery, such as larger locomotives.

The members of said organizations realize that thousands of the best and bravest union men are today out of employment, for the very reason that the craft form of labor organization has failed to protect its members, through not keeping abreast of industrial progress. Although the evils arising from the use of larger power has been manifest and increasing for many years, no effective steps have been attempted by our weak craft unions to arrest injustice coming upon those deserving men, who in turn have depended upon these same crafts for livelihood.

The representative committees of these crafts, the General and Joint Boards of Adjustment, the Grand Lodge Officers and Conventions, have been stunned and bewildered at the effects arising from *INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION*. And in the very face of still larger locomotives, with yet more labor-displacing machinery and more disemployment, these bodies remain awe-stricken and helpless. They are fearful of taking the first militant steps of free men defending their means of livelihood, indisposed or afraid to estimate our brotherhoods at their true value as fighting implements in honorable warfare, indisposed to join with those bodies, which can be commanded as allies, afraid to declare that no form of labor-displacing machinery or industrial development shall ever be allowed to deprive willing and skilled workers from a job and thereby of opportunity to maintain a home, unable to raise the glorious banner of unionism, with its transcendent inscription:—*INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS SHALL BECOME A BLESSING INSTEAD OF A CURSE TO MANKIND*.

We should, therefore, in every meeting where all crafts assemble, extend our most cordial and heartfelt appreciation to our several crafts for whatever measure of blessings we now enjoy, and we urge our Brothers not to despair. That from this time on we must renew with increased energy and resolute purpose the warfare against capitalistic greed. That this struggle must be continued with increased confidence, rigor and determination, with steadfast resolve to win more things in the future than have been won in the past.

We, the members of these several organizations, will always pledge our continued support to our committees in every effort they may make in bringing our several orders together into one fighting unit. And we should demand that as soon as this can be effected, we should turn all our power toward acquiring the eight hour 80-mile day in road service, four-hour 70-mile day in passenger service, an eight hour day in switching service, with universal double time for all overtime and no reduction in rates.

Our members, wherever located, should arrange at once for the calling of meetings of all railroad employees who are members of craft unions, for the purpose of allowing all to consult together freely and discuss the formation of that most powerful of labor unions, *THE INDUSTRIAL LABOR UNION*.

In order that this form of labor organization may come into being with the least possible friction, we should preserve our several orders as we

have them at present, but at once weld them into one fighting unit, as a means for recovering lost opportunities, carrying out our future program, to stimulate the study of labor problems and to insure a brighter future. A moment's reflection will demonstrate to even the thoughtless, that only in this manner can the forces of labor be united and directed to better advantage in the future than in the past.

In forwarding our program for better conditions and shorter hours, we should ignore the pleas of the illegitimate holders of stolen plunder, and recognize that all who urge these pleas are advising us to betray our own interests and forget our rights. And because of our overwhelming

numbers they are also the enemy of civilization. After what we have seen of labor's disemployment, it should teach us to always cling close to our own interests. Should the railroads threaten receivership we can say with truth that we would as willingly take our chances with a plunder-owned government as with the plunderers themselves.

In the face of these unsolved problems, therefore, let us devote every effort to extending these meetings into every terminal on this system, then to other railroad systems, and with all possible speed, to the end that employment may be restored, justice done to all, and a bloody revolution averted.

RAILROAD WORKERS EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

# THE STORY OF MONEY

By ROBERT H. HOWE

**T**HE division of Labor caused the invention of money. As soon as money was invented and came into use to any considerable extent, means were taken to introduce substitutes or representatives which were of nominal value.

The earliest mediums of exchange used were the skins of animals. When these were too bulky and inconvenient to handle, a small irregular piece was cut out of the skin. This was the token that the skin from which it had been cut belonged to the holder of the small bit of leather, and ownership was proved by fitting it into the place from which it had been cut.

Leather money was used by the Carthaginians and Romans and was in circulation in Russia as late as the reign of Peter the Great. Leather money made from the skins of white deer was in use in China before the Christian era.

Paper money was in circulation in China four or five hundred years before it was issued by the Bank of England, and the Emperor of Tartary issued both paper and leather money during the fourteenth century.

In China the paper money was called "flying money" and when it became soiled or mutilated it could be returned to the treasury and exchanged for new notes. The same was true in Tartary and Persia.

The use of skins as a medium of payment was nearly universal in the early history of

America. The transactions of the Hudson Bay Company were based on "skins." One beaver skin was supposed to be worth two shillings; twenty skins would pay for a gun worth about forty shillings. Sometimes a gun was sold by standing it upright on the ground and piling skins beside it until the pile reached as high as the muzzle of the gun. All kinds of skins were included and the pile would contain not only coon, beaver and deer skins, but often sea otter, arctic fox and other rare and valuable furs. This method of dealing with the Indians and trappers undoubtedly explains why the guns of that period had such extraordinarily long barrels.

During Colonial days in America not only were beaver and coon skins used as money, but also musket balls. Wampum, which was made by the Indians out of shells and which they strung in the shape of belts, was another medium of exchange and was made legal tender in Massachusetts to the amount of forty shillings. Cows were also legal tender for taxes, but, as might be expected, the thrifty New Englanders always paid with the scrawniest specimens.

In Virginia and Maryland, on account of the scarcity of coin, corn and tobacco were used in payment of debts—the tobacco at the rate of three shillings per pound, and a refusal to accept carried a penalty of three years at hard labor. Women brought over

from England by the London Company were sold to the settlers as wives for one hundred pounds of tobacco. The price was afterwards raised to one hundred and fifty pounds.

In the West Indies raw produce, such as sugar, rum, molasses, ginger, indigo and tobacco, was similarly used. In Newfoundland dried codfish was used at a very recent period. Every country of Europe and Asia gives evidence of the use of vegetable and manufactured products as money.

Wheat from the time of ancient Greece to the present has been used, and in Norway it was deposited in banks and borrowed and lent.

Along the shores of the Mediterranean olive oil and in some places almonds were used, as was also salt in Abyssinia, Mexico and Sumatra, and in the latter country cubes of beeswax.

In Western China and Thibet tea pressed into small, hard cubes, called "brick tea," passes current. Fiji Islanders have a currency in whales' teeth and one red one is of the same value as twenty white ones.

In passing from barter, or the use of vegetable or manufactured articles, to metallic coins as money, an evident attempt was made to connect the coin, either by shape or design, with the article it was supposed to represent. In China cloth and knives having to a certain extent been used as a standard of value, the earliest coins were made to resemble pieces of cloth or knives. In ancient Rome the substitution of coin for cattle was marked by impressing upon the coin a design of an ox or sow.

Coins being once invented, their utility was easily perceived and their use spread into all the channels of trade and greatly stimulated commerce.

The next step in the evolution was the use of token, or representative money, in place of the standard coins whose nominal value was coincident with their metallic value.

The transportation of any considerable amount of gold or silver coins was attended with a large amount of labor and risk, and this was obviated by depositing the coins in bank and transferring the title by means of a bill of exchange.

The Bank of Venice and the various banks of deposit in Europe are prominent milestones which mark the path of progress from primitive barter to an ideal financial

system. The experience thus gained aided in the further extension of the use of book accounts in transferring credits or offsetting debts.

The traders of medieval Europe had a method of offsetting debts that closely resembles the modern system of clearing checks by banks today. The great fairs that were formerly held all through Europe during the middle ages were attended by traders from many countries, who came with long caravans, and exchanged the merchandise manufactured in their country for the goods brought to the fair by the traders from other countries.

The retail trade in these fairs bore only a small proportion to the whole volume, the largest share of the trade being in bulk between traders. At the close of the fair they met in a large room for the purpose of settling their accounts. This was accomplished by mutually offsetting their debts and credits with each other, only the differences, which were usually small, being paid in cash. Boisguilbert tells of one fair held at Lyons, France, at the close of which debts to the amount of 80,000,000 francs were thus balanced against each other without the use of a single coin.

About the year 1775 or 1780, after the use of bank checks was introduced, the clerks of some of the London bankers instead of going to each bank to collect the money on the checks made an arrangement with each other to meet at a certain place and "swap" their checks, afterwards paying the difference only in cash. The safety and convenience of this method led a few of the London bankers—then all private bankers—to rent a room where their clerks could meet privately and exchange their checks, notes and bills. It was kept a profound secret from the public, and a number of bankers refused to join, as they believed it to be a very questionable business arrangement. But as time went on the economy of time, as well as work, together with the elimination of the risk consequent on uselessly transporting coins daily through the street from one bank to the other, and then back again, won the day, and since then the Clearing House has become a highly respectable institution.

The Clearing House, as at first established, was a great labor-saving institution, and saved the use of money between banks in the payment of checks, except for the

balances, which average only about 5 per cent of the total.

But even this 5 per cent is not now paid in the majority of Clearing Houses. In London all the member banks, and the Clearing House itself keep an account with the Bank of England, and the differences are settled by means of checks, which transfer the amounts from one account to the other on the books of the Bank of England.

It will thus be seen that the immense commerce of England is carried on by means of book accounts, bills of exchange, and checks, and these latter are paid and cancelled without the use of a single coin or bank bill. This also includes the country banks of England, who are also members and whose checks are cleared through the Clearing House.

The same is true to a large extent in this country. While in some Clearing Houses in America balances are presumably paid in cash, they are in a large number of cases "traded"—the banks having credit balances giving orders on the Clearing House to the debtor banks with which to pay their debit balances.

These orders are paid for by a cashier's check, which goes through the Clearing House the next day.

In the Philadelphia Clearing House no money whatever is used, as they have adopted the London system of paying balances by check. In the smaller towns the banks exchange checks with one another and the difference is settled by giving a bank draft on Chicago or New York. In times of panic the New York and Chicago Clearing Houses revert to the use of Clearing House certificates in place of money in paying balances.

It ought to be patent to any one watching the current of events that money in the generally accepted sense is becoming obso-

lete as a means of exchanging services or commodities. This work, formerly done with a vast amount of labor and risk, is now being done in an enormously increased volume, in a convenient, safe and economical manner, by means of book accounts, bills of exchange, checks and the clearing system.

The coins of America have almost entirely disappeared from circulation with the exception of the silver coins used in retail trade, and these are merely tokens and are worth as bullion only about one-half their nominal value. The same is true of the nickel five cent pieces and the copper cents. These coins are used merely as counters.

With the elimination of gold coins the last vestige of commodity money will have finally disappeared, at least so far as America is concerned.

Any commodity which fluctuates in value either from the effect of a diminishing or increasing supply, or from the increase or decrease in the cost of production, is a poor instrument by which to measure the relative exchange value of other commodities with itself or with each other.

The labor time necessary to produce an article will ultimately be the standard by which its exchange value will be estimated.

Any financial legislation in the future must be based on a full knowledge of the history of money and banking. It must be in harmony with the evolutionary tendencies ascertained by a study of their development. Society must be protected from disastrous results, such as were caused by errors in the past, so far as human intelligence can be depended upon.

Some day society will take the place of the capitalist as the organizer and director of industry, and then production can and will be carried on for use and not for profit.

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MATHEW SCHMIDT.



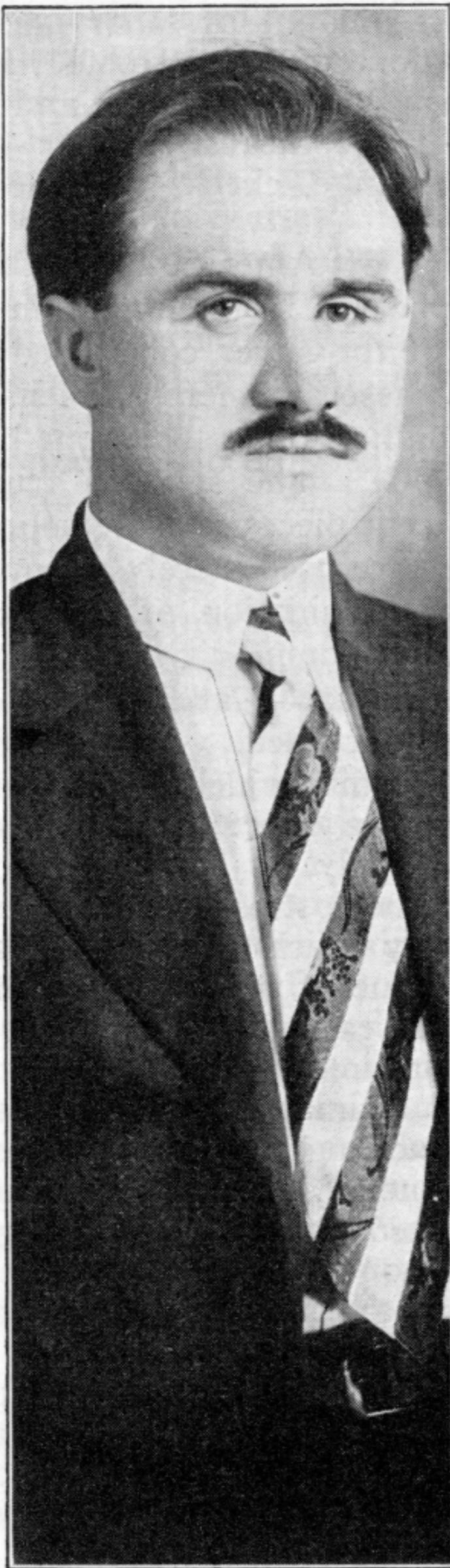
DAVID CAPLAN.

## A CALL TO WORKERS

*To Our Comrades and Friends, Everywhere:*

Many of you know us, many more do not. We feel that personal word from us to you, comrades and friends, known and unknown, will help to clarify our position, bring us closer to each other, and result in a more intimate understanding.

We are in the midst of a great struggle—in the warfare of the disinherited against those who have dispossessed them of the earth and of the sunshine of life. It is a brave continuous struggle, and it is growing more and more intense every day, for labor is being forced to fight for its very life.



MATHEW SCHMIDT.



DAVID CAPLAN.

This struggle has many phases, and in some of them we have had our part. Thus we have become hostages of the enemy, prisoners of the great social war. But not we as individuals only; rather as two soldiers of the labor hosts whom the fortunes of war have happened to place in the front of the battle.

Of this we are firmly convinced, comrades: It is *not* our individual fight, but the fight of the oppressed and exploited against the masters of life. It has been our honor to be selected by the enemy as their sacrificial offer to Mammon, in our persons to terrorize and still further to crush **regellius labor**.

Not that they will ever succeed in breaking the revolutionary spirit of the masses or extinguishing the eternal yearning for greater liberty and well-being. Humanity will go on and on in its great battle against tyranny and exploitation till the last chain has been struck from the last wage slave.

But to accomplish this great purpose of the ages it is necessary continuously to rouse the people to the consciousness of their wrongs and to awaken them to the tremendous power of their united, solidaric action.

Our case, among many others, presents a most valuable opportunity for such activity. For our case is in reality and fundamentally but a phase of the great labor drama, and when we stand before the bar of capitalism in the forthcoming trial in the courts of Los Angeles, it will not be only we, Caplan and Schmidt, who will be called upon to defend our devotion to labor and our enmity to capital, but in our persons it will be *militant labor on trial*.

Every victory of capital against labor means the greater oppression, the weakening and the discouragement of the workers. Speaking not as defendants, but quite impersonally as revolutionists, we say to you, comrades and friends, that to permit such a victory as in the recent case of John Lawson, of Colorado, means to commit a crime against the revolutionary proletariat. Intrenched capital will have but few such victories to boast of if the masses of militant labor will close ranks, forgetting their intellectual differences and personal disagreements, and thus present a united, invincible front to all the powers of darkness and oppression.

We therefore call upon you, comrades and friends, and upon all fellow-workers in the great cause of labor's emancipation, to raise your mighty voice throughout this land and to proclaim to the world in clear, clarion tones the liberating message of the determined solidarity of labor, **AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL**.

Not as Caplan and Schmidt do we sound this note. We speak as soldiers of the great social war, as members of the revolutionary international proletariat.

We beg no mercy from the enemy; we expect no justice from the exploiters of humanity. *We demand to be restored to labor*, that we may join the ranks of the workers fighting for the better day.

Fraternally,

(Signed) DAVID CAPLAN,  
MATHEW SCHMIDT.

Los Angeles, Calif., County Jail, June 30, 1915.

## HELP FREE THESE STEEL WORKERS

### *Fellow Workers:*

Can you hear the voices of these men coming from the depths of their prison cells. They are appealing to you to awaken and unite your strength. They are not asking this in their own behalf, but for yourselves. They realize that their fight is your fight. They are demanding that you understand this principle of labor as they know it. That "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The exploiters of Los Angeles, California, are the exploiters of the world. The struggle that is taking place there is a phase of the struggle that is going on everywhere.

In France, when Durand, the secretary of the Coal Heavers' Union, was sentenced to the guillotine for a murder that was committed two months after he had made a certain speech, the workers arose and said: "You must release our brother or we will

close down the industries of the nation." Fearful of a general strike, the masters of bread opened wide the prison doors and Durand stepped forth a free man.

What has been done in France can be done in this country. It will require direct action. The kind of action that the workers best understand.

If the United Mine Workers of America would say to the coal barons, "Release John Lawson or we will close down the coal mines," Lawson's freedom would be assured. If the workers of the nation would make the same demand in the case of Rangel and Cline, Joe Hill, Ford and Suhr, Caplan and Schmidt, the jail doors would swing outward and these members of the working class would again step into the sunlight of freedom.

The condition of the working class of Los Angeles is so deplorable that for many years organized labor has made a continuous effort to bring it up to the level of other parts of the state. It is a city of thieves and slaves, principally real estate dealers who have laid their snares for the unwary, and slaves who make the city beautiful for a wage that means a mere subsistence.

Other employers of California threatened to reduce the standard of living to that of

Los Angeles. The workers redoubled their energy that this should not be done.

The *Los Angeles Times*, the vilest sheet that was ever published, was the leader of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles. It bitterly reviled and attacked the labor organizations. One night it was destroyed. The McNamaras pleaded guilty, but only under great duress, and they were sentenced to prison. It was then understood that there should be no further prosecutions in this particular affair. But Caplan and Schmidt had been arrested for complicity. The Golden Rule is not effective where profits are concerned. The men in jail are opposed to a condition of society where profits and dividends are the result of human toil.

They are demanding of you that you stand shoulder to shoulder with them, in the great battles of the working class, where industrial freedom is the goal.

Caplan and Schmidt have been offered a minimum sentence in exchange for a plea of guilty. To this they have replied, "No; not even to get off with a \$10 fine."

There is something that you can do for these men. Do it and leave these words behind to indicate the reason:

**WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF  
CAPLAN AND SCHMIDT!**

Send all funds to Tom Barker, Room 201 Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.



## LET US PRINT YOUR BOOK

¶ If you wish to publish a book on any subject, get our advice before you close a printing contract.

¶ We buy choice book papers direct from the mills. We have favorable contracts with some of the best **Union** printing and binding houses in America. We have thirty years' experience in book-making. We can give you the **BEST** work at a fair price. We will, if desired, put your book into the hands of the important book-reviewers of the country. Address

**CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341 - 349 East Ohio Street, Chicago**

# SAVAGE SURVIVALS IN HIGHER PEOPLES

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

## IV.—THE ORIGIN OF HIGHER PEOPLES—(Continued).

### 9. How Different Races Arose.

It is not probable that original men were of various colors—some black and some white and some orange and some copper and some brown. It seems more likely that they were all alike, all one color, and that the different races have come about as a result of the different surroundings in which they have lived for so many thousands of years. There are reasons for believing that original men were dark in skin and hair, and rather animal-like in character and intelligence. The first men were very certainly not white. The animals most nearly related to man (and the ones from whom he has probably developed; i. e., the man-like apes), are *not white* animals but *dark*. The lower races of men are also prevaillingly dark, not white, in skin and hair. The difference in color, size, character, and mental ability which exist today have been caused by differences in climate, soil, food, and natural surroundings to which they have been subjected.

### 10. Infant and Advanced Races.

Some races have made great changes in their appearance and surroundings and nature and powers of mind, and are today very different from those far-off Lemurians who dwelt so long ago in that cradle land of India. Other races have been more fixed, and have remained more nearly in the early condition. We call these latter *savages*. Savages are more nearly people who are in the infant stages of human development. Most of the brown race are in this primitive condition of mankind. And a large part of the people of Africa are either in the savage stage or the stage of barbarism, which is intermediate between savagery and civilization. Some of the lowest Indian tribes were in the savage stage when first found by white peoples, but most of them were in the stage of barbarism. The race which has been most talented and enterprising and which has played the

most distinguished role in the affairs of the world has been the white race.

### 11. Ages of Mankind.

Man's first tools were probably of wood or stone. It doesn't require a high order of ingenuity to turn a limb of a tree into a club or a stone into a missile, but this is more ingenuity than most animals possess. Baboons will sometimes throw stones at their enemies, and an elephant will break off the branch of a tree and use it as a fly-brush. Wasps have been observed to use tiny pebbles as hammers in packing the dirt firmly into their burrows. But most sub-humans have no tools other than certain parts of their bodies which are adapted to certain ends.

Man's first inventions were not agricultural implements, but weapons. The greatest anxiety of original man was not how to get something to eat, but how to keep from being eaten. And so one of the very first things man did when he began to branch out in his career of world conquest was to arm himself.

The development of mankind has been divided into Ages or Stages, each Age representing a certain degree of advancement and culture. These Ages are often known as the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, so-called from the material which man used prevaillingly for his weapons and tools.

But a more helpful subdivision is the division into *Savagery*, *Barbarism*, and *Civilization*. The following nine stages made by Morgan in his "Ancient Society" are probably as good as any:

1. *Lower Savagery*, extending from the beginning of man to the invention of the art of fire-making and the acquisition of a fish diet.

During this stage the human species was small in numbers, and was restricted in habitat to a small area somewhere in the tropics. These children of nature were

very rude. They were the first rough-draughts of men and women. But they had one thing that no other animals on the earth at that time had, and that was a simple, spoken language. They could *talk* to each other.

Some of the tribes of the interior of Borneo and the Malay Peninsula are still in this lowest human stage.

2. *Middle Savagery*, from the invention of the art of fire-making and the acquisition of a fish diet to the invention of the bow and arrow.

It was during this stage that mankind spread from its original habitat, somewhere in tropical Asia or Africa, over a large portion of the earth. The ability to make fire artificially enabled men to leave the regions of perpetual warmth and spread to the colder parts of the earth. The spear and the club were probably the only important inventions men had made when they began to scatter over the world, that is, the only ones besides fire-making; because these are the only inventions common to all the races of men.

The native Australians and the most of the Polynesians were in this stage when discovered by the white race.

3. *Upper Savagery*, from the invention of the bow and arrow to the invention of the art of making pottery.

The invention of the bow and arrow was a very important one. It corresponds in importance to the invention of the sword during the period of barbarism and of fire-arms during the period of civilization.

Some of the lowest tribes of the American Indians were in the stage of Upper Savagery when first found by the white peoples.

4. *Lower Barbarism*, from the invention of pottery to the domestication of animals in the eastern hemisphere and the domestication of the corn plant in the western hemisphere.

The art of making pottery probably arose in connection with the art of cooking, and in its simplest beginnings consisted in merely coating wooden cooking vessels with clay to keep them from burning.

It is impossible for us to realize what hard conditions man has had to pass through in climbing to his present position of luxury and power. The Romans had no sugar. Washington never saw a stove. The people in the main part of the world never

had any potatoes, corn, tomatoes, peanuts, nor turkeys until after America was discovered. In very early ages men cooked with hot stones, in wooden cooking vessels. They put clay on these vessels to keep them from burning, and learned to harden it by fire, finally coming to use clay vessels altogether.

Most of the Indian tribes in the United States east of the Missouri river, and many of the tribes of Asia and Europe were in the stage of Lower Barbarism.

5. *Middle Barbarism*, from the domestication of animals in the East and of the corn plant in the West to the invention of the art of smelting iron ore and the use of iron tools.

The village Indians of Mexico, New Mexico, Central America, and Peru were in this stage when found by Europeans. So also were the Britons, the people who lived in Great Britain when the Angles and Saxons came over there, although the Britons had some knowledge of iron.

6. *Upper Barbarism*, from the smelting of iron ore and the use of iron tools to the invention of the alphabet.

The four events of pre-eminent importance in the period of Barbarism were the following: The invention of the process of smelting iron ore, the domestication of animals, the discovery of the cereals, and the use of stone in architecture. "The production of iron was the event of events in human experience, without a parallel and without an equal, beside which all other inventions and discoveries were subordinate or inconsiderable." (Morgan.) Some historians believe that mankind might have remained in the stage of Barbarism to the present day, if men had not learned how to produce this king of metals.

The Greek tribes of the age of Homer, the Italian tribes just before the founding of Rome, and the German tribes of the time of Caesar were in Upper Barbarism.

7. *Ancient Civilization*, from the invention of the alphabet to about 500 A. D. in European history.

8. *Medieval Civilization*, from about 500 A. D. to about 1500 A. D.

9. *Modern Civilization*, from about 1500 A. D. to the present time.

The period of Savagery was a very long one—much longer than the periods of Barbarism and Civilization taken together. If we take 300,000 years as the length of time

man has existed on the earth, then something like 200,000 of these years must be given to the period of Savagery. Men moved very slowly at first. Savages almost stand still. They have no ideas of *progress*. Their great anxiety is to do things as their ancestors did them. Only in the highest peoples of the earth do we find any real desire to progress, and only in a few individuals among these highest races.

## 12. The Occupations of Savages.

Among the higher races of men, the chief occupations are agriculture, stock-raising, manufacturing, mining, and commerce. These occupations are represented very feebly, if at all, among the lowest races of men. Savages live on the *wide world*—on the wild plants and the wild animals.

The chief occupations of savages are *hunting, fishing, and fighting*. The savage lives "from hand to mouth." He hasn't the understanding to look ahead to the future, and his means of production are too feeble to enable him to accumulate anything ahead even if he knew enough to do so.

Although the savage is without domesticated plants and animals, he is well supplied with *enemies*. The chronic condition of savage men is one of *war*. The savage is compelled constantly to defend himself not only against other men, but against wild animals by whom he is surrounded. He slays other animals both for food and in self-preservation. The larger and more dangerous flesh-eating animals are today swept from the earth. But this condition of things has come about only after a long and bloody struggle between human beings with their bows and arrows and spears, and the non-human beings with their teeth and claws.

Savages live in small groups called *tribes*, which are almost constantly at war with each other. The general condition of peace prevailing among higher men is unknown to savages. With savages war is the normal state, and peace the exception. The business of killing and of being killed is carried on by the *men*,—the women, for the most part, following other occupations.

Women are the drudges and burden-bearers among the savages. They do all the hard work. The condition of women among primitive peoples is everywhere deplorable and unhappy. The men are more powerful than the women, and they use

their superior strength to enslave women and to force upon them the hard and disagreeable tasks of life. The courtesy, respect, and protection shown to women among the higher human races are unknown among the lower races. The women of savages prepare the food and take care of the young. They act as pack animals for the tribe, and, if the tribe is intelligent enough to engage in agriculture, the women do the work in the fields.

The men look with contempt on women's work. An Eskimo will go out and kill a seal and bring it to shore near his tent. But, according to his way of thinking, it would be a disgrace for him even to pull the seal out of the water. That is woman's work. He probably feels about work of that kind much as we higher men feel about getting out a washing or cooking our own meals.

The hunting of water animals is called *fishing*. You can't hunt fishes on horseback nor with dogs. The most common method of fishing is by *deception*, by offering the fishes food or something that looks like food, and then, when they come to get it, arresting them by a hook concealed in the offering.

## 13. The Nature of Savages.

Lubbock in his "Origin of Civilization" cites hundreds of instances of savage rudeness and barbarity which seem almost unbelievable to one accustomed all his life to types of human character such as are found in Europe and America.

The following paragraph is about the Sioux Indians. It was written by a man who lived among them for a number of years, and knew them thoroughly:

"They are bigoted, barbarous, and exceedingly superstitious. They regard most of the vices of higher men as virtues. Theft, arson, rape, and murder are regarded by them as the means of distinction. The young Indian is taught from childhood that killing is the highest of virtues. In their dances and at their feasts the warriors recite their deeds of theft, pillage, and slaughter as precious things. And the highest ambition of a young Indian is to secure the "feather," which is the evidence of his having murdered or participated in the murder of some human being—whether man, woman, or child is immaterial."

"Conscience," says Burton, "does not ex-

ist in East Africa; and repentance simply expresses regret for missed opportunities for crime. Robbery makes the honorable man, and murder makes the hero."

When the Fuegians, who inhabit the southern extremity of South America, are hard pressed by want, they kill their old women rather than their dogs, saying: "Old women no use; dogs kill others."

"What," said a negro to Burton, "am I to starve while my sister has children whom she can sell?" The idea!—that he should go hungry so long as he had nieces and nephews who could be put on the market!

Speaking of the wild men in the interior of Borneo, Lubbock says:

"They live absolutely in a state of nature, neither cultivating the soil nor living in huts. They move about the woods like wild animals. When the children are old enough to shift for themselves, they usually separate, neither one afterwards thinking of the other. At night they sleep under some large tree whose branches hang low."

When the natives of Australia first saw pack oxen, some of them were frightened and took them for demons with spears on their heads, while others thought they were the wives of the settlers because they carried the baggage.

Savages cry easily and are afraid of the dark; they are fond of pets and toys; they have weak wills and feeble reasoning powers; they are notoriously fickle and unreliable, and exceedingly given to exaggeration of their own importance—in all of these particulars being much like the children of the higher races of men.

Richard says of the Dogrib Indians: "However great the reward they were to receive at the end of their journey, they could not be depended on to carry letters. Any slight difficulty, a prospect of a good meal, or a sudden impulse to do this or that, was enough to turn them aside for an indefinite length of time."

A writer, speaking of the wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula, says that they are always restless and always seem to think that they would be better off in some other place than the one they are in at the time. Like children, they almost always act impulsively, being rarely guided by reflection.

Of the South Sea Islanders, it is said that they express any strong passion that affects them by crying, and, like children, seem to forget their tears as soon as they

are shed. A New Zealand chief is said to have, "cried like a child because the sailors soiled his favorite cloak by spilling flour on it."

Captain Cook says that the king and queen of Tahiti amused themselves with two large dolls. And according to Burton the Negro kings of Western Africa generally "are delighted with toys, rubber faces, and other trinkets such as would be acceptable to a child of eight—which the Negro is."

Like the child, the savage is exceedingly variable, and chameleonic in his nature, being driven hither and thither by whatever feelings and impulses happen along from time to time. He is governed by individual emotions, which successively depose one another, instead of by a council of the emotions. The nature of the savage is a series of emotional despotisms, instead of a republic presided over by reason.

#### 14. The Understanding of Savages.

To the savage, things are what they *seem* to be. He does not look below the surface to find *causes*. He explains things as a child would explain them. The sun actually rises and sets, as it seem to do. The winds are living things. Diseases are caused by evil spirits which get into the bodies of the sick and drive out the natural spirits. Dreams are real experiences which the soul goes through in its wanderings outside the body when the body is asleep. A man's shadow or his image reflected in the water is a real part of himself. Savages are very reluctant about having their picture taken, because they believe that the picture is something that has been extracted from themselves. The Basutos (Africa) are very careful when they walk along a river not to let their shadow fall into the water, for fear the crocodile will get it, and by means of the shadow drag them into the river and eat them.

Thunder, among savages, is often regarded as an actual deity or as the voice of a deity. "One night," says Tanner, "an Indian chief became much alarmed at the violence of the storm and got up and offered some tobacco to the thunder, begging it to stop."

To the mind of the savage every object has a spirit, and this spirit causes the object to do whatever it does. A watch is a living thing. The ticking of the watch is believed

to be caused by the spirit of the watch. The howl of the wind is the voice of the wind—the voice of something alive. When a tree falls in the forest, the savage believes that a spirit gets inside the tree and throws it down. And if the tree happens to fall on him he believes that the spirit has a grudge against him, and hurled the tree in his direction on purpose. The savage knows nothing of *natural law*, nothing of chemistry and physics, nor physiology. When fire burns a piece of wood, it is the understanding of the savage that the substance of that piece of wood goes out of existence.

There are good spirits and bad spirits, the bad spirits being supposed to be more numerous and energetic than the good spirits. The good spirits are believed by the savage to be on his side, and the bad spirits are the ones he is all the time trying either to outwit or to gain the favor of. When he has had a good day's hunting or has won a victory over his enemies, he credits his success to the aid of the good spirits. On the other hand, when he fails in his undertakings, or has some accident, or gets sick, he believes that his misfortunes are caused by evil spirits. The great problem with the savage is the problem of dealing successfully with these two different kinds of spirits, which haunt him and hover over him and dog his footsteps day and night from his cradle to his grave.

The practice of medicine among savages is based on the theory that disease is caused by the displacement of one spirit by another, the usurping spirit being a demon or evil spirit. There are no microbes among savages. Instead of antitoxins, savage doctors use tom-toms and bitter medicines. Their task is "to cast out" the evil spirit that has wormed its way into their patient. And they do it either by making loud noises and scaring the intruder out, or by pouring vile drugs into the patient and in this way making it so unpleasant for the demon that it will move on.

When any one dies, the savage believes that the spirit of the dead hangs around the place where the body is buried for some time. The notion of "haunted houses" and of the prevalence of "ghosts" about graveyards is a modern survival of this old savage theory of spirits.

*Witchcraft* is common everywhere among primitive men. A *witch* is a person who by

means of charms or magic words is supposed to be able to invoke the enmity of evil spirits on whomsoever he wishes. And the power supposed to be exercised by witches is called witchcraft. Even within historic times witch-hunting has been an honorable business. Witchcraft was one of the worst superstitions that ever afflicted the human mind. And it was not until comparatively recent times that it was finally shaken off. The writings of Shakespeare indicate that it was universally believed in in his day. The people of Salem, Mass., considered it undeniable for a time: and witches were legally executed in the city of Mexico as late as 1873.

Many savage races cannot comprehend numbers greater than 5 or 6, and are unable to solve the simplest mathematical problems without using the fingers. A savage can't do mental arithmetic. He hasn't the machinery.

The mind of the savage is concrete. It is able to deal with actual things only. Abstract ideas, such as those of numbers, are foreign to the simple sense intelligence of the savage. "They puzzle very much after five in counting," says a writer in speaking of the Demora negroes, "because no spare hand remains to grasp and secure the fingers that are required for units. Yet they seldom lose oxen. The way they discover the loss of one is not by the number of the herd being diminished, but by the absence of a face they know. When bartering is on, each sheep must be paid for separately. Thus, suppose two sticks of tobacco to be the price of one sheep. It would sorely puzzle a Damora for one to take two sheep and give him four sticks." This same writer says in another place: "A Damora may know the road perfectly from A to B, and again from B to C, but he would have no idea of a straight cut from A to C."

A study of the implements and weapons of savages show that these implements and weapons have been the products of many thousands of years of improvements. They have not been invented. They have arisen by small modifications which were made from time to time, largely by accident. The natural selection of the best of these implements has led to the various appliances, without any distinct invention of them.

(To be continued)

# SENTENCED TO BE SHOT—ACT QUICK!

## *Fellow Workers:*

The exploiting class of Utah are determined that Joe Hill shall be executed. Our fellow-worker has made himself obnoxious to them. His message of solidarity resounds in their ears.

The Supreme Court of Utah has affirmed the action of the district court and Joe Hill will soon again be sentenced to death.

The decision says in part:

"Thus, on review of the record we are satisfied that there is sufficient evidence to support the verdict; that the record is free from error, and that the defendant had a fair and impartial trial, in which he was granted every right and privilege vouchsafed by the law. Hence does it follow that the judgment of the court below must be affirmed. Such is the order."

This was rendered after Judge Hilton's appeal to the court wherein he shows that the state failed to establish a case against Joe Hill; the prosecution failed to show a motive for the crime; the defendant was not identified by any witnesses; he was convicted on the flimsiest kind of circumstantial evidence.

During the course of the trial Joe Hill discharged the attorneys that had been appointed for him, but the judge retained them, thus refusing the man counsel and denying him the privilege of conducting his own defense.

As a result of these methods of the court he was convicted and sentenced to death. The state of Utah is the one state in the Union that gives a condemned man the choice of either being shot or hanged. Fellow-Worker Hill chose to be shot. His case was then appealed.

The decision of the higher court has now been rendered. The case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court. But in the interim action is necessary. The fellow-workers of Joe Hill, his friends and sympathizers, should direct their demands to the board of pardons of Utah. Letters, telegrams, petitions and protests should be sent to that board.

Do not neglect to write to Governor Spry of the board of pardons as each appeal for clemency will have its weight.

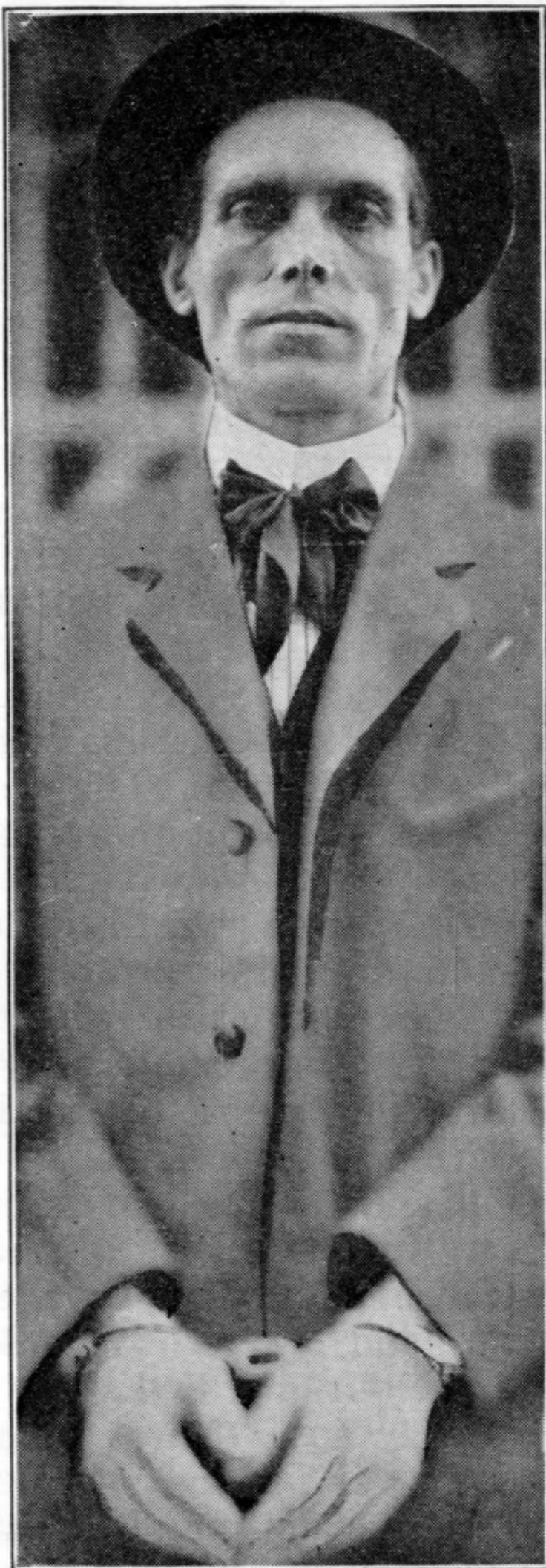
Your letters should be forceful and convincing, couched in earnest language, but not threatening, as that may do more harm than good. Economic pressure will be used wherever possible. Get up a petition.



JOE HILL.

Do something to save the life of Joe Hill. Send funds to George Child, treasurer Joe Hill Defense Fund, 215 East First South street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

WM. D. HAYWOOD,  
General Secretary-Treasurer,  
Industrial Workers of the World.



JOE HILL.

# THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

By CARRIE W. ALLEN

THE European war has proven that resonant resolutions are not enough to prevent war. To found an International that will endure the shock of a war crisis, the Socialists must be prepared with a plan of action—International action—to be used in advance of an outbreak of war.

With this thought in mind I crossed the Place de la Concorde and went over the Seine to the Chamber of Deputies to have a talk with Jean Longuet, deputy from the district of the Seine.

Longuet happens to be a grandson of Karl Marx, father of the International, and is one of the most able of French intellectuals. That he is a popular member of the Chamber could scarcely be doubted, for when the sargeant called his name it was evident that half the visitors in the ante-room were waiting to see him. I was ushered into the reception room with convalescent soldiers, women in deep mourning, and others. As soon as Deputy Longuet had given attention to his visitors, he turned to give a cordial greeting to the woman from America.

Before beginning the interview, he called my attention to a large painting which occupies the space on one side of the reception room. Curiously, the only painting that has ever been made of the French Chamber of Deputies shows Jean Jaures in the speaker's stand in the midst of one of his impassioned utterances—Jaures, whose matchless oratory so often held the Chamber spell-bound; Jaures, whose life went out because of his anti-militarist principles; Jaures, whose last public speech was marked by these words: "The only treaty we are bound to respect is that which binds us to the human race."

The spirit of Jaures seemed to be upon Jean Longuet, as he spoke most earnestly to me of the present necessity of laying the groundwork if we are to have an International after the war is over. As Longuet's position is that of most of the Socialists whom I met in Europe, and of many German Socialists also, I shall give both questions and Longuet's replies in order to make that position quite clear:

"Mr. Longuet, do you consider that the fact that Germany alone was ready for the war is proof of the guilt of the Prussian dictators of Germany's foreign policy?"

Longuet replied, "The fact that Germany was more ready than any of her opponents is, to a large degree, a proof of the guilt of the 'powers that be' in Germany. They had for a long time made up their minds to make war, having, as Bernhardt puts it, the 'right' and 'the duty' to make war."

"Do you believe that Germany today, under the domination of the Prussian Junkers, is the most powerful autocracy in the world?"

"I do not know if Germany is the most powerful autocracy in the world; Russia may be a more autocratic country, but her governmental machine has not reached the perfection of Germany's."

"Do you think that the Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag betrayed the principles of International Socialism when they voted the war credits?"

Mr. Longuet said slowly and with deliberation, "I think that when the war came the Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag were desperately weak if not traitors to Socialism. We all understand that they may have been deluded by the artful talk of the government about defending the Fatherland. But, at any rate, they ought to have raised an energetic protest against the violation of Belgium's territory, against the secret diplomacy's tricks, and the whole criminal business. Unfortunately they have not done it."

"Do you think the Socialists of France and of England would have fought as a unit against the war if the German Social-Democrats had fought against the ruling class in Germany making a war?"

Longuet replied quickly, "Naturally, if the Socialists of Germany had tried a revolutionary movement—say a general strike—against war and its promoters, similar movements would have broken out all over Europe and in the allied countries, especially in England and France. The greatest difficulty to such a movement (as was embodied in the Kier Hardie-Vaillant resolu-

tion at the Copenhagen International Congress in 1910) had always been the opposition of Germany's Socialist Party."

"Do you think a victory for Germany would mean a setback for all democratic movements in Europe?"

Very decidedly the answer came: "I think with the London Conference of the Socialists of the Allied Countries that 'a victory for German Imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe.'"

"Do you not think that in case the war lasts two or three years the German proletariat will start a revolution in Germany?"

Jumping to his feet and with a swift movement of his hands, peculiar to the French, Longuet said: "It is absolute nonsense to speak of the war lasting two or three years. Before six months all Europe will be exhausted. I think that a revolutionary movement will most probably begin in Germany after the war is finished, not before, as the people will think that such a movement is impossible so long as the country's safety may be jeopardized."

"Do you think that if the masses in Germany should start a revolution now that the masses in France and England and Russia would also revolt to end the war?"

Longuet replied regretfully, "If only there was a strong democratic movement in Germany acting against the government, not speaking of a purely revolutionary movement, it would be possible for the Socialist and advanced people in France and England to act in favor of peace."

"If there is no revolution, and the war goes on until poverty is intense all over Europe, do you not think that progress will be checked for many years?"

"I think that whatever may be the result of this abominable war, the prosperity of the nations will be checked for years."

"Since the war has shown how strong the Nationalist spirit is in all peoples, what can we do to build an International that will not again fail?"

With a wide sweep of his hands, Longuet quickly said: "The International has not failed as you say, but was not strong enough

more especially in Germany, even with its huge army of 6,000,000 voters. The German Social-Democracy's lack of a revolutionary spirit has been the great misfortune, while the revisionist wing, with men like Sudekum, Wolfgang Heine and Legien, had lost all notion of real Internationalism and had become Nationalist Social Reformers."

"Do you think the German Social-Democratic Party should be given seats in the New International if it continues to support the action of its members who voted the war credits?"

Very definitely and decidedly Longuet replied: "I think that before meeting again the International movement will demand from the German Socialists a serious washing of its dirty linen. It may be that a division will come inside the German movement. If it does, the International movement will recognize as being the only *bona fide* German Socialists those of the Leibknecht, Ledebour and Clara Zetkin wing."

Jean Longuet is not the only Socialist who continues to assert that the International did not fail. They may assert this over and over again, but the fact remains that the Nationalist spirit is hideously triumphant in Europe today, and Socialists of every one of the warring nations are at the front fighting against their comrades. The International failed! It is necessary for Socialists to bravely recognize that fact if they would build a New International that will not again so ignominiously fail.

Not only must the New International be founded upon a revolutionary platform, but line upon line, precept upon precept, it must teach the world of men a higher ideal than patriotism. And this ideal must be backed up by a program for concerted action, a program so well understood that the next time the diplomats and military men shall call upon the people to defend the unholy treaties and alliances that they have made, the Socialists of Germany shall clasp hands with the Socialists of every other nation and shall say and, if necessary, shall lay down their lives saying: "The only treaty we are bound to respect is that which binds us to the human race."

Paris.

# The Coming Government Ownership

By PAUL WHALEY

**S**Ocialists of this country with but few exceptions feel that the present war has smashed utterly the hope of Socialism. Or at best it has given a serious setback to our movement. They feel that the German Socialists have betrayed the movement and that we should apologize for the acts of their comrades in the Reichstag.

Such sentiments prevailing so extensively among American Socialists make the American Socialist movement appear hopelessly theoretical in its conceptions of international affairs. Isolated from the virile stream of social evolution, we have grown provincial in our ideas. We are incapable of appreciating the real significance of the all-absorbing social issues of the twentieth century. Our ideas justify the opinion expressed of us by Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, that we are "A Nation of Villagers."

**THE PRESENT WAR HAS ALREADY DONE MORE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIALISM THAN ALL OUR PROPAGANDA FOR THE PAST SIXTY YEARS. IT HAS COMPELLED THE NATIONS INVOLVED UNDER THE PRESSURE OF MILITARY NECESSITY TO ADOPT POLICIES THAT LEAD INEVITABLY TO SOCIALISM.**

The real aim of Socialism is to establish a better method than Capitalism for the production and distribution of the necessities of life; to produce the things people need so the world may support a larger population, and to distribute the product in a way that all may enjoy a decent human life. Under the influence of this inspiring idea all the classics of our science and philosophy were written, and to establish this among the nations of the earth is that for which the international socialist movement is now striving.

Is the war, now raging in Europe, hastening the coming of the new and better method of production and distribution, or is it not? I shall show that the nations of Europe are in the grasp of social forces that are hurling them irresistibly onward to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Consider for a moment the growth of Government Ownership in the European countries—a process that is slowly centralizing the industries of those nations in the hands of the government. This movement is farther advanced in Germany than in any other country of the world. And since the beginning of the present war the process has gone ahead so fast that today the government practically controls the industrial life of the empire. Recently that government assumed control of the nation's foodstuffs and by doing so has been able to set at naught the attempt of the Allies to starve her into submission.

Early in the war the governments of both England and France were compelled to take under their control the railroads of their respective countries so that they might transport their troops and move the enormous amounts of military supplies **WITHOUT PAYING HUGE PROFITS TO THE OWNERS OF THESE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.** The next difficulty that confronted them was to supply their armies with sufficient arms and ammunition. The means for producing these articles being woefully inadequate, they were forced to take over machine shops, etc. But still the production of these military necessities lagged behind the needs of the armies. Since then they have pressed into the service of the nation the bulk of the privately owned machinery, and now comes the admission of England that it will require eight months before she can produce arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities to satisfy the needs of her army.

In Russia the inroads of the government on the rights of private capital were backward at first, but since the recent Russian defeats along her thousand-mile battle front, she promises to go farther in Government Ownership than any other nation. Russia has created a "Munitions Board" and given them **VIRTUALLY UNRESTRICTED CONTROL OVER ALL PRIVATE INDUSTRIES IN RUSSIA.** "The celerity with which this board was created and confirmed in its powers is absolutely astounding."

We thus see that the present war has given a powerful impetus to Government Ownership, known to Socialists as State Capitalism. Under the pressure of economic necessity, the governments of Europe, from the standpoint of the private capitalist, seem to have gone mad. The economic significance of these radical changes in the attitude of the governments toward the ownership of the national industries is very simple.

It means that a nation operating her industries under one head, the government, is vastly superior to a nation still retaining the old method of private ownership. And that in a clash, military or commercial, between a nation having State Capitalism and one having Private Capitalism, the former will survive because of its superior adaptation to the social environment of the twentieth century.

For in the latter country the activities of the government are harassed on all sides by the conflicting interests of the private owners of the social capital. Each of these private capitalists views all operations of the government from the standpoint of its effects on his particular business. While he may at times threaten the very existence of his own capital to put a competitor out of the running, he refuses to recognize that the government may be under a similar necessity in regard to a rival nation.

On the other hand, in a nation having State Capitalism all these difficulties are removed. Here the government is the industrial capitalist, and in a position to appreciate the steps that must be taken to preserve its business. And just as the individual capitalist sometimes brings himself to the verge of ruin to put a formidable rival out of business, so the national capitalist assumes obligations of billions to do likewise with a national rival. (But the main advantage enjoyed by this country is that it has eliminated all the wastes and extravagances of private capitalism. It produces commodities vastly cheaper and greatly superior to a country organized on the old plan. And CHEAPNESS OF COMMODITIES IS THE SOCIAL VARIATION THAT MAKES FOR SURVIVAL UNDER CAPITALISM.)

Finally, the most significant of all the meanings of these radical innovations of the various governments is, that State Capitalism is the next stage of social evolu-

tion, at least in the European countries; it means that the old system of privately-owned capital has passed away forever along with the social conditions of production to which it was adapted. Capital in the hands of individuals has fought its battle, has contributed its share to progress. It has trustified the industries of the various nations, and now it must stand aside. The next step in economic evolution is the Trustification of the World.

But each nation in entering this World Trust must do so as a solid economic unit. Before it is eligible to membership it must Trustify its Trusts, it must organize its industries under one head, the government. Having done this, it attends the congress of nations to form the World Trust and says, "I have here a capital valued at so many billion dollars, I demand a territory of the earth for my exclusive exploitation, in proportion to the ratio of my capital to the total capital of this combination."

"But," some will say, "this policy of Government Ownership is only a temporary expedient, to be abandoned on the cessation of hostilities." "The capitalists of England entered into an iron-bound contract, the government agreeing to return the industries to their former owners at the close of the war." This only expresses the fact that the idea of the necessity of State Capitalism is being forced on them by the very conditions of capitalistic production.

At the close of the war the governments of the warring powers will be deeply in debt, more so than ever before in their history. Their combined expenses for military purposes now averages around \$50,000,000 per day and at the end of the war the national debts will be so colossal that the governments will face ruin with but one alternative, which is TO OPERATE THE INDUSTRIES THEMSELVES AND PAY THEIR OBLIGATIONS OUT OF THE PROFITS. No great difficulty will be experienced in doing this, because the governments will have the bulk of the industries in their grasp. In the general depression resulting from the war, this solution, being the only one, will suggest itself naturally and be adopted as a matter of course. Some commotion will be raised by the dispossessed capitalists, but they will be compelled to content themselves with their bonds.

Thenceforth the policy of State Capitalism will be rapidly extended, and the government will ultimately own all the industries. Capitalism concentrated under one head will be in the best possible position for conquest by the revolutionary movement. For the first time the Socialist political party will be in a position to control through the government the policies of industry because the directing head, the government, will own them.

Behind the governmental capitalist will be the class of bondholders, the former owners of the industries. They will insist on the same share of the social product as of old, but their power to compel the old division of the surplus value will be greatly diminished, while, on the other hand, the revolutionary movement will be in line for rapid rise to power. David Schoonmaker, in an article in the *Century Magazine*, has shown how the co-operative idea is being rapidly developed through the associations of the army. How the soldiers are being won to the co-operative way of doing things through the efficacious way their wants are attended to while in the employ of their government. How much more fertile will this field for the development of Socialist ideas be when all society is organized on this same plan. The Socialist movement will grow at an unprecedented rate and as the power of the revolutionary movement develops and expands that of the bondholders will decline and ultimately vanish.

Hence the policy of Government Ownership growing directly out of the present war is a potent agent of social evolution, let us recognize it as such. It leads inevitably to the elimination of the capitalist. It is the "Expropriation of the Expropriators," as Marx would say.

This, then, is the gloomy prospect for the future of Socialism which is developing out of the present war. Gloomy, indeed, it is true. But for whom? The capitalist, of course.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have now sketched the leading facts in the development of Capitalism in the European countries, showing that State Capitalism will grow directly out of the present war, thus greatly accelerating the coming of Socialism. In the United States the signs are still more hopeful for the revolutionary movement than in Europe. State

Capitalism is already upon them, while this stage of capitalistic evolution bids fair from present indication to be but a passing phenomenon in the industrial life of the United States. Its duration will depend on the attitude the American capitalists assume toward it, and on the capacity of the Socialist movement to rise to the occasion when their opportunity presents itself.

Out of the world war will come a WORLD TRUST with the United States left out. We will be left out because our industries are not organized on the governmental plan. The governments forming the World Trust have State Capitalism and they cannot deal in a business way with a nation whose industries are owned and controlled by a host of private individuals. In a word, private ownership of capital is incompatible with the World Trust.

Nor is there any inclination on the part of the American capitalists to adopt State Capitalism; no national calamity has yet arisen to compel them to see it. They see no reason for allying themselves with the World Trust. They feel perfectly capable of competing with it for the world market. Secure in the possession of vast natural resources and vast undeveloped territory on this continent, they intend to exploit this virgin country with the old style private capital.

And it is out of this mistaken policy of American capital that the calamity necessitating the reorganization of our social capital will come. The World Trust will easily be able to hold their present possession on this continent, in fact, they can and will extend those possessions somewhat. And they will take away our foreign trade with Europe at one swoop. For the World Trust, jealous of and fearing the potential capacity of the United States, will do all in its power to cripple us.

Privately owned capital in the United States will struggle and squirm in all directions in the vain attempt to survive, only to be blocked at every turn by the superior economic power of the World Trust. But just as the Meat Trust and the Oil Trust, through the ability to produce their respective commodities cheaper than their competitors, forced them to the wall, so will the World Trust, through the higher organization of its social capital, in conjunction with its vast political might, reduce the United States to the verge of bankruptcy.

Our industries will close down, the workers will be out of work and starving, and discontent will be everywhere. Our only escape from destruction will lie in reorganizing our social capital by raising its organic composition.

And it is during the process of this reorganization of society that the opportunity of the revolutionary movement will come. If we have carefully prepared for this chance we may seize the reins of government and establish, not State Capitalism, which would only put us on an equality with the advanced nations of the earth, but to establish Socialism, which would place us in the lead of the world's civilization, towering in economic strength over the nations of the earth, just as Germany, through the superiority of its industrial organization, now towers above them.

Thus the outlook for the Socialist movement of the United States is most hopeful. Already the battle lines of International Capital are being drawn for its supreme struggle. And as the lines tighten about the nations of the earth the revolutionary movement prepares itself for the shock. During the course of the battle the outcome may oftentimes seem to be in doubt. But at the conclusion of the strife capitalism will be found on the descending slope of its brief and brilliant career. And looming bright and inspiring above the carnage of the past will stand THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES, the winner, as oft predicted, in the race of the nations toward the Socialist ideal.

## The Socialist Argument

By CHARLES C. HITCHCOCK

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# EDITORIAL

## NO BABIES!

THE REVIEW received an illuminating letter from a young married woman this month in which she declares:

"I am an intelligent young married woman aged 26. My husband is a draughtsman, earning \$28 a week. We are both extremely fond of children—so fond indeed that we have made up our minds never to have any children of our own. We have come to this decision after mature deliberation. In Europe we see hundreds of thousands of sons and fathers being slain for the benefit of the exploiting class and in our 'own country' we see thousands of children, of men and women dying every year because they have not had proper food, shelter and clothing. It seems to us that the human race is killing itself off very fast these times, either through war or preventable disease or through poverty, and we have decided that we may as well begin putting an end to such a 'civilization' right now.

"There are thousands of homeless orphans being cared for in the United States by charitable organizations, and to those whose hearts hunger for babies we would suggest that they refrain from bringing any more children into the world and help to educate and care for those already here. If young married couples belong to the working class, 90 per cent of the children they may bring into the world will be doomed to lives of poverty, suffering, crime and death, because of the profit system under which we exist. We think it is our duty, and your duty also, to cease becoming partners to the crime of forcing children into a world that holds only so horrible an outlook for the offspring of the people who produce the world's wealth. We are not going to help the outrage along; we are not going to be accessories before the fact. We are not going to rear sons and then howl because they are used to murder and be murdered by the sons of other workingmen and women.

"Workingmen have no real homes. What we may call homes are only a poor pretense at the best and the sooner they are broken up the better it will be for us and for future generations. The monied world

has grown mad over PROFITS. It will have profits although the sons and daughters of workingmen and women die like flies in tenements, in factories and mines, on the railroads and in world wars. Of late especially in Europe, it has become the fashion for the capitalist class to urge the necessity of child-bearing upon the women. It seems that the employers of labor want more soldiers, more laborers, more human beings to fight their battles and increase their profits.

"Well, this is the reply of Henry O. Petersen and wife to the masters' plea for more babies: We will produce no fodder for your cannons, no slaves for your mines and mills, no women for your houses of prostitution, no youths forced into crime by poverty—to crowd your jails and asylums!

"You believe in race suicide through poverty and disease, through prisons and prostitution and WAR; we advocate race suicide by BIRTH PREVENTION. We may end in a pauper's grave. The chances are ninety-nine to a hundred that we will, but our children—never! Because we are not going to have any children. We are not going to bring a single child into the world to make profits for the capitalist class.

"Listen, you capitalist enemy! We are going to devote our strength to the army of revolution that will some day wipe the parasitical class from the face of the earth. And we are not going to have any little folks causing us to compromise, to remain silent, to quibble in order to secure food and clothing for them. And we are going to urge every intelligent workingman and woman in this country and in every country to stop having children until we can make a fit world for them to be born into."

We had intended to comment upon this letter editorially, but on reading over the above excerpts we have come to the conclusion that these young folks have spoken very well for their own case. If the ruling powers are bent on the destruction of the workers of the world, why not nip disaster in the bud and stop manufacturing laborers? The comrades Petersen have certainly given us something to think about.

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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**German Socialists a Year Later.**—The August REVIEW will appear on the first anniversary of the beginning of the war. A year ago Austria insisted on holding court in Serbia, and Germany refused to make a promise to keep out of Belgium. Then, on August 4, the Socialists voted the special war budget. That was a year ago, but it seems like a century.

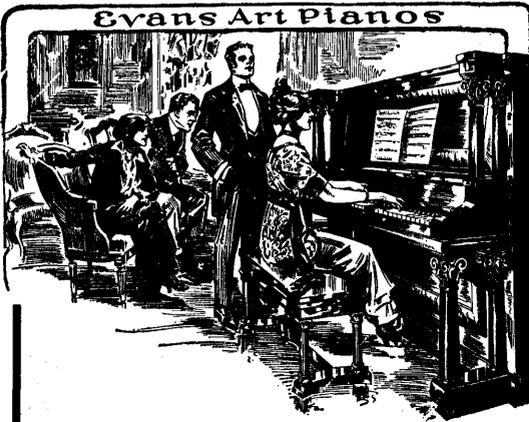
Since then the world has got a new meaning for the old word war. It means now millions of men soaking in trenches, groaning in hospitals, rotting in the rain. It means three nations in a pit with eight nations closing in around them. It means such a destruction of life and property as Attila never dreamed of.

While this has been going on Socialists have got used to horrors, and gradually they have applied their philosophy to the new situations. In most countries this process did not necessitate any profound change. In all neutral countries, and in England, Italy and Russia the great majority of Socialists opposed the war from the beginning. In many instances they have been mobbed and imprisoned, but they have been true to their principles. In France and Belgium national life was reduced to a primitive condition by the necessity for defense against imminent physical danger. In both of these countries political parties disappeared, just as they would in the face of a flood or an earthquake. And since the danger has not been removed, the results of it have remained. The Socialist parties of France and Belgium have not emerged. They have not changed their view of events since the beginning of the war. Or, rather, at the beginning they gave of their group view and they have not recovered it.

German Socialism has had a more varied and interesting history during this eventful year. We were given to understand that on August 4 the Social Democratic Party supported the government unanimously. Then there were rumors of a stubborn minority which opposed this policy but was silenced because of a rule which compelled the representatives to vote as a body. On December 2 the same thing occurred. In March two Socialist deputies voted against the government and a third of the Socialists withdrew before the vote was taken. By this time we knew of local organizations which had rebelled and of radical groups which were getting in touch with the Socialists of other nations. Then came copies of *The International*, which showed that many of the most trusted leaders of German Socialism were in open opposition to the war and to the policy of the Socialist Party. It became clear that about a third of the party members were true to the principles of Socialism as held before the outbreak of hostilities. And as the party representatives in the Reichstag offered from time to time to define the position of the group they became more and more critical of purposes and methods of the war party. On May 29, after the entrance of Italy, they declared against territorial conquest and in favor of Germany's making overtures of peace. At the same time there appeared in their journals, notably in *Die Neue Zeit*, articles in favor of reestablishing the international Socialist movement on its former basis. The authors were evidently conscious of the fact that the Germans would be looked upon with suspicion, and argued as plausibly as possible in favor of starting all over again as though nothing had

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happened. Evidently defending the Fatherland does not give them permanent satisfaction.

Now comes final proof that the party as a whole is getting back on Socialist ground—or trying to. On June 26 there was published in *Vorwaerts* an official peace manifesto drawn up by the party executive. It takes the ground that in the beginning Germany was attacked, but that this is no longer true and that therefore the Socialists are justified in making a change of front. In fact, in the very beginning they demanded that "as soon as guarantees of national safety are secured \* \* \* the war be brought to an end." "This demand," the manifesto proceeds, "which was accompanied by an expression disapproving of any policy of conquest, was repeated when the new war loan was voted on December 2. On May 29, after Italy had intervened, the statement was made in the Reichstag in behalf of the Socialist Party that the desire for peace was increasing and that the Socialists wanted no policy of conquest. At a meeting in Vienna on April 12 and 13, representatives of the German and Austro-Hungarian Socialist Parties again adopted a resolution in favor of peace. But the German Socialists have not been content with such measures. In spite of opposition and suspicion, they have striven for a renewal of international relations with the Social Democrats of all countries, and when the executive committee of the International Socialist organization made a proposal to hold a meeting at The Hague to discuss the possibility of peace negotiations, the German Socialist leaders agreed, upon condition that the French Socialist Party participate. All efforts at an international agreement, however, were thwarted by the attitude of the French Socialists. \* \* \*

"The people want no conquest of land; they want peace. If the war is not to go on indefinitely until all the nations are completely exhausted, some one of the powers involved must stretch out the hand of peace. \* \* \* We expect of our fellow-Socialists in other belligerent countries that they will make the same demand upon their own governments."

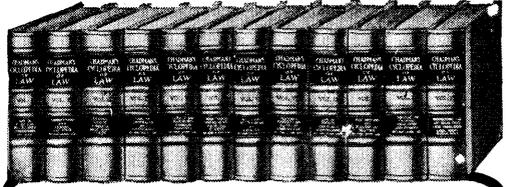
From our point of view this manifesto is a discouraging document. The Ger-

mans were never more attacked than they are at the present moment. If the majority of German Socialists are now for peace they must acknowledge that they were wrong when they supported the German lunge into the heart of France. Any reconciliation between them and the Socialists of the rest of the world must at least be based on facts.

Another phase of German Socialist activity is discouraging. From the beginning the representatives of the majority group have made dishonorable use of the anti-war declarations of English, Italian and Russian Socialists. The Independent Labor Party denounced the secret diplomacy of Earl Gray. "Behold," said the German Socialists, "we are right in going into the war, for the English Socialists say their government is wrong." The logic at the base of this argument seems to be that if one capitalist government is wrong the other must be right. The latest and most amazing application of the method of reasoning occurred in the Reichstag on May 29. Speaking for the Socialist group concerning their attitude toward the war against Italy, Deputy Cebert said: "Italy is carrying on, not a war of defense, but one of conquest. In this view we find ourselves in agreement with our brave comrades in Italy, who did their utmost, even in parliament, to ward off this disaster from their country." Instead of following the example of their "brave Italian comrades," Cebert and his fellows made it an excuse for doing the opposite. If the Italians are "brave," what adjective would describe Germans who make such use of bravery?"

This is not set down in the REVIEW with the purpose of arousing sentiment against our German comrades. For the one-third of German Socialists who have remained true during the terrible stress of the year that has passed, the author of these paragraphs has the profoundest admiration. But as for the others, they have grievously wronged their comrades, and these facts are set down to show that they have as yet experienced no real change of heart. Mere talk will never regain our confidence.

**Italian Socialists Against the War.**—It must be remembered that the ruling class of Italy has just as much excuse for en-



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tering the war as has any other ruling class. And this excuse is one which appeals to the popular mind. When Italian liberation from Austria was brought about back in the sixties, three sections of Italian territory lying north and east of the Adriatic were not included. Ever since those days Italians have yearned toward these "irredenti" and dreamed of the time when they should be made a part of the unified nation. And these people themselves have felt like exiles in their own home-lands. It is true that Italy is now seeking more than the conquest of these Italian districts. She desires influence in settling the affairs of Turkey. But the government has the patriot's cry for a united nation, as its battle-cry.

And yet the Italian Socialists have steadily and openly opposed the war from the beginning, and they still oppose it. Before the war session of parliament there was held at Bologna a conference of the party executive, members of the parliamentary group, and labor union leaders. The general strike was discussed, but rejected as a practical measure at that time. But it was decided that the only way in which the Socialists could represent the working-class would be by voting against the war in parliament. Accordingly when Premier Salandra made his remarkably well staged plea for special powers by means of which to carry on the war the vote stood 367 for, 54 against. Among the 54 against were all of the 45 Socialists. This was on May 20. On the same day there were held in every Italian city gigantic anti-war meetings. In some cities the 24 hours general strike was put into operation, with complete success. All this was in accordance with a resolution drawn up by the party executive and the labor union leaders at Bologna. This resolution stated frankly that the working class of Italy is unable to stop the war, but went on to say, "We have cleared ourselves of responsibility for the war and expect forever to keep ourselves clear of the responsibilities which should be borne by the ruling class."

It is reassuring to know that the membership of the Italian Socialist Party has increased since the war began. Only a single local organization has left the

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party, and among the membership there is the greatest enthusiasm for the international cause. Every journal of the party supports the action taken by the executive.

For us, to whom the war is a matter of description and photograph, the steady purposefulness of these comrades is beyond words. They made Socialism real for us. If the members of a large party like this can keep their heads clear and their hearts true through a year of chauvinistic mouthing—well, then, other large parties can do it. The workers of the world can do it.

**Daily Citizen Deceased.**—On the fifth of June the *Daily Citizen* expired. More than half a million dollars had been expended on it—chiefly the money of English labor unions. The purpose of its projectors was to found a great popular daily with a leaning toward labor. By hiring successful, non-Socialist journalists they thought they could lure readers of the yellow press. On its tombstone should be inscribed, "It wasn't killed by Socialism."

## IN THE BIG SPECIAL

**"MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE WITNESSES AND THEIR TESTIMONY,"** by Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of The U. S. Industrial Relations Commission.

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The "Taint of Labor," ancient slaves and wage-workers alike despised.  
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Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.  
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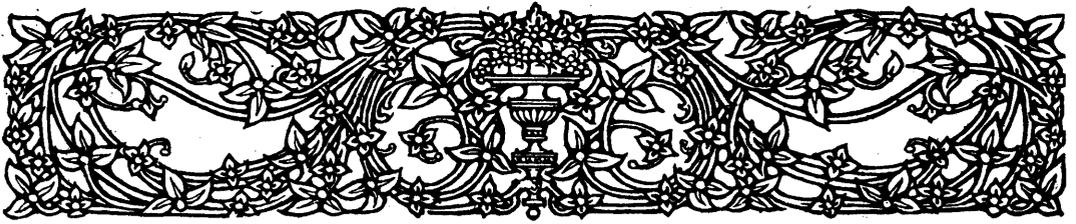
### Partial Contents of Volume II

How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.  
Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient Egypt.  
A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.  
Brotherhoods of workers in India.  
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.  
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.  
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

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## NEWS AND VIEWS

**Margaret H. Sanger to Speak in Chicago**—Mrs. Margaret H. Sanger, who was arrested at the instigation of Anthony Comstock because of her agitation in favor of giving to all women the knowledge of the methods of preventing conception now given to well-to-do women by their physicians, is coming back from England to face trial soon. She plans to speak in Chicago during the summer. Announcement of the meeting will be made in the daily papers. All friends of freedom and enlightenment should make it a point to hear her. Watch the papers for announcement.

**From Local Union No. 2583, U. M. W. of A., Roslyn, Washington**—Whereas, A state of lawlessness existed in the southern part of the state of Colorado in 1913 and 1914, and

Whereas, The principal cause of such lawlessness was the non-observance of the laws of the state of Colorado by the coal mine operators of the state of Colorado, and

Whereas, A person named Nimmo was shot to death during this period of lawlessness, and

Whereas, One John R. Lawson has been sentenced to a life term in prison for the murder of said Nimmo, and no evidence was produced implicating said John R. Lawson as the party who killed said Nimmo, only that said John R. Lawson was a representative of an economic organization that existed in the state of Colorado at that time, and

Whereas, Such sentences are only meted out to representatives of economic organizations in cases of this kind, and

Whereas, From documentary evidence submitted to the Industrial Relations Commission it is proved conclusively that the coal operators are the cause of this lawlessness in the state of Colorado, which culminated in the massacre of Ludlow, and

Whereas, If said John R. Lawson is guilty of the murder of said Nimmo, the coal operators of southern Colorado and their agents and managers of said coal corporation are the guilty parties in that they aided and abetted this lawlessness.

Therefore, be it Resolved, That the guilty parties be brought into court and that they be sentenced in accordance with the laws of the United States.

In behalf of Local No. 2583.

George Temperley,  
Nicholas Joy,  
Joe Bosone,

Committee.

**Encampment at Conneaut Lake**—Comrade J. H. Browning of Meadville, Pa., sends us in a most glowing report of the success of the

socialist encampment held at Conneaut Lake, Pa. Many such gatherings have been held by socialists in the western and middle states but without the features included by the Pennsylvania friends. Trips were enjoyed on the lake and one entire day was given over to the comrades by the amusement parks; another day was entirely devoted to sports. Baseball games kept up a vivid interest on the diamond and nightly jollifications were indulged in around big camp fires in the tent city.

The encampment was held under the auspices of Locals Crawford, Erie, Mercer and Venango, the executive committee being represented by Comrades Phelps, Nivens, Porter, Carpenter, Mattison, McCafferty, Wrhen and Browning. Well-known comrades began to arrive June 19, and by Saturday there were over three hundred socialists in attendance. John Slayton lectured to an audience of over four hundred and later the camp colony sang revolutionary songs till long after midnight. The Sunday afternoon lecture by Comrade Prosser was largely attended and the evening lecture by B. E. Phillips was enjoyed by an enthusiastic gathering. The event of Monday was the ball game between the Socialist Bloomer Girls and the men, the girls coming out with an encouraging score to their credit. After the evening lecture on Tuesday given by Gertrude B. Fuller, 600 socialists enjoyed a cruise around the lake. Then came an old-fashioned hop and everybody forgot the old struggle for existence in the mazes of the dance. Comrade Hadon, state organizer, handed them something new at Wednesday afternoon's lecture, and Comrade Barnard kept up the good work in the evening. The wind-up for that night was a chicken roast—and men and women alike voted it a feast fit for epicures. The women had the entire honors on Thursday, Women's Day, and everybody marched in the big parade. It was almost impossible to drive folks to bed Thursday night. Camp fires were kept up till long after usual hours. Everybody said it was a shame to waste time in sleep among such a gathering of Reds, but the fact that Friday was Field Meet Day compelled them to seek some rest before entering upon the contests between the different counties. The tug-of-war was won by Erie and Venango county socialists against Crawford and Mercer counties. Comrade Browning won the 100-yard dash and Wrhen came in second. We wish we could print the records made in other features by the different contestants. Comrade Esaman won the mile swimming contest.

Saturday, being hot, many bathing parties were in evidence, and Sunday was the big Debs Day. Over 4,000 people were in attendance. The Socialist Register showed 5,000 names and not all who came got their names down. Over seventy-five towns were represented and some comrades traveled 500 miles to attend the encampment. Plans are already being laid for the encampment for 1916. The Pennsylvania comrades are so enthusiastic over the glorious time they had and the splendid work accomplished that they mean to make the next one an unprecedented success. We need more of these semi-social, educational encampments when the workers can get away from their labors and get acquainted. Congratulations to the Pennsylvania friends who carried out the success at Conneaut Lake.

**Resolution from Somerset, Pennsylvania**—Comrade E. K. Cockley, county chairman, sends us from Somerset, Pa., the following resolution which was unanimously approved by the S. P. membership in his county: "Resolved, That we hereby express our sympathy for those of our European comrades who had the courage to oppose the present war on principle, and especially those who have been, and are, being persecuted by organized governments because of such action."

**Bosses Help Boot and Shoe Workers' Union**—The following was written on the pay envelopes of the members of the United Shoe Workers' Union of America employed by the Plaut-Butler Company of Cincinnati, O.: "With this pay envelope your position with the Plaut-Butler Company ceases. When work is started in the new factory we will not employ any member of the United Shoe Workers. (Signed) The Plaut-Butler Co."

A hundred members of the United Shoe Workers of America were in the employ of this company. They were discharged because they belonged to a real shoe workers' union. The Ohio Supreme Court recently decided it was legal for an employer to discharge a man for belonging to a union. This is the first instance of a Cincinnati employer taking advantage of this decision.

The company states it is not opposed to unionism and also states that it will employ members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. We know why they prefer this organization to the United Shoe Workers. There are some unions that are a real benefit to the boss and the officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization have steadfastly worked for the interests of the employers and against those of the shoe workers. Why don't the boot and shoe workers wake up?

**Local Vallejo, Socialist Party of California**, in regular session assembled, unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas, There is a referendum before the Socialist Party of this state, advocating that the working class fuse with the capitalist parties at election periods, and

Whereas, The strength of the working class lies in the opposition to all parties other than those of the working class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, Local Vallejo, Socialist Party, condemn such tactics of fusion and urge upon the members of the Socialist Party to overwhelmingly vote down said referendum,



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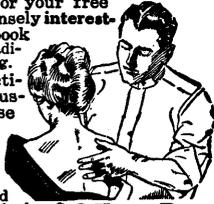
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that the working class shall never again be urged to lay aside their class consciousness, and indulge in the maddening scramble of electing hungry politicians to office. And be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the national and state offices and the Socialist press.

B. Friedmann,  
Secretary-treasurer.

**Celebrates the Fourth**—Comrade C. L. Lindner, Rochester, Pa., writes: "I was celebrating the Fourth of July on the fifth by getting a subscription for the REVIEW, so here is the dollar bill enclosed."

Comrade Lindner is one of the REVIEW's good old standbys in Pennsylvania. He has taken a standing bundle order for a good many years and can always be found on the firing line when it comes to socialist propaganda work.

**A Berkeley Boost**—Comrade Dennis writes us from Berkeley, enclosing \$2.00 for a two-year renewal. "Keep her going on the same lines and the REVIEW can't go down. Stick straight ahead for revolutionary working class action to overthrow capitalism. Kick the cross out of everybody's 'isms and you win."

**Save Joe Hill**—By this time you all know that the Supreme Court of Utah has affirmed the verdict of the lower court in the case of Fellow Worker Joe Hill, which means that he will be shot in about six weeks unless we take an appeal on a writ of error, and take it up to the U. S. Supreme Court.

We are confident that if the case of Joe Hill could be tried outside of the state of Utah, before unbiased judge and jury, that the jury would acquit him without even leaving their seats. This may sound like boasting, but the fellow workers from outside locals who witnessed the court trial and the hearing before the state Supreme Court know well that there is no case against Joe Hill. Some of the prosecution's testimony sounded so ridiculous that the spectators laughed outright and the judge threatened to clear the court room. Now, fellow workers, it is not necessary to go over details again. By this time the members of the I. W. W. are familiar with the facts in this case. What is needed is action—and quick action at that! Lawyers will not work for nothing. Money must be raised at once to fight the case to a finish. It's of no use to debate whether we can get justice in a capitalistic court or not. While there is life there is hope, and we can't give up while there is even one chance in a thousand to save Joe Hill's life. He's in the dungeon dark and grim; he fought for us, we'll stand by him! Do something, and do it quick. Hold protest meetings, collect funds and give the case the widest publicity. Remember, there is no time to lose. The law only gives us twenty days to file the writ of error. Act now before it is too late. Send all funds to Geo. Childs, 215 E. First street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Ed. Rowan,  
Phil Engle,  
Jas. Wilson.

LOOKING for work is a queer thing to do when work is all around. There are acres of idle land everywhere calling for labor that they may yield their increase, and tools are here in abundance. "Why don't the unemployed take them and cut down the forests that the Creator has placed here for the satisfaction of mankind, and build homes to enjoy the blessings of life and be happy?"

You are hungry? Well, the land from which all food is produced is here, and here also are the forces of nature that the genius of man has controlled to quicken into life the wonderful machines, built by the man in overalls that enable you to produce in such abundance. They are your heritage from the culture of the ages, and the machines that you workers built belong to you, the builders. You need boots and shoes? Countless cattle roam the prairies; they are for the use of man; take them and put their hides on the cars you have built, convey them to the cities where men do most congregate and build there factories to fashion them into the things that you desire. Use the land that the Creator has placed here for all the children of men and build houses and railroads that you may exchange with your brothers the thing that each produces and the other needs for the advantage of all; but don't weary yourself looking for work when all the resources and all the things you need to work them are before you and around you in abundance.

Nature is plethoric. She runs riot in abundance, and wastes in disuse more than enough to feed the world. "Scarcity of work." There is no scarcity in nature, and man is ever unsatisfied and always

willing to labor to satisfy his desires. And there is no scarcity of tools. Machines are rusting, and factories are stopped, while men are unemployed and hungry. So it is not the fault of labor, and it is not the fault of tools. The fault is that men and women have not got access to the tools and land by which they earn their living. They can not nowadays use their own tools and dispose of the finished product direct to the consumer. That is a back number. Those days are gone forever, and a better, because more efficient, method is ours. We produce socially the things we need, so we must go socially and take them, that we may use them again together and exchange fairly the products of labor so that unemployment and poverty shall cease, and abundance and happiness shall reign in place of misery and hunger; and the children on the green earth, which is their birthright, shall have opportunity to grow more beautiful, more pure and strong, and mankind shall dwell together in justice and peace and in the prosperity and happiness of all.—*Amalgamated Journal.*

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# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

**Library of Socialist Classics.** On the last cover page of this month's Review is a description of Robert H. Howe's "The Evolution of Banking," the latest addition to our Library of Socialist Classics. The number of volumes in this library is thus increased to forty-nine, the remaining titles being as follows:

Anarchism and Socialism. Plechanoff.  
 Art of Lecturing. Arthur M. Lewis.  
 Class Struggle, The. Karl Kautsky.  
 Class Struggles in America. Simons.  
 Communist Manifesto. Marx and Engels.  
 Doing Us Good and Plenty. Russell.  
 Eighteenth Brumaire, The. Marx.  
 End of the World, The. Meyer.  
 Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History. Kautsky.  
 Evolution of Man, The. Boelsche.  
 Evolution of Property, The. LaFargue.  
 Evolution, Social and Organic. Lewis.  
 Feuerbach. Frederick Engels.  
 Germs of Mind in Plants. France.  
 God's Children. James Allman.  
 High Cost of Living. Kautsky.  
 Human, All Too Human. Nietzsche.  
 Law of Biogenesis, The. Moore.  
 Life and Death. Dr. E. Teichmann.  
 Making of the World, The. Meyer.  
 Marx He Knew, The. Spargo.  
 Marx, Memoirs of. Liebknecht.  
 Marx vs. Tolstoy. Lewis and Darrow.  
 Militant Proletariat, The. Austin Lewis.  
 Origin of the Family. Engels.  
 Out of the Dump. Mary E. Marcy.  
 Positive School of Criminology. Ferri.  
 Puritanism. Clarence Meily.  
 Rebel at Large, The. May Beals.  
 Revolution and Counter-Revolution. Marx.  
 Right to Be Lazy. LaFargue.  
 Russian Bastille, The. Pollock.  
 Sabotage. Emile Pouget.  
 Science and Revolution. Untermann.  
 Social and Philosophical Studies. LaFargue.  
 Social Revolution, The. Kautsky.  
 Socialism for Students. Cohen.  
 Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome. Morris and Bax.  
 Socialism, Positive and Negative. LaMonte.  
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Engels.  
 Stories of the Struggle. Winchevsky.  
 Story of Wendell Phillips. Russell.  
 Ten Blind Leaders. Lewis.  
 Triumph of Life, The. Boelsche.  
 Value, Price and Profit. Karl Marx.  
 Vital Problems in Social Evolution. Lewis.  
 What's So and What Isn't. Work.  
 World's Revolutions, The. Ernest Untermann.

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valuable books of popular science. The price of these books, handsomely bound in cloth, is 50 cents a copy. Until August 31, 1915, we will mail any THREE of them, together with the REVIEW one year, to any address in the United States for \$1.50, to Canada for \$1.70, or to any foreign address for \$1.86.

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# Why Not Be a Socialist Publisher?

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**Stockholders Buy Books at Cost.** We do not attempt to pay dividends. Any possible dividend on so small a sum as \$10.00 would be hardly worth while, apart from the fact that we are all trying as best we can to abolish the whole system of dividends and profits. So our method of publishing is to sell our books to our own stockholders, either for their own use or to sell to their neighbors and shopmates. We have found from long experience that a discount of forty per cent from the retail prices of our books, we to prepay postage or expressage, will just about cover the cost of the books and of the unavoidable expenses of distribution. Hereafter this will be the discount to all our stockholders. In other words, we will mail stockholders any of our 10c books at 6c each, 15c books at 9c, 25c books at 15c, 50c books at 30c, \$1.00 books at 60c, \$1.50 books at 90c, \$2.00 books at \$1.20, etc. The only better discount we offer is when \$10.00 or more is sent at one time for books to go in one package, in which case we send them by express prepaid for HALF the retail prices.

**Books of Other Publishers.** Hereafter we shall be able to offer an increasing number of books of other publishers to our stockholders at a discount, some at 40 per cent (this, of course, is possible only when we buy on exceptional terms), others at 20 per cent. Frequent announcements of new books will be sent to all our stockholders who are interested in them, and each stockholder should therefore keep us informed of his correct address.

**A Dollar a Month** for ten months makes you a stockholder. While making monthly payments you can have discounts just the same as if your share were paid for. When you send your last payment you get a certificate showing that you are part owner in the publishing house. If you send the full \$10.00 at one time, along with an order for books, we will include one \$1.00 book free.

**The Big Reason** why twenty-five hundred Socialists have subscribed for stock in this publishing house, and why you should do the same, is not the saving on the price of books. It is that you are in this way insuring the continuance and growth of the greatest educational force in the United States in the interest of the revolutionary working class. The battle with Capitalism will be long and hard. No matter how clearly *you* may see the need of working-class solidarity and a working-class revolution, you will remain a slave until an immense number of other workers see what you see. To make them see it is the work of this publishing house. Are you with us?

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,  
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago.

## STOCK SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

COMRADES:—Enclosed find \$1.00 as first payment on one share of stock in your corporation, value \$10.00. I agree to pay the balance in nine monthly installments of \$1.00 each. It is understood that while making these payments I shall have the privilege of buying books at the same discount allowed paid-up stockholders, and that when the full sum of \$10.00 has been paid, I shall receive a certificate fully-paid and non-assessable.

NAME ..... ADDRESS.....

POSTOFFICE.....STATE.....

# No Money In Advance

## This Marvelous CAMERA ON FREE TRIAL!

Only 10,000 of these marvelous instantaneous picture-taking and making cameras to be sent out absolutely on approval without a penny in advance just to prove that it is the most wonderful invention—the camera sensation of the age. So you must send for it **quick!** Just think of it—the new Mandel-ette

### Takes and Makes Finished Pictures INSTANTLY!

You press the button, drop card in developer and in **one minute** take out a **perfect, finished** post-card photo  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size. Camera itself is about  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \times 7$  inches. Loads in daylight 16 to 50 post-cards at one time.

### No Films—No Plates—No Dark Room

Not a bit of the muss and bother of the ordinary kodak or camera. It is instantaneous photography! Universal focus lens produces sharp pictures at all distances. Pictures develop and print automatically. Can't overdevelop. Results positively amazing.

## We Trust You

No difference who you are or where you live we will send you the complete Mandel-ette outfit absolutely on approval and give you 10 days to test it. If not satisfactory return it. If you wish to keep it, simply pay \$1.00 on arrival and \$1 00 per month until our special price of only \$5.00 is paid. When you see what elegant pictures it takes—so quick, so easy, with no trouble at all—you'll be surprised.



#### More Than Pleased

Your camera reached me O. K. and I was surprised at the work it does. I have taken several photos and some as good as I have ever seen taken with any camera. Everybody that sees the "Mandel-ette" says it is fine and I am more than pleased with it.  
VERNE BOYLE,  
Northome, Minn.

#### Beats All Things Yet

The "Mandel-ette" received and opened and in 20 minutes I took a splendid picture of my wife, fully developed and ready to look at. My, this beats all things yet.

T. J. HOULTS, Pastor,  
Methodist Episcopal Church,  
South, Welch, West Va.

#### Takes Pictures On Dark Day

I am perfectly delighted with the "Mandel-ette." I have had very good success never before to have handled a camera at all. I can say it will do all you claim. I have taken a picture which shows a Mt. more than 4,000 feet away and on a very dark day.  
JAS. H. HUBBARD,  
Penhook, Va.

#### Anyone Can Use Them

Received the "Mandel-ette" and supplies Saturday evening. Sunday morning we began to take pictures and had very good luck. It is sure simple enough. Anyone can use them. We couldn't get along without ours.

MRS. R. U. IDdings,  
Mapleton, Ia.

#### Amazed At Minute Camera

I am enclosing pictures taken with my "Mandel-ette" to show you gentlemen what I am making. Nobody taught me but your instructions. I am making pictures with great pleasure and my friends are amazed at your very high grade minute camera.

C. SATURM,  
Santa Ana, Alaska.

### Easy Payments —No Reference

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Plain instructions and everything complete with outfit so you can begin taking pictures the moment it arrives. We guarantee that even a child can operate it. Mail coupon now. No risk or obligation to keep camera.

**Chicago Ferrottype Co., Desk 138 Ferrottype Bldg. Chicago, Illinois.**

Chicago Ferrottype Co.,  
Desk 138 Ferrottype Building,  
Chicago, Illinois

Send me at once one complete model Mandel-ette Camera outfit including supply of post cards and instructions. I agree to pay \$1.00 when camera arrives, examine and test it thoroughly and if satisfied keep it and pay you \$1.00 a month until your special price of \$5.00 is paid. Otherwise I will return it at the end of 10 days.

Name.....

Street and No.....

Town.....State.....