

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE 1,164 DEPORTED ARIZONA MINERS IN CAMP AT COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO.

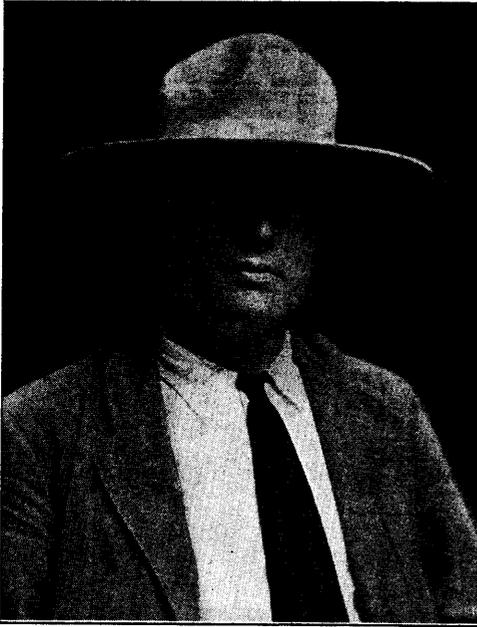
"We find it highly significant that just as the American nation is setting forth in its righteousness to avenge the Belgian deportations upon the German kaiser, our own kaisers, sitting in the persons of the Phelps Dodge Corporation of Arizona, should round up 1,500 free citizens in a corral, herd them into a train of stinking cattle cars and ship them into the middle of the desert.

"Our United States army has to go and rescue its own citizens from its own kaisers and feed them and shelter them and try to find something else to do with them besides send them home clothed in their rights, which is the one thing it dares not do."

—From the Chicago Herald.



# Jack London's Books



Until Jack London died, most of us scarcely realized that America's greatest fiction-writer was a revolutionary comrade. Perhaps it was because Jack did not take himself seriously, did not pose as a Great Man. That is something that he was too intelligent and sympathetic to do. So many of us thought of him as successful, lucky, even while we enjoyed the things he wrote.

Now he can write no more, and we have lost the one writer who could state Socialism in terms that penetrated the brain of the ordinary careless American worker. But, thanks to "whatever gods there be," his books are still here. We have arranged to supply all of them that are now published at popular prices. The wholesale rate has been greatly increased on account of the cost of paper, but we can still offer twenty of his best books at 50c each; five to one address for \$2.00, or the set

of twenty for \$7.00. The titles we offer are:

**The Iron Heel** is a notable book that you should not fail to read. It is a picture of the future of America as Jack London conceives it, in the event that the trust magnates win out in their fight against organized labor and Socialism. It is a vivid picture of a possible hell on earth which some of us may live to see.

In contrast with this book and supplementing it are two other pictures of the future. **Looking Backward**, by Edward Bellamy, tells of a state in which capitalists are abolished, but all people from twenty-one to forty-five work under a sort of military discipline with their elders as the bosses. Bellamy pictures equality as being won at the cost of liberty, though he seems to approve the system he describes. The book has had wide influence and should be read. We have it at 50c.

**News from Nowhere**, by William Morris, is a picture of a dream-country that is run by the workers, who have abolished the capitalists and landlords and are living their own life in a more delightful fashion than any other writer, before or since, has ever pictured. We have just published a new edition of this classic at \$1.00.

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**When God Laughs**  
**Children of the Frost**  
**The Faith of Men**  
**The House of Pride**  
**South Sea Tales**  
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**Moon Face**

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September

1917

*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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No. 3

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*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature*

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FRANK LITTLE

Organizer and General Executive Board  
Member of the I. W. W., Murdered  
by Gunmen in Butte, Montana,  
August 1, 1917

## TO FRANK LITTLE

(Lynched at Butte, Montana, August 1, 1917)

We'll remember you, Frank Little!  
They couldn't still your voice,  
So they strangled it;  
They couldn't chill your heart,  
So they stopped it;  
They couldn't dam your life blood,  
So they spilled it.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!  
They didn't come in the broad of day  
And warn you that in a world  
Being made safe for democracy  
There was no safety for you.  
In the dead of night they came  
And pounced on you,  
Dragged you out as if you were an animal  
Without daring to let you put your clothes on  
Or bind up your broken leg.  
They spared you no indignity,  
They withheld from you no shame;  
Afterward, no doubt, they washed their hands  
With the air of men who've done their bit  
In the cause of freedom.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!  
The papers said: "So far as known,  
He made no outcry."  
No, not you! Half Indian, half white man,  
All I. W. W.  
You'd have died ten thousand deaths  
Before you'd have cried aloud  
Or whimpered once to let them  
Enjoy your pain.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!  
Long after the workers have made the world  
Safe for Labor,  
We'll repeat your name  
And remember that you died for us.  
The red flag that you dropped  
A million hands will carry on;  
The cause that you loved  
A million tongues will voice.  
Good bye, Frank Little!  
Indian, white man, Wobbly true,  
Valiant soldier of the great Red army,  
We'll remember you!

—Phillips Russell.



AT THE GRAVE OF FRANK LITTLE, MOUNTAIN VIEW CEMETERY, BUTTE, MONTANA.

*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
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VOL. XVII

SEPTEMBER, 1917

No. 3

## The Man That Was Hung

WELL, they got Frank Little. No wireless message ever sped faster than these five words thru the world of labor. For on the first morning of this month an agitator was hung in Butte, Montana.

A social war has been going on in that hell hole of labor since the 12th of June. On the one side are the few mine owning capitalists represented by their henchmen and an army of 600 Standard Oil gunmen. On the other side are 17,000 unarmed striking copper miners with their Metal Mine Workers' Union.

Came Frank Little, a fellow unionist, with a message of good cheer and solidarity from the miners of the southwest. He told them that their real enemy was the industrial kings and copper barons of America.

He repeated his words to Ex-Governor Hunt of Arizona: "Governor, I don't care what you are fighting for, but we, the Industrial Workers of the World, are fighting for Industrial Democracy." And the miners of Butte cheered his words.

The copper barons replied by sending six of their gunmen to "get" the damn agitator, who championed the cause of hated labor; who made war upon capitalism and the wage system, who advocated industrial democracy. The story of the assassination and what followed is told in the *Montana Socialist*.

"Driven to desperation by the peaceful, non-resisting strike of the Metal Mine Workers, the company has played its last trump—murder.

"In the gray of the morning of August 1, Frank Little, an I. W. W. organizer, was taken from his room in the Steel block by six masked men, hurried into an automobile, with no covering but his underclothes, driven swiftly to the Milwaukee railroad trestle near the Centennial brewery and hanged to the trestle. It was one of the most brutal, cruel, cowardly murders that ever disgraced an American city. Six armed men take this cripple, without a chance to defend himself, and after beating his head to a pulp, tied a rope around his neck and threw him off a railroad trestle. It was an act too fiendish and cowardly to credit even to a band of Sioux Indians. It is doubtful if Little ever knew that he was hung, for the blows on the head no doubt rendered him unconscious or made the hanging unnecessary except to gratify the murder-lust of the perpetrators.

"Following the murder all three of the Butte daily papers came out with venomous editorials against the victim that might well encourage a repetition of this outrage and lay the blame on the federal authorities. It ill becomes the daily press of this city to excuse the murders by throwing the blame on the federal authorities because they did not take action against Little on account of remarks he made about this country and its government. This government does not need the help of midnight assassins to carry out the enforcement of the law. The federal authorities are no doubt as competent as the daily papers and the

interests they represent to interpret what constitutes a violation of the law. Those who commit and condone midnight assassination are not safe guardians of the law.

"And the daily press itself had made veiled threats of violence before Frank Little came to Butte. In the editorial quoted above the *Standard* hints that somebody has a card up their sleeve that they are going to play when the proper time comes. In the leading editorial on the Home Guards, in the same issue (July 1), it says:

"There may be nothing for the Home Guards to do, and again there may be. The city and county authorities are faithful and reliable and they are determined to maintain order, but they may need help at any time, and when they need it they should have it. The Guards should soon be able to render very effective assistance."

"In this issue of July 16, the *Standard* says editorially, 'the agitators should take a lesson from what has happened in other sections of the country.'

"First, we see trouble prepared for—then we see trouble predicted—then we see trouble started. There may be no connection, but it looks suspicious to any one familiar with the methods of the Standard Oil Company.

\* \* \* \*

"To those outside of Butte, who are not acquainted with conditions here, let it be said that while Butte is within the confines of the United States, it is a principality of the Standard Oil Company. While the working people are peaceful and law abiding, the rulers care no more for a law that stands in the way of the accomplishment of their ends than a cow does for a cobweb. Anyone who knows the history of the Standard Oil Company knows that it will trample under foot any law that stands in the way of the creation of profits.

"The fact that all thru this strike, since the 12th of June, there has been no violation of the law except on the part of *officials and gunmen*, proves that the working people of this community are exceptionally slow to resort to violence. Under the most aggravating and exasperating circumstances they have kept their heads and refrained from any overstepping of

their legal rights which might be taken as an excuse for the company to inaugurate a campaign of murder and terrorism, such as occurred at Ludlow.

"The papers for several days have been telling us that more and more men were going to work and that soon the mines would be running about normal. If this were true then what was the need of resorting to murder to try to break the ranks of the striking miners? If the company has plenty of men to run the mines, why should it care how long the Metal Mine Workers remain on strike?

"The truth of the matter is that all this talk about the increased output of the mines was a big bluff. The mines are not turning out the dividends that have been promised the stockholders. The heart of the Standard Oil Company is profits and to cut out the profits is the same thing as cutting out its heart.

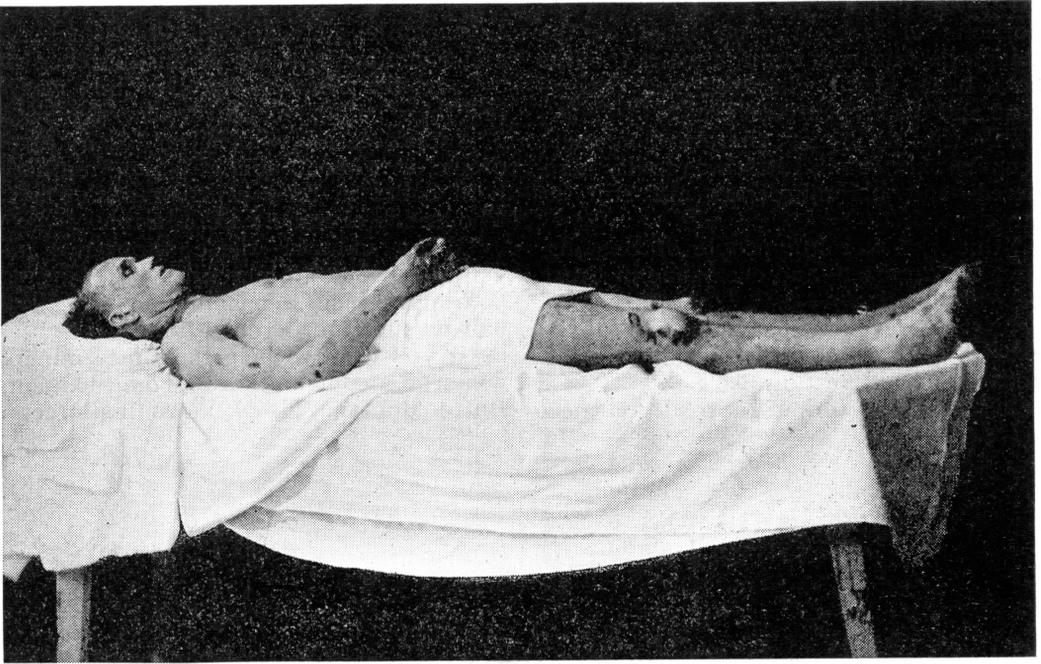
\* \* \* \*

"And again they have failed. Again the workmen refused to fall for their game, but are still sitting with folded arms. With all their army of spotters and eaves-droppers they have only been able to report one threat made in the heat of passion, which is said to have been made by one man in front of Finlander hall. And who knows but that this is a reporter's lie.

"The thing that stands out most prominent in this strike is the peaceful manner in which it has been conducted. We do not know of a strike of such magnitude ever having been carried on for such a length of time with so little disturbance. Only a couple of days ago a policeman, on what is considered one of the toughest beats in Butte, said that the town was the quietest he ever saw it. 'Why,' said he, 'a year ago I used to make over a dozen arrests a week, and now I have not seen a fight in six weeks. Finest time I ever saw for a policeman.'

"But in all this turmoil the student of economics and history sees the age-long class struggle. The crime of Frank Little was that he was on the side of the working class. And in his death he has aided the class he represents more than he could do by talking a hundred years.

"The papers endeavored to magnify every utterance of this man to the pro-



IN THE MORGUE.

OTHERS TAKE  
NOTICE!  
FIRST AND LAST  
WARNING!  
3-7-77  
L · D · C · S · S · W ·

portions of treason; yet, most of the things he said are, and for many months have been, heard wherever men congregate and discuss current events.

"Be that as it may, the grewsome fact remains that Frank Little was foully murdered—and his murderers are still at large.

"But, the working people of this district are aroused—and every one in Butte now realizes it.

"Nearly seven thousand people—to be exact, 6,800—followed Frank Little's body to its last resting place.

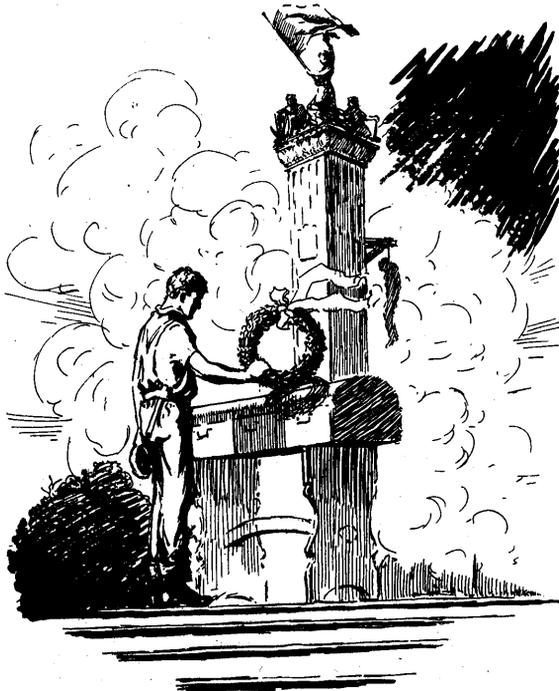
"Electrical Workers, Street Carmen,

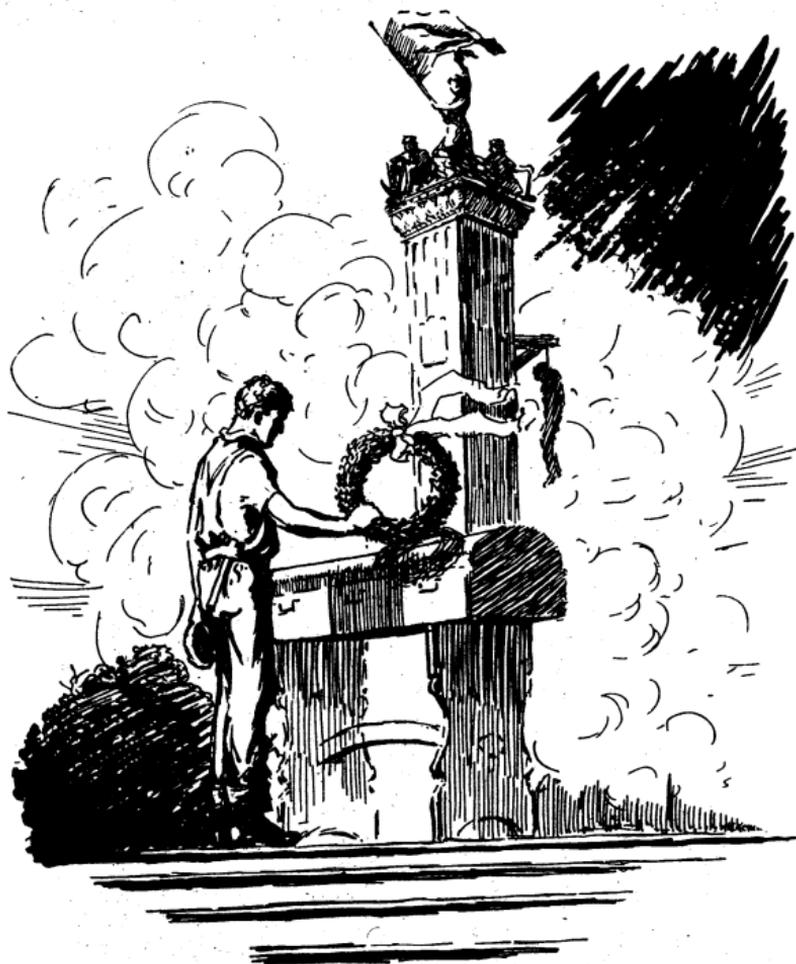
Blacksmiths, Machinists, Boilermakers, and a number of other unions marched as a body, the Pearce-Connolly Club, wearing their colors, marched near the head of the procession, which was led by hundreds of women and children, mothers with babes in their arms or push carts. Thousands of miners were in line.

"What induced these thousands of working people to march?

"Simply their determination to call a halt on such murderous tyranny.

"If you want to help the Butte miners win send a contribution to Tom Shannon, Butte, Montana, 318 N. Wyoming street."





# SHALL LABOR BE CONSCRIPTED?

By Phillips Russell

WHEN we pick up a newspaper today and read of slaughters, murders, disasters, betrayals, thefts, assaults, accusations, infamies, deportations, lynchings, burnings, beatings and suicides, we are not confronted simply with the symptoms of a diseased civilization. We are witnessing the breakup of a world.

At such a time there is no more useful or invigorating employment for a troubled mind than to read Marx's Communist Manifesto. Not only read it, but study it thoroly. Let the phrases sink in. Use it as a glass thru which to view the nations in convulsion.

One is then prepared to receive with equanimity the news than the capitalists of America plan as their next step the conscription of labor. In the early part of August the newspapers of the country carried the following dispatch from Washington:

Conscription of labor to carry out ship-building contracts taken over by the Government is being urged by Pacific Coast constructors.

Facing a 25 per cent increase in the cost of labor for building the vessels, the shipyard men declared today that the labor question has another quite as serious aspect as the increased cost. Labor men, they contended, are endeavoring to make arrangements whereby the advantage of the present apparent labor shortage will continue after the war, when the labor market probably will be glutted.

Thus far the question has been put up to the Shipping Board only. No further development can be expected, it was pointed out, until the President appoints the labor committee of the Council of National Defense or Congress takes action.

Shipbuilders stated today that if the labor element is to take advantage of a national labor shortage and the constructors have to meet their demands, then the builders should have the same advantage when the labor market is glutted. The builders stated flatly that there is an organized movement on foot to make it certain that war-time conditions will prevail after peace is established and that the fat pay they receive will go to those now engaged in that class of labor, prohibiting returned soldiers from competing with them.

If men are conscripted to go into the trenches at the certain risk of their lives, the builders have pointed out, the Government should take like steps in its war industries.

The method most favored, and actually the only resort the builders see, is conscription of labor. They strongly advocate, it was learned today on unimpeachable authority, fixing a standard reasonable wage for employes in industries indirectly contributing to waging the war, just as the pay of drafted soldiers is fixed.

Two days later a resolution, said to have been inspired by certain Arizona interests, was introduced in the United States Senate urging the conscription of labor as a war measure.

In the other warring countries they already have virtually the same thing. In Germany it is called the "industrial mobilization of the civilian population." In England when the ruling class wants a thing, they say "Let Dora do it," "Dora" being the Defense of the Realm Act. In England you cannot change your job, cross the street to work in another plant, transfer to a more congenial department, lay off for a couple of days, or go to another town to visit a sick relative, unless you obtain permission from one of numerous tribunals. You cannot agitate for better conditions, cannot even act as a delegate in the adjustment of union affairs, without risk of deportation. Only the deportation is carried out by the government and not by an armed regiment of private gunmen as at Bisbee, Ariz.

A case in point was that of David Kirkwood, of Glasgow. He acted as a shop steward in a strike. Without warning, without a hearing, he was deported from his home and separated from his wife and children. His own union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, declined to support him on the ground that the strike had not been authorized from union headquarters!

It was the Iron Heel, everybody said—no use kicking, no use protesting, such things had to be. Yet even iron heels may have their Achilles tendon. Achilles, you remember, was invulnerable except in one place. That was the tendon of the heel by which his nurse had held him when she dipped him into the River Styx to make him proof against all wounds.

The weakness of industrial conscription

is that it won't work when men and women refuse to submit to it. So a few months later, these same A. S. E.'s broke out resistlessly in one of the most dangerous strikes that England has had since the war began, a strike so threatening that Dr. Addison, the British Minister of Munitions, was forced out of office by it. The engineers accused him of being responsible for an offensive ruling under which men who had agreed to do government work under certain exacting conditions were transferred to a private plant and told to continue their work under the same conditions on the plea that the job was of national importance. The strikers further announced that the government had broken well-nigh every promise made to them and that hereafter they would specify their own conditions.

Now the A. S. E. is one of the strongest of English unions and some observers say this strike was the beginning of the split between the Labor Party and the British government which threatened to widen into a chasm last month when Arthur Henderson was dropped from the British war cabinet because he supported the Russian demand for a Socialist and labor conference at Stockholm. If this breach persists, then the "civic peace" in England is over and the British working class will once more turn its attention to its own interests.

However, industrial mobilization in the British isles has been in a large measure successful—for the capitalists, of course. Waving the flag with one hand and with the other garnering tremendous profits, they have herded immense masses of docile men, women and children into such aggregations of factories as were never conceived of before, with results in the form of physical overstrain and nervous breakdown that compose the subjects of a pamphlet to which a frightened government has permitted free circulation.

The ease with which herds of fruitful workers have been gathered together in England, France and Germany has not escaped the notice of our capitalists. In fact, it is probable that the desire of American employers to introduce this enviable state of affairs into this country was back of the loud shouts of a considerable section of our war party.

Our manufacturers probably reason

this way: "The European countries have built up an immense producing machinery which, after the war, will be able to turn out goods faster and more cheaply than we can do with our present facilities. We already produce more articles than we can sell in this country. Therefore we must have foreign markets for our surplus. To be able to compete with Europe in these markets we must have the same disciplined and highly productive labor which it enjoys. If we can conscript an army, why can't we conscript labor?"

We all know that in such contests for the control of foreign markets are carried the germs of war, but it is not often that the facts are recognized so clearly by a non-socialist as in the quotation below from a recent speech by Roger W. Babson, the financial and statistical expert, before the Industrial Trade Conference at Springfield, Mass. His remarks are so meaty that they are worth quoting at some length. For the sake of emphasis I have italicized certain passages:

"I feel it my duty to utter a word of warning in planning for trade after this war—trade both in Latin America and elsewhere—let us not forget that this *very same scramble for foreign trade, which so many are now favoring, was a large factor in bringing on the present conflict.* I believe in foreign trade. I personally have large interests in Latin America, but I want to extend my interests on a basis that is fair to my competitors living in other nations. Only such business, free from all artificial support, is the kind that will last. Moreover, under the great democratic league of nations which is coming at the end of this war, such business is the only kind that will be permitted.

"During the past generation, a certain class, in different countries, have succeeded in raising their own wages and incomes without regard to the means employed. Considering their previous conditions, they perhaps cannot be blamed; but let us see to what their un-economic methods and efforts have led. There have been three steps in the vicious circle.

"(1) In order to pay these higher wages, rents, and other costs, without an increase of production, most manufacturers have had to ask higher prices for their goods. This has raised the cost of living for everybody, so that even these workers themselves have greatly suffered thereby. We all have been trying to lift ourselves by our boot-straps. Hence we get less for our money today than ever before.

"(2) As the prices of these domestic goods were advanced, foreign manufacturers were able to ship in more foreign goods and undersell the domestic manufacturers. Then these latter turned to their various governments and

asked for protection. The Germans wanted more colonies; the Italians and French wanted 'spheres of influence'; the English wanted greater ship subsidies and a bigger navy; while our own manufacturers have been wanting higher tariffs, Pan-Americanism, and the various other 'special privileges' that have been mentioned at this conference.

"(3) This struggle for 'special privileges' finally led to the present terrible war, which has brought so much suffering to every class. Altho in certain countries the capitalistic class may have been immediately responsible for this war, yet it was not wholly their fault. The demand for more wages, rents and profits by others spurred these manufacturers to seek greater foreign markets and to defend their present ones. Moreover, if organized labor now demands further immigration restrictions and other special privileges for itself also, the present European war will be followed by a much more brutal Asiatic-American war.

"One special privilege always leads to another. Germany did not think about her 'place in the sun' until the English began to sing 'Britannia Rules the Waves.' Labor leaders did not seek to keep out foreign labor until manufacturers got laws to keep out foreign goods. *Germany should be condemned for her brutal conduct, but we should not forget that the Allies themselves have also secured most of their foreign markets by the very force that we so rightly condemn.*"

Babson here seems dimly to realize, in his comment on the simultaneous demand by capitalism and labor for increased returns, a fact apparently not fully recognized by students of the forces which have maintained the war, and that is, that the craft unions both in Europe and America have lent considerable support to the capitalists of their respective countries because the interests of capital and skilled labor have, to a certain degree, been identical. In other words, the

skilled labor of Britain believed it would read advantage in the shape of steady work and high wages from England's control of foreign markets. In the same way the German trade unions hoped to benefit from Germany's supremacy in these markets. Both British and German labor have therefore supported the imperialism of their countries.

In the same fashion Gompers and his A. F. L. group are backing the war party of the United States and probably for the same reasons, tho they may not acknowledge their motives even to themselves.

This explains, in large measure, why the craft unions of the various warring powers have given up, almost without a murmur, the right and privileges they have spent years in attaining and submitted to an iron regime closely akin to industrial slavery. This explains, too, why the American Federation of Labor is making so little protest now against the concerted move on the part of our capitalists to deprive workers of all the rights and privileges of free men.

The only force that can cope with the menace of industrial conscription is industrial unionism. It alone can turn the capitalist plan of herding workers into immense masses into a weapon against capitalism itself. Unless all signs are worthless, this war will bring about the destruction or impotence of craft unionism in all its branches. Labor will be helpless unless it utilizes the power which its massing under great capital barons bestows upon it.

## GRASS

By Carl Sandburg

Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and  
Waterloo.

Shovel them under and let me work.

I am the grass. I cover all.

And pile them high at Gettysburg,  
And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun.  
Shovel them under and let me work.

Two years, ten years, and people on pas-  
senger trains ask the conductor:

What place is this?

Where are we now?

I am the grass. Let me work.

—From *Seven Arts Magazine*.

# CONSCRIPT THE MINES!

## Let the Congressional Record Speak

ON August 7th Representative Jeannette Rankin made her first speech on the floor of the House. Miss Rankin's effort was in support of a resolution introduced by her empowering the President to take over metalliferous mines, to be operated by the Government in the interest of the common defense. One would suppose such a measure and the argument therefor would be of considerable interest to the citizens of Butte and Montana, but if our daily news (?) papers made any mention of it, we failed to discover it. After reading Miss Rankin's remarks the reason for this oppressive silence on the part of our patriotic company-owned jack-in-the-box editors is perfectly obvious. Hereunder is printed the speech in full, taken direct from the Congressional Record:

Joint resolution to authorize the President to take over and operate metalliferous mines in certain cases.

Resolved, etc., That the powers granted to the President by section 10 of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August —, 1917, to requisition and take over mines for use or operation by the Government, are hereby extended to apply to metalliferous mines, the product of which is a necessary raw material in the manufacture of supplies needed for the common defense.

Miss RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I find in studying the powers that have been granted to the President to enable him to carry on the war, he has been given power to commandeer and operate practically every industry that is engaged in supplying materials necessary for the conduct of the war. Among other things, he is given the power to take over and operate the coal mines, but nowhere has he been given the power to take over metalliferous mines.

At this time copper, a metal essential to the every-day life of people in every part of the civilized world, is a necessity in war, a basic necessity. It is a necessity that we can not overlook at this time. You have been informed by the daily press that the copper mines in the West, in Arizona and Montana, have not been operating to their fullest capacity. This is due to the fact that the mine owners and the mine workers have been unable to agree. The result has been an alarming decrease in the production of copper. According to the estimates of the Council of National Defense, the production in Butte in July was 12,000,000 pounds, while the normal output is 30,000,000 pounds a month. This disagreement has also meant a great lawlessness. In Bisbee hundreds of men were deported in complete contempt of law and order. In Butte a man was lynched by masked men.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield for a question?

Miss RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Did this man who was hanged belong to an organization which declares that it owes allegiance to no government?

Miss RANKIN. I understand that he belonged to the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, if that is what the gentleman has in mind.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Is the lady familiar with the preamble and the basic law of that outfit?

Miss RANKIN. Yes; but this is a question of lawlessness. It is not a question of whom they hanged. (Applause.)

As our laws read today, there is no means for handling the situation. I am advised that the President has no real power by which to act. Therefore I am introducing this resolution, which I hope the committee will have ready to report to Congress when the absent members return.

I have tried by every means that I know of to get governmental machinery in action to handle this deplorable situation in my State. I have been kept in close touch with the situation in Butte. After the deportation occurred in Bisbee I received telegrams from Butte asking for Federal protection. I reported this to the Department of Labor and was informed that the department was doing all in its power to handle the situation thru its representative, Mr. Rogers. A week ago last night I received a telegram at midnight saying that Mr. Rogers had left Butte, that no satisfactory settlement had been made, and that the people feared violence, and urged me to ask Secretary Wilson for protection. I telephoned this message to the Secretary at once. He asked me to see him the next day. I tried all the next day, until late in the evening, and was still trying to see the Secretary on Wednesday morning, when I received word that a man had been lynched.

Then came more appeals for protection. I tried to see the President, the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and, finally, the War Department. The only satisfaction I received was in the War Department, when I convinced them that the troops guarding the mines had been federalized, and therefore were under Federal control. Then it was agreed that some investigation of the situation would be made. In a crisis of this kind, coming as it does in time of war, when all our attention should be centered upon the enemy and not on local difficulties, there should be some effective means by which the Government would be able to protect itself against a decrease in necessary productiveness, and by which the people of each State would be guaranteed the protection provided by the constitution of the United States. (Applause.)

Some explanation of the situation in Butte may be helpful at this time. Just before the outbreak of the European war difficulties in the Butte Miners' Union resulted in the disruption of the union, so that for the past three years the men have been working in Butte mines practically

unorganized. For some years the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. has been using what is called in Butte the "rustling-card system." This rustling-card system is practically a blacklist on a national scale, or perhaps it had better be called a "white list." It works in this way: The Anaconda Copper Mining Co. has an employment bureau to which every miner must apply if he wishes a job. Here his record is investigated, and if it is found that he has never complained of his working conditions, if he has a clean record as to unions—that is, if he is not what they call an agitator—or if he has voted the right political ticket, he is given a rustling card. This is in effect a permit, as we say in the West, "to rustle" for a job. The man who applies for work at any mine is first asked to show his rustling card. If he cannot produce one, he is not hired. This rustling card system has effectively discouraged the men from organizing. It has prevented them from demanding the enforcement of laws requiring safety devices in the mines. It has caused them to hesitate to discuss their grievances on the outside. The conditions of the mines have grown more and more unsafe. I have had heartbreaking letters from the wives of the miners saying that when their husbands went to work they never knew whether or not they would ever return, and that they lived in constant anxiety.

On June 8, 160 men were burned to death in a fire in one mine. This was the climax. The men stopped work.

The workers knew that they would never be safe as long as the rustling-card system existed. For under that system every man who complained of conditions or reported dangers or endeavored to form an organization was laid off for one reason or another, and it would be impossible for him to obtain work again in any mine in Montana or elsewhere. This rustling-card system is opposed by every legitimate labor organization in my State and it is easy to see the necessity of abolishing it.

Mr. John D. Ryan, of New York, the president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. is the man responsible for this situation. You are probably all familiar with Mr. Ryan's name in connection with his recent affiliation with the activities of the American Red Cross. If Mr. Ryan says the rustling-card system must be abolished, it will be. I have tried in vain to draw this fact to his attention, however. My telegrams have reached Mr. Ryan, but as yet I have received no response. The question I wished to ask Mr. Ryan, whether at this time, considering the great needs of the country in war, he would agree to abolish the rustling-card system, to meet grievance committees, and to recognize a union, a bona fide union, if it was organized.

Telegrams today say that the conditions in Butte are as bad as ever. And on my own responsibility I am urging a measure which I hope may relieve the situation.

It was with regard to these same mines that the

newspapers some months ago were filled with the news of large Government purchases of copper for the war. Thru the patriotic efforts of some prominent men the Government was able to secure copper for 16.67 cents a pound when the market price was 32 cents. At this price the Government purchased 50,000,000 pounds of copper, and later purchased 50,000,000 more. However, the companies refused to accept this same price, and they are now waiting for the Committee on War Purchases to say what they will pay. This incident has received no publicity. But it is interesting to the American people to know that if the committee sets the price at the present market price of 28 cents, this one purchase will cost the Government \$6,000,000 more than the advertised price. Added to this, the copper interests have the advantage of not being on the embargo list.

Under these circumstances I believe it is imperative that the President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, be given the power to take over the metalliferous mines and operate them for the benefit of the Nation. (Applause.) Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. The lady from Montana asks unanimous consent to extend her remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, before that request is put I want to ask the lady from Montana if she will answer a question: Did the lady from Montana undertake to lay any of these facts that she has so graphically depicted before the President or before the heads of any of the executive departments?

Miss RANKIN. I tried to see the President and the Attorney General in order to lay those facts before them, and also the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of War, just as I reported. I was unable to see the President.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did you receive information from any one of the departments, the Attorney General's department in particular, as to whether any action might be expected against those who control the copper output, as the lady described it?

Miss RANKIN. I was told there was no way to get action except by utilizing moral influence and asking Mr. Ryan to try to act for the benefit of the Nation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the lady from Montana bring to the attention of the department officials the lynching of the man to whom she has referred?

Miss RANKIN. I appeared before the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of War and tried to see the Attorney General.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And what satisfaction did the lady receive?

Miss RANKIN. No satisfaction, except as I have stated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.



## LUMBER BARONS REFUSE GOVERNMENT REQUEST

As we go to press we learn that Secretary of War Baker sent a telegram to the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, urging an eight-hour day for Pacific Coast lumber workers.

According to an Associated Press dispatch, Robert B. Allen, Secretary of the Association, said the lumbermen were anxious to co-operate with the government, but "they did not feel that they could concede the eight-hour day at this time." This open defiance of the government by the gentlemen composing this Association, coming at this time, is rank treason, and fifty thousand lumber jacks are watching the outcome.

## News from Lumber Workers' Strike

By JOHN MARTIN

THE general strike in the Lumber Industry as called by the L. W. I. U., No. 500, of the I. W. W. has spread practically to every camp and mill of the entire northwest. Not a wheel is turning, no more is to be heard the sound of the woodman's axe. Quiet reigns all over.

At the General Convention of the L. W. I. U. held in Spokane last spring it was decided to call a strike in the latter part of the summer, so as to obtain better working conditions thruout the Lumbering Industry. But things were so unbearable that they forced the men out on strike before they really intended to go. Out of the woods and mills they came by the thousands, determined that they would not return until their demands, an eight-hour day with no reduction in pay, were granted. And today these sturdy sons of the forests stand as a solid wall, which the lumber barons are unable to break down. Many brutal methods by the authorities have been used against them. Many of our members have been jailed, and are now being held in bull-pens and stockades, incommunicado, thruout the country, and are being treated like they are a bunch of wild animals.

In many instances lawyers have been refused by town authorities to see those in prison. At Klamath Falls, Oregon, the lawyer sent there by the organization to look after the men in jail, was deported out of town at the point of a gun after he was told by the gunmen that they would hang half of the men in jail and throw the rest of them in the river. Many of our halls have

been raided, literature and supplies stolen by the tools of the lumber companies. On several occasions our delegates have been arrested by soldiers and their supplies taken away from them, and inquiries to United States attorneys in regards to returning these supplies do not even meet with a reply, but with all their dirty tactics and high-handed methods, they have not been able to break the strike.

The solidarity displayed by the striking lumber workers is wonderful, and especially as hardly any organization existed among them up to last fall, when the delegates started to make the drive for members. The lumber workers, recalling the hard times existing in previous years and the need of organization, joined by the score, and today they control the situation of the biggest strike ever called in the Lumber Industry. Wherever you go you will meet the wobbly picket. He is on the job day and night, always on the lookout for scabs, but very few have the lumber barons been able to get so far. The lumber jacks and mill workers realize more and more that "An injury to one is an injury to all," and are staying away from the camps and mills.

The situation in general looks very promising. Idaho has been the storm center, and it is the most solidly organized section of the strike area. The Governor of Idaho has practically admitted that he has failed to break the strike, and that the only thing left to do is to get the men back to work. He wants to arrange a conference with our "leaders," and he has been informed that there are about fifty thousand leaders in



LUMBER WORKERS ON THE JOB IN WASHINGTON.

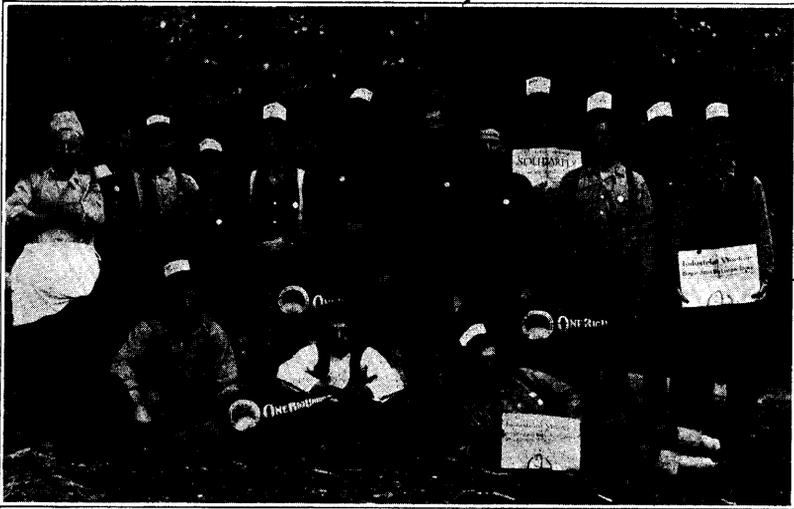


WOBBLIES ON THE FIRING LINE AT INDEX, WASHINGTON.

this strike. The Organization Committee in Spokane told him that every hall that has been closed will have to be opened again, every picket who has been arrested will have to be released, our demands granted, our right to organize respected, and a stop put to the Cossack-like tactics of "Officers of the Law" who have grown so arrogant that a Russian secret service man of the Czar's regime would be lost in admiration of them. There will no doubt be a conference of lumber barons to consider the proposition before long, and they may try to run a bluff on us. But anyone with half an eye can see that we have them in the hollow of our hands. All we have to

do now is to "HOLD THE FORT," and the victory will be ours.

Many of these pickets have been arrested for no reason whatsoever. But a new squad appears on the job the next day, always realizing that we are in this fight to win, and win we will, if the outside workers give us a helping hand. Many of our members are married and have children. These rebel women and kids must be taken care of. Remember, if this strike is won it will mean one of the greatest victories for labor. Funds are urgently needed, so donate whatever you can, and do it now. Send all funds to John Martin, Room 40, Union Black, Seattle, Washington.



PICKETS

## WHY WE STRUCK

By W. L. MORGAN

**T**HE conditions under which the lumber workers existed during past years in the Northwest were worse than any pen could portray. I am making an effort to describe them because of the misrepresentations of the capitalist press regarding the lumber workers in this great and growing strike. They have maintained that wages were high and that conditions in the lumber camps "were satisfactory." For

many years I have worked in the Northwest lumber camps and am able to tell you about them from personal experience.

Ten hours a day, which was our working day, is far too long for men who are employed at this irksome labor which taxed the endurance of the most powerful men. Besides we walked to and from the job on our own time, which stretched the working day to eleven or twelve hours.



PICKETS

When we got back to camp at night we were so played out that we had no strength for recreation or study, but were overcome with a desire for sleep. We existed like horses or mules. The work on the job was not only hard but dangerous and we were continually speeded up to the limit of our endurance. For this giving of our entire strength, our entire lives, as you might say, we were paid a bare subsistence. When our board bills were squared there was not much left for clothing.

Our food was of the worst and our "homes" were the dwelling place of vermin. We were packed like sardines in a can amid the odor of drying socks, filthy blankets and the breathing of many men. These unsanitary bunk houses were the breeding places of disease. We had smallpox and other epidemics impossible in clean surroundings. Medical attention was a farce although we paid our fees three or four times a month. Combined with the commissary graft life became intolerable. Many of the workers became apathetic to their surroundings and indifferent to attempts to better their lot.

At last the idea of organizing into One Big Union struck us and since then the men have awakened to new hope, a new interest in life. They have been putting up a valiant fight ever since. When the lumber jacks got interested they began to line up with surprising speed. During the last year the small beginnings have grown into a powerful organization, the members of which are recognizing their economic strength.

To offset this growing *solidarity* on the part of the workers, the lumber barons

started a blacklist. Rustling cards, similar to those forced upon the Butte miners, were introduced to weed out the union men in the camps. The blacklist proved a failure as most of the boys had already joined the union. This action to stop the organization of the lumber jacks on the Pacific coast resulted in the tragedy at Everett, Wash., when five workers were ruthlessly shot down by the hired assassins of the lumber trust.

Instead of stemming the tide of organization, this crime stimulated it, until at last the O. B. U. has become so strong that it has tied up the lumber industry like a bolt from the blue and every day seems to give better promise of the boys winning what they are striking for.

Here are our demands: An eight hour day which will allow us opportunity for recreation and for study and education.

Sixty dollars a month and free board, which every man ought to have in these days of high cost of living.

Sanitary bunkhouses, dry rooms, clean, wholesome food and shower baths, the need of which I hope I do not have to argue.

Nor for our demands for sheets and pillow cases, the like of which no lumber jack ever sees while working on the job.

The welfare of society demands that the lumber workers win this strike which will mean stronger, healthier, more intelligent workers in the great Northwest; workers who will strive always for a new social system, an Industrial Democracy wherein every man, woman and child shall be free from the shackles of wage slavery. Our last demand for no discrimination against men in the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union is essential to bring this about.

## The Lumber Jacks

By OLIN B. ANDERSON

ONE of the most vital and momentous class struggles ever waged on the industrial arena is being fought by the newly awakened Giant: The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, I. W. W.

He has risen with indignant and virile manhood from his crouching submission in the dust and brushed the sleep from his eyes.

He has been looked upon as being too callous and inert beneath his galling burdens to unite in any place other than before the "booze bar" and this sudden and unexpected volcanic eruption on his part has sent glimmering all previous theories regarding his "specie."

It may be that the giant plumed forest monarchs have whispered their secrets of *Solidarity* to him; or that the turbulent

floods have taught him of the course gravitating toward a common end (organization, the immutable law of life) but nevertheless by some mysterious agency he, at last, has thrown aside his peavy and ax, calmly filled his "jimmy pipe" and is *demanding* a larger share of the good things his sinewy hands have produced. He did not "blow his stake" in a drunken brawl, get vicious and start a "rough house" but wisely dropped his money in a strike fund "grub stake" to put his fellow slaves next to the advantages of *Industrial Organization*; got in picket lines and began a peaceful, confident vacation of "watchful waiting."

No "morning after" headaches, black eyes, of "grim visaged" judges (with the exception of "trumped up" charges) but the putting of his great gnarled hands in the *empty* pockets of his "staged" pants, his class conscious realization of being in the possession of the greatest weapon on earth: *Economic Power*.

The arduous, hazardous and abnormal conditions of the river drives which requires men to wade the icy mountain waters, from ten to fourteen hours per day and sleep in wet clothing; the greatly increased cost of all necessary outfits; (driver shoes as high as \$12) for the meager pittance of \$3, became unbearable, and culminated in the river drivers' strike.

One of the first blows was against the Eureka Lumber Company on the Fortine River Mont. They had previously boasted they would put a ban on all I. W. Ws., but upon shipping a "specially selected" car load from Spokane, they suddenly found themselves submarined by "*solidarity*" in what they supposed to be submissive and peaceful waters. They at once resorted to the old time tactics in "skinning the red man" and through luring and deceptive promises, imported a band from the White Earth Reservation.

About 140 soldiers arrived at once, supposedly to protect railroad property, but immediately began the patrolling of the river, and guarding scabs.

The good behavior of the strikers was a surprise and disappointment to the Masters

and in a frenzied effort to disorganize them, they resorted to "trumped up" charges of vagrancy against Organizer J. I. Turner, Delegate Louis Miller and three of the strike and press committee.

After a two day's jury trial they were released. Fred Hegge was arrested at Fortine by the Federal authorities and kept under guard for fifty-eight days at Whitefish. The Whitefish hall was raided and closed, and Fellow Worker Wm. Collins and others arrested.

The Great Northern R. R. was in the midst of extensive construction work there, and the I. W. W.'s in their effort to organize for a betterment of their conditions, were looked upon as being a "menace" to big business.

The press reports the hall at North Yakima raided, and boasts of 30 members arrested. In acting as a rebel once did at a place called Nazareth two Greek Fellow Workers were arrested and deported from Boville to Moscow, Ida., with the horrible charge of "agitation" being preferred against them. From all over the country flashes the news of the pillaging of halls, the destruction of literature, and the wanton mistreatment and imprisonment of active members. Yet thru it all we rejoice, for we realize such actions are digging the grave of capitalism.

The active tyranny being inflicted upon the I. W. W. organization by our foes, proves its worth to the working class. We are sincerely proud of our enemies. News of the most encouraging importance is constantly pouring in from all quarters, and the strike zone is spreading like a consuming fire. Hurry up calls for supplies and membership cards is threatening to submerge the General Headquarters like an avalanche.

The results are a pleasant surprise to even the most zealous and optimistic. In full realization that *Organization and Not Whisky* lands the "solar plexus punch" and in strict avoidance of all actions that tends to breed violence, the One Big Union is destined to sweep forward with its organized economic power.

# Look At It!

By JACK PHILLIPS

PRESIDENT WILSON telegraphs Arizona business men that they are breaking the law, overriding constitutional rights of American workingmen, and the chief executive of the nation has "grave apprehensions" as to what will happen in the future if the Arizona anarchist business men continue taking the law in their own hands.

Here was a good chance for the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, the *Los Angeles Times* to print editorials about western business men who spit on the flag and sneer at the national bill of human rights when the nation is in a war.

Not a word came from the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, and the *Los Angeles Times* and the rest of the mouth-pieces of reaction, grab and profiteering. Instead they screamed for more and more I. W. W. heads to be tumbled into a bloody basket.

The red thirst of Herod smiling on Salome bringing the dripping head of John the Baptist on a platter, was a mild and easy thirst compared with the murderous appetite of western capitalists—and their helper, The Associated Press—in the Bisbee affair, and in the incident of the hanging of Frank Little.

The electric response of American Federation of Labor bodies to the lynching of Frank Little is significant. The Chicago Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Association of the Street and Electric Railway Employees, and other A. F. of L. organizations sprang instantly to recognition of the danger to fundamental human rights.

If the blood-mad copper barons of Montana can get away with the Little affair, then anything goes. This is what the old line craft unions see. Their own rights, and those of every workingman in America, are threatened.

When Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, publicly points to iron, steel and coal operators as "burglarizing," stealing extra-extra profits off the American nation dur-

ing war-time, the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, the *Los Angeles Times*—and The Associated Press—don't make much of it.

The iron, steel and coal profiteers are helping the Hohenzollern Kaiser to win the war.

The thieving copper barons of Arizona and Montana—reaping reckless and unprecedented profits off the allied nations—are helping the Hohenzollern Kaiser win the war.

The Omaha contractors who pick the present time for battling the building trades unions and the teamsters with the aim of making Omaha a non-union town—these Nebraska business men are doing their bit to help the Kaiser win the war.

The lumber kings of the northwest, earning war profits that surpass all previous records, they, too, are helping the Potsdam mastoid family prolong the world's saddest conflict.

Look at it!

Why are the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers and the *Los Angeles Times*—and The Associated Press—gagged, blind and helpless when it comes to telling the news, the facts and the truth about these friends of the Kaiser?

Whatever the I. W. W. may have done to delay the successful prosecution of the war does not compare for a moment with the tactics of the profit-hogs in those industries where the I. W. W. has been active.

One Boston paper sent a reporter to I. W. W. headquarters in Chicago and found out that the I. W. W. men would, most any of 'em, be "glad to take a shot at the Kaiser." The Associated Press, the Hearst papers or the *Chicago Tribune* could have learned the same thing by sending a reporter to ask questions.

Why is the charge of being pro-German leveled only at the I. W. W.? Why not at Frank Peabody, the Illinois coal profiteer? Why not at Charlie Schwab, the munitions profiteer? Why not at J. P.

Morgan and Elbert Gary, and the rest of the steel junkers, who are going right along with every fresh dividend surpassing its predecessor?

Look at it!

Shall the thieving, conniving profiteers be allowed to pose as patriots when the fact is that long hours and low wages, with rising living cost and rising death rates among workingmen and their children, is demonstrably of aid and comfort to the Kaiser?

Look at United Charities superintendent of Chicago announcing that contagious disease in some working class quarters of Chicago has increased 67 per cent, and the death rate 27 per cent, over the corresponding period last year.

In such a situation is it not the American employers and profiteers, paying less than subsistence wage, who are responsible for a human deterioration that is a distinct advantage to the Kaiser or any other enemy of the United States?

Look at it!

Who is helping Germany win the war? The human factor, the personal equation, human stamina and initiative, are more important than anything else in the winning of a war. These are the very factors that would be assisted through the granting of the wages, working hours and working conditions asked for by the I. W. W. The argument is unanswerable that the American business men, grabbers, bloodsuckers and profiteers, who are refusing decent wages, decent hours and decent conditions, are in this situation the best friends of the Kaiser and it is they who are helping Germany in her efforts to defeat the allies.

Look at it!

**W**ELL—Harrison Gray Otis is dead. An aristocrat gathered to the dust by the supreme democrat, Death.

A patrician crushed into a coffin and hauled to the graveyard at the command of the universal plebeian, Death.

He bought newspapers and politicians—

Harrison Gray Otis did—but he couldn't buy off Death.

He badgered, bulldozed and threw nameless shudders of fear into the business men of Los Angeles and Southern California, but when Death came he had no gesture or threat that was effective.

Death came and seized Harrison Gray Otis—slave-driver and advocate of slavery—dictatorial and foul-mouthed champion of industrial kaiserism and czarism—Death came at last and took Harrison Gray Otis with the same peculiar silent certainty that it takes a wop or a hunky or a rag-head.

**F**OOD control! Control by the nation of the means of life—control by the state of the bread and meat whereby men, women and children live and are nourished—control!

Let's see where it will bring us. We have gone so long with no food control at all except by the Armours, Swifts, profiteers, speculators, grabbers and blood-suckers, that it will be interesting to see where Hoover and the hooverers will end up.

"Let me *control* and I don't care who *owns*," was the essence of old J. Pierp. Morgan's philosophy.

"Billions of extra money will be poured into our factories for war materials—and because work will be plentiful money will be plentiful," writes L. Wineman, president People's Outfitting Co., Detroit, in the *Manufacturers' News*.

Billions—a B instead of an M, and, therefore, Billions and not Millions. Billions of dollars for billions of bushels of wheat, billions of biscuits, billions of coats, billions of pairs of shoes and socks.

The billions of the Allies pitted against the billions of Germany.

And manufacturers and manipulators in the allied nations and manufacturers and manipulators in Germany trying to pick, pluck, squeeze and sneak out billions of profits from the war of the billions.

In Germany, the Krupps. In the United States, the United States Steel Corporation, and the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Copper Trust, the Lumber Trust.



THE ONLY SHELL THAT WILL KILL MILITARISM.

# KING COAL

By HUGH REID

THE most important labor product in the world is coal. It is more important even than food. To be accurate, it is an ingredient of food. Cooking, canning and preserving require coal. The tin plate and heat that enter into a can of beans are just as important as the beans themselves.

Coal runs the railroads. It is the raw material out of which steam and electricity are made. It furnishes light, heat, power, and food for the nation. If our coal supply failed, the railroads would stop running; and the corn of Kansas, the wheat of the Dakotas and the fruits of Florida would rot while famine clutched New York and Chicago.

Grasp the big fact. Civilization is built upon coal. If a few men should control coal absolutely, they would actually have power of life and death over every man, woman and child in the nation.

Thirty-five per cent of all the freight carried in the country is coal. Ordinarily, bituminous or soft coal costs about 90 cents or \$1.00 at the mines. The United States Geological Survey has a record of average prices for twenty-five years. During that time it has been as low as 80 cents and as high as \$1.25. The high mark was reached during the big strike fourteen years ago.

It costs something to take the ton of coal from the mine to your basement. Railroads, middlemen, teamsters and others each add their share. But, ordinarily, it costs you about \$3.75 per ton in a city like Chicago—or maybe \$4.00. Today it costs you not less than \$6.50. If you are poor and can't afford to buy a large quantity at a time, it may cost you \$8.00 or \$10.00. These are not figures furnished by Socialists or agitators. The Federal Trade Commission (appointed by President Wilson) and the Indiana Public Service Commission both report the same figures, 100 to 400 per cent increase. An electrical company advertising in the *Indiana Forum* of July 21 pleads for a rate increase because coal has advanced 194 per cent.

What is the cause? Shortage of coal? Not exactly. Two-thirds of Illinois is un-

derlaid with coal four to seven feet thick. One big company alone owns land containing over a billion tons. The coal resources of America are almost untapped. Illinois is producing about one-seventh as much as England. And there it is produced under greater difficulties. We dig it at less than 350 feet in the middle west; in England they average 2,000 feet. Coal short? We haven't begun to dig it yet. Less than one per cent of our deposits are in use. All told we have 320,000,000 acres of coal lands five to seven feet thick. The official reports say we have three and one-half trillion tons available. At the present rate, that is 7,000 years' supply.

Maybe there is a shortage of labor. Guess again. The average mine is only running half time now and the men are idle three days a week. I am taking these statements from official reports. Over and over again this sentence crops out: "There is no shortage of coal in the ground or of men to mine it." There has been a small increase in wages, however. In the government suits in West Virginia wages were found to have advanced thirteen cents per ton. The market price of this same coal had advanced \$2.25 per ton. In Illinois and Indiana the wage increase is ten cents per ton and the market price has increased at least \$1.75 per ton. You can get that more easily when you look at it this way: Wages have increased fifteen per cent, profits have increased 1,700 to 2,200 per cent! No, you will have to look somewhere else besides wages for the cause of the increase.

Possibly there is an unusual demand for coal. There is. But the demand is not equal to one-third of the possible supply. That means we shall have to look somewhere else to find the cause.

The investigating bodies which have looked into this question so far report the same facts. They say that plenty of coal can be mined, but that the railroads will not deliver cars to ship it. When cars are delivered, they are being routed to the great cities in a roundabout manner and delayed in every way possible.

This is partly due to inefficiency. Private

ownership of railroads has broken down in America as it has in Europe. The old machine which worked fairly well—never any too well, however—in peace times has gone wrong the first time it hit rough roads.

There is more than inefficiency, however. Part of the trouble is plain graft. The big mines are owned by the railroads and a lot more are controlled by them. There is one inside ring in the middle west that controls half a dozen railroads, mines 18,000,000 tons of coal per year and operates 1,300 public utility companies. The big coal man of this ring is Francis S. Peabody. This is the man chosen to see that no one is robbed by the coal barons. Officially he is known as the Chairman of the Coal Production Committee of the Council of National Defense. Sounds imposing, doesn't it?

Shortly after this committee went into office we heard a great deal of loud talk about a reduction in coal prices. Then after a few weeks we saw great headlines in the newspapers and the public heaved a great sigh of relief. At last! Coal prices have been reduced. Every newspaper heralded the new prices as revolutionary. There were editorials galore congratulating the coal barons on their voluntary reductions. For a day or two it looked like the millenium.

Then after the chief din had died away the still small voices began to be heard. Here and there were sceptics who had compared figures. Some of them couldn't find the "reductions." Neither could anyone else. Nor can they today. At the time this article is written the prices published by the Peabody Committee are still fifty cents to a dollar per ton higher than the market prices in the Illinois-Indiana districts. The city of Springfield reported that "screenings" bought in June for 90 cents under contract had risen to \$2.25. The Peabody Committee "reduced" the price to \$2.75 in the same district.

Meanwhile, railroads come before the Interstate Commerce Commission and ask for a 15 per cent increase in rates. The principal excuse given is the increased price of coal. Get the facts there. The railroads own or control most of the mines. First they charge themselves more for coal and then they raise the rates to cover the overcharge. This is called "passing the buck" in financial circles.

This coal industry is no small one. The United States used last year 590,000,000 tons. A graft of only a dime a ton would be worth fighting for. At present it means \$1.75 to \$2.25 per ton. During the coming year the United States will produce 750,000,000 tons. This makes the probable excess war profits between \$1,300,000,000 and \$1,700,000,000. This is worth a real scrap. My estimates are, by the way, very conservative. A writer in the *July Commoner*, who has been in the habit of purchasing a million tons per year, estimates the graft at \$2,400,000,000. The same writer estimates that labor gets one-twentieth of the increase!

Now, what is the remedy? In the first place, cleanse the temple. This is no time for profit hunting. The nation is at war. The big coal barons like Peabody should be removed at once. If any advice is needed it should be supplied by trained investigators with no personal stake in the advice. The real remedies have been pointed out by the Federal Trade Commission. Here they are:

1. Take over the mines.
2. Take over the railroads.

This would not be government ownership as the proposal is merely to seize them for the period of the war. Maybe they would be handed back—and maybe not. Monopolists have succeeded in acquiring title to our great ore deposits and it has been possible for them to deny us access except upon their own terms. The result is that men and women work for a pittance within sight of riches. Do you think that if they once laid their hands upon their own resources, they would ever let go? Let the people once have control of their great basic industries and the social revolution is under way. No mere paper titles ever again would be strong enough to exclude them from their own.

The great upheaval taking place in society is working tremendous changes everywhere. The writer is of the opinion that America will benefit as well as Russia. Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany have been forced by necessity to abandon private railroads. America must come to it soon. Why not immediately?

This is probably the most revolutionary proposal ever made by an American governmental body. Why not get behind it and start something?



*Bingo*

COPPER TRUST TO THE PRESS:

"It's all right, pal; just tell them he was a traitor."

## A Month of Lawlessness

By MARY MARCY

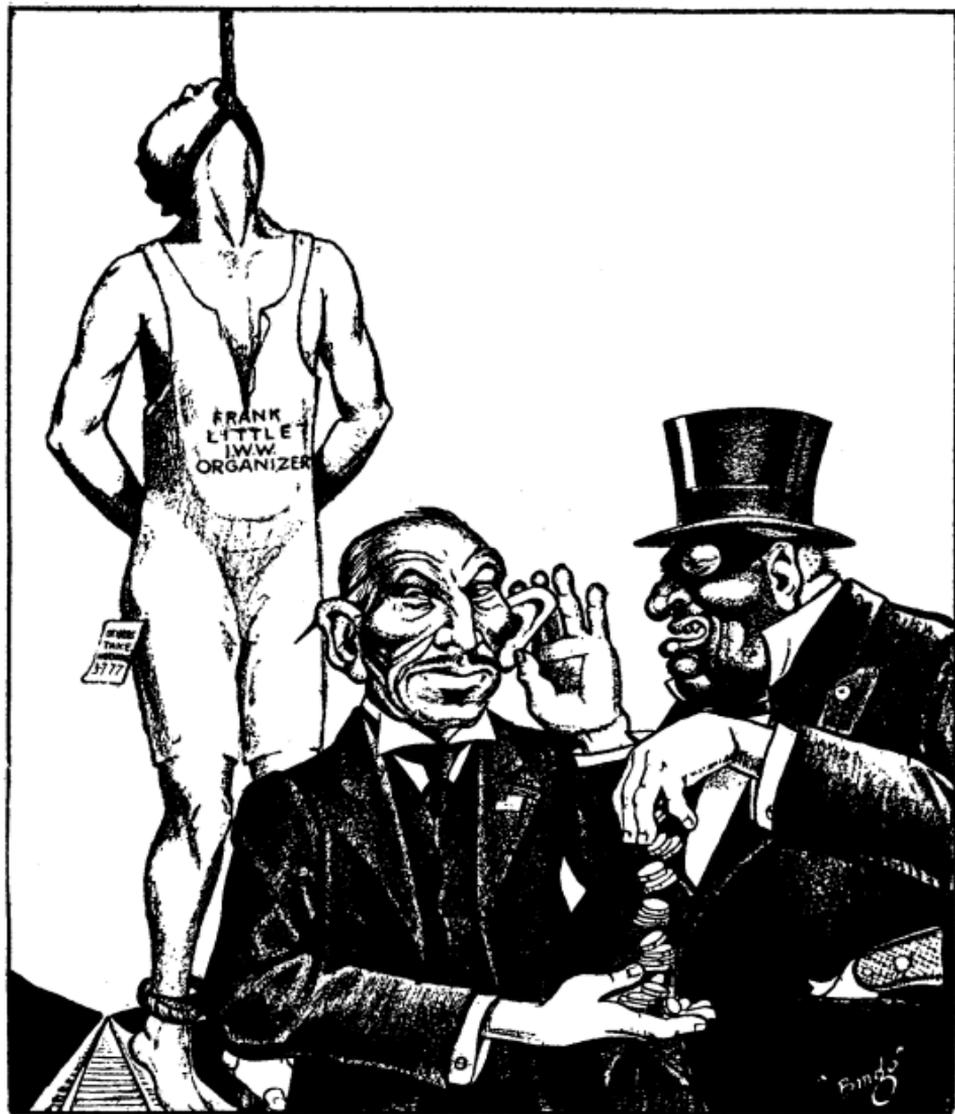
**N**O matter what newspapers you may have read during the past month, it must have been borne in upon your mind that the capitalist class of these United States has entered upon a reign of terror and lawlessness the like of which we have not seen since the days of the Haywood-Pettibone kidnapping.

As the REVIEW went to press last month word came that over 2,000 members of the I. W. W. Metal Workers' Industrial Union and sympathizers had been illegally rounded up by the hired gunmen of the Bisbee copper kings, loaded into freight cars so closely that they were unable to sit down and rushed south across the desert without food or water for thirty-six hours, where they have since been detained at Columbus, New Mexico, and fed by the U. S. Army. An utterly arbitrary and illegal censorship was laid upon the telegraph office by the mine owners and only such news of this lawless de-

portation permitted to reach the outside world as had been approved by the copper-grabbing mine owners.

Since that time the Metal Workers and their friends, nearly all whom had some kind of a "home" and some few belongings in Bisbee, have been forcibly detained under the "protection" of the army, while their wives and families have been left to get along at home as best they may. At this writing we want you to know that nothing has been done to send these miners back to their homes or to permit them to return to their families in spite of the fact that President Wilson so far disapproved of the lawless methods of the mine owners that he telegraphed his apprehension of their acts.

Now comes word from San Francisco that Prosecuting Attorney Cunha, of that ill-famed city, has declared that even should it be proved that every one of his witnesses against Tom and Rena Mooney and the boys charged with conspiracy in



*Bingo*

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the bomb-explosion case, had committed perjury, he would not lift a finger to save the defendants, but would hang them if he could. Of this case, which has become notorious over the hemisphere, the *New York Globe* says editorially:

"The acquittal of Mrs. Rena Mooney, on trial on a charge of murder for alleged participation in the San Francisco explosion of last year, is a result most gratifying to every intelligent friend of law and order in this country and is a crushing defeat to elements, now active in one community and now in another, that have been undermining in a most anarchistic way the foundations of organized justice.

"All doubt is removed that the prosecuting authorities of San Francisco, responsive to Chamber of Commerce influences that are mad, have been engaged in a deliberate attempt to convict of the greatest crimes innocent persons. The whole case against Mrs. Mooney and her convicted husband, and presumptively against Billings, the defendant first convicted, is a frame-up.' It was proved beyond peradventure, by photographs accidentally taken at the very time Mrs. Mooney was alleged to have been carrying to the place of the crime a suit case containing explosives, that she was more than a mile away peacefully watching the parade with her husband and a group of friends. In the first two trials the witnesses of the prosecution, persons of the lowest character, committed themselves definitely as to when they had observed Mrs. Mooney. On her trial, to meet the unchallengeable evidence of the photographs, they advanced the time so as to permit her to have returned home.

"Moreover, letters written by a witness named Oxman, who testified to seeing the defendants near the scene of the crime, showed he asked another witness to come to San Francisco to corroborate him, making the promise that his testimony would be paid for. The prosecuting attorney of San Francisco seems to have had a guilty knowledge of these infamous transactions. Throughout, in countless ways, the case reeks with perjury procured by detective agencies hired by organizations of employers. No reasonable person can entertain doubt that a conspiracy to convict innocent men existed, that it was countenanced and aided by

agents of the courts, and that it was so successful as to secure the conviction of one man and his sentencing to life imprisonment, and the conviction of another and his sentencing to death.

"In Paterson, in Colorado, in San Francisco, in various places, the idea prevails that it is permissible for public officials to become lawless and to stop at nothing in winning industrial disputes. The poisonous doctrine must be suppressed. It is born to the pit. It gives substance to the claim that the courts in this country are not just, are not the agents of all of us to punish evildoers equally, but the instruments of a selfish class. Every lover of law and order must see to it that the courts are free of this most dangerous anarchistic corruption. As bad as the I. W. W. are said to be are those business men and others who adopt their principles and imitate their practices.

"A way should be found to put in stripes public officers who do not play fair in class collisions. Things in this country will not be clean and wholesome until some prosecuting attorney who suborns perjury is in the penitentiary and a record made that will lead other prosecuting attorneys to respect the law."

At the same time a crisis has been reached among the coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America who are burning with indignation at the deportation of eighty members from Madrid to Gallup, New Mexico, because they were strong union men and warm advocates of unionism. Secretary William Green of the U. M. W. declares that a general strike of the coal miners will be called if the Government fails to protect the return of the eighty members.

Frank Farrington, member of the Coal Production Committee, insists that Mr. Green expresses the view of the whole membership.

"We cannot allow any set of men to take the law into their hands, forcibly remove our men from where they are living and shuttle them back and forth across the country as these *lawbreakers* may see fit.

"When union men, law-abiding in every respect, are driven out of a town where they reside, on no pretext whatever except that some corporation wants to get rid of union men, then we are going to

see that the law is obeyed by all parties if we can accomplish it."

James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., after receiving full information of the Bisbee lawlessness, said:

"This raid was simply a general attack by the Phelps-Dodge copper interests, acting largely through small business men and others whom they had whipped into line, against the entire labor movement. It is the first step in a big struggle for the right to organize the copper camps.

"The fight would not be so hard if the union men of Arizona would get together on one program. If the idea of solidarity could once take hold of them, no matter what the name of the union in which they all held membership, it would win a sweeping and permanent triumph. There is just one way to beat the bosses in the mining country and that is by solidarity of unionism."

And now comes the crowning horror of this reign of terror, when thru the copper thieves' greed for more millions, in their fight against the demands of the Butte copper miners for better living conditions, a gang of masked men awoke Frank Little, General Organizer of the I. W. W., from his sleep at 3 o'clock in the morning, dragged him, with his broken ankle still in a plaster cast, to a bridge outside of town, where they left his poor bruised body, mangled by the thugs of the capitalist class through long years of labor struggles, hanging at the end of a rope—*done to death*—because he taught the organization of the working class—*his class*—for the things they produce.

And the "world's greatest newspaper," the infamous *Chicago Tribune*, gloats thus editorially at this latest exhibition of lawless profit-grabbing run mad:

"The howls of Industrial Workers of the World over the lynching of Little will find, we believe, no echo in any reasonable American's heart. The wonder is that more of these agitators in the west have not been treated in the same way by outraged communities which have listened to their vicious threats.

"When men of this variety, who take cover behind a law and a respect for the law which they are trying to destroy, are handled illegally, they can hardly expect

sympathy. The northwest and west must be heartily sick of them and certainly the time for their punishment is long overdue. It is a pity that punishment in the case of Little was administered by lynchers. It should have been given formally by constituted authority.

"And this brings us to the lesson of this episode. If the authorities will not act when the safety of society is concerned citizens will take it upon themselves. That is the paramount law of self-preservation and the best ordered community in the world will and must enforce that law. Of course, in the case of Little his associates say he is a martyr to capitalism. He is nothing but a victim of his own game, which was to counsel violence against the order which plain citizens respect. If mine owners hired his lynchers they only anticipated what the community would eventually be compelled to do if the law did not act. And the law must act with more power and promptness against such men. We have had too much of vague sentimentality and fuddled reasoning. The right of free speech does not cover licenses."

We could mention a score of other debauches of lawlessness on the part of the robber class that have occurred in the United States of America during the past few weeks, but these are sufficient.

The laws of this country, and of every capitalist country existing today were made *by and for the benefit* of—the owners of the factories, shops, mills, the mines and the forests. But these owners of the means of production and distribution have made these laws to keep you from enjoying the products of your labor and to protect themselves in the enjoyment of the things the working class has made. They do not themselves obey these laws. Whenever their stolen profits are menaced they stoop to deportations, frame-ups, hangings, lynchings, dynamitings, the murder of non-combatant women and children—to the lowest depths of human degradation—to prevent the workers, who produce all their wealth, from gaining higher wages and cutting down their enormous dividends.

Organization is within the law; free speech and a free press are guaranteed by the Constitution. But the working class has no rights, no privileges, no law,

The working class has only the strength, the power of its two strong hands, of its sober mind, of its class solidarity.

Labor feeds the world; it fetches and carries the food, the coal, the clothing. It turns all the wheels of industry. From its hand comes the food of the gunman, the clothes he wears, the roof that shelters him, the train that hauls him to the spot where he may lynch or shoot striking workers.

The *Law* will not help us in a reign of *lawlessness*. Street barricades will avail us nothing today. But organization and education in the basic industries, in *all* industries—class solidarity—these will help us to understand that *TODAY all power lies in the very hollow of our hands, because our hands control the economic destinies of every nation.*

All power is based upon the use of

economic power. Governments represent the class that is most strong economically. The German soldier is composed of one thousand meals a year; the most eminent Divine finds his most exalted inspiration in roast beef or a lamb chop purchased with Standard church donations—and chooses for his text something like "Blessed are the Meek," or "Render Unto Caesar that Which is Caesar's." All social institutions existing today represent the interest of the owners of the economic forces of society.

The foundations of society were economic. And it is our hands that turn these economic wheels. Class solidarity, class organization on the economic field will enable us at last to abolish a system that rests upon robbery, and sloth, poverty and industry, murder and oppression!







From The Masses

AMERICA

Two Deportations—



Boardman Robinson

BELGIUM

Take Your Choice



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I. W. W. CAMP SCENE AT COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO—THE NEW HOME OF THE DEPORTED COPPER MINERS.

## The Eleven Hundred Exiled Copper Miners

By Leslie Marcy

**T**WO million men carrying union cards, along with one million Socialists and sympathizers, are wondering how much longer the Phelps Dodge Company of Arizona will continue to defy the President of the United States.

On July 12th, 1,164 Arizona copper miners and sympathizers were exiled from their homes in Bisbee, Arizona, to Columbus, New Mexico. Fully two thousand more were deported out of the Warren District.

REVIEW readers will recall that President Wilson protested against mob action instigated by the Phelps Dodge Company in the guise of the Citizens' Alliance. Six weeks have elapsed and these 1,164 men are also wondering why the government does not act in protecting them in their rights as citizens of the United States.

The so-called Citizens' Alliance is composed of bankers, lawyers, preachers, doctors, insurance agents and other parasites of the same ilk, who are all company-owned.

Their boast is to make Bisbee an open town, no unions to be tolerated. The leader of this mob is one Brophy, who is down on the payroll of the Phelps Dodge Company as head of their mercantile department. Only a few months ago it was openly charged that he was supplying arms and ammunition to the Mexican insurgents. His favorite pose is that of a patriot.

Another one of this gang goes by the name of Ed Tovreau. He holds a government contract to supply meat to army encampments in that part of the country.

The mayor, who was elected on the company's ticket, is a leading member in the Alliance. He is a pumpman and a scab.

It is openly charged that Sheriff Wheeler took advantage of President Wilson's statement to the effect that now is the time to arrest all slackers by swearing in several hundred deputies by 'phone, the majority of whom supposed they were going to carry out a government order.

On the morning of the round-up, hundreds of pickets were arrested as fast as they appeared for duty. Meanwhile gunmen attacked the boarding houses and by 9:30 in the morning four thousand miners were rounded up in the ball park at the point of high-powered rifles.

When Sheriff Wheeler was asked by a miner as to what was the charge, his reply was, "None of your damn business." The miners were unarmed, altho a company gunman was filled with lead and a miner was killed.

At least three hundred of these miners owned their homes. Many of them had lived in the district for years and they had many friends among the town people. The gunmen visited the stores of tradespeople who were known to be sympathizers with

the strikers, and told them to "sell out or get out." Several were deported with the miners.

Twenty-eight cattle and box cars were thoughtfully furnished by the El Paso and Southwestern Railways and it was a thrilling moment when the show-down came and the one thousand men displayed their solidarity by sticking together.

An elderly lady, Mrs. Payne, whose husband was acting as a gunman, cried out to her two sons to stay in line and "be men with the men."

As they were going down the road, one of the miners, Forbes by name, one of the old members of the Western Federation of Miners, saluted an army officer by saying, "What's the matter with the army?" His skull was fractured by a gunman.

A miner's wife was knocked down in her own cabin when protesting against the seizure of her husband. Two hours afterwards she gave birth to a dead baby.

Mr. William Cleary, better known as Bill Cleary, is a prominent local lawyer and was deported with the miners. He is an active socialist and campaigned with James Connolly on his last trip to this country. Mr. Cleary tried to send a telegram to Governor Hunt but the telegraph operators were intimidated by gunmen and his telegram was filed.

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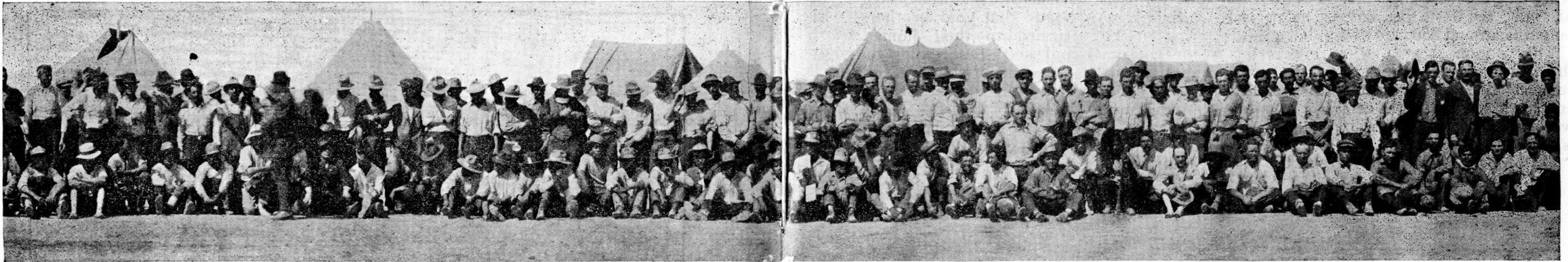
tive to the State Legislature on the Socialist ticket at the last election, was knocked down in the Western Union Telegraph office in Bisbee by gunmen when she tried to send a telegram to President Wilson. Two days later gunmen drove her husband out of the state from his mining claim in another district.

The men are now guests of the government and there is a food allowance of 23 cents a day for them.

July 21st, military authorities received orders to give the miners their "liberty." To the credit of the miners, they immediately held a mass meeting and voted unanimously to stick together and are now waiting to be sent back to their homes and families in Bisbee. They passed the buck squarely up to the government. For six weeks they have stood solidly together, demanding their rights, but the wives and kiddies back home are watching the trains and wondering when papa will come back. The women are writing their husbands to "all come back in a body as you left."

Meanwhile the companies are becoming desperate and are offering any price to the wives of miners who own property to get them to sell. They are also offering to give free railroad tickets to any part of the country to the women and children.

Every big business house for miles around is running short-handed in order to supply



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Every big business house for miles around is running short-handed in order to supply

scabs but the best they can do is 22 cars of "gob" or waste per day. The normal output is around 230 cars of ore daily.

The "poison sheets" as the miners dub the newspapers, are spreading the usual company dope about the terrible wobbles, and German money but even the Mexican workers are too white to scab. Their slogan is "\$5.50—no work."

On Monday, September 3rd, let the mil-

lion throated demand of American Labor be heard! A demand that your brothers of labor be returned to their homes. One thousand and sixty-four exiles on the desert sands are waiting your answer. And don't forget to dig down for the brave women and kids of Bisbee. Make your checks payable to Grover H. Perry, 506 Boyd Park building, Salt Lake City, Utah.



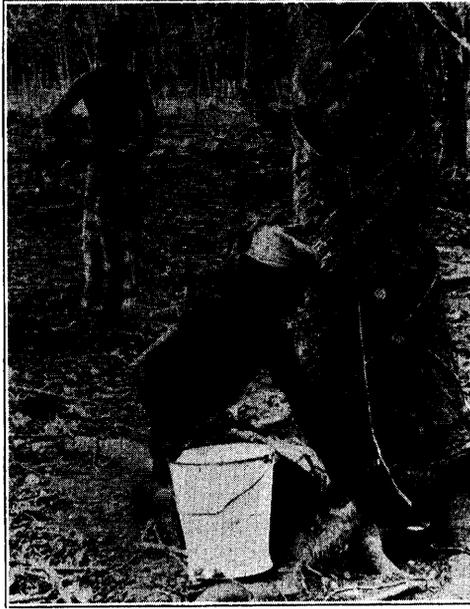
From Solidarity

**I WILL WIN**



From Solidarity

**I WILL WIN**



TAPPING A RUBBER TREE.

# The Rubber Industry in Malaya

By R. R. HORNBECK

**R**UBBER is one of the few natural products which is used by everybody. Long before Columbus discovered America, the enslaved Indians of South America were required by the powerful Aztecs to go into the jungle and collect huge quantities of wild rubber as tribute. The uses of this product in those days were limited to tubs, syringes, bottles, balls, and such like, but in the present era of inventive genius no man can number the multiplicity of ways in which rubber is utilized.

The development of the plantation rubber industry forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of agriculture. Until the year 1898, practically all the rubber in use was collected from wild trees and vines in the tropical forests of the immense Amazon basin. The natives collected this so carelessly that the trees or vines were usually destroyed, and every year the rubber agents were obliged to penetrate farther and farther

into the treacherous jungle, until transportation to the nearest seaport became impracticable. But the consuming public had to be supplied, and when a new automobile industry in 1895 caused the price of rubber to soar skyward, planters began to think seriously of cultivating it for profit.

As far back as 1888 experimental tapping had been begun in the new botanic gardens at Singapore, but it was nearly eight years before the Malayan planters could be induced to plant rubber trees instead of coffee. When the boom in prices followed in 1895 the coffee plantations began to disappear, and the Singapore authorities, who had before then experienced great difficulty in getting the plants distributed, now received thousands of applications from planters in all parts of the agricultural world. Within a brief period nine millions of seeds and plants were sent from Singapore to Liberia, Uganda, India, Sumatra, Java,



TAPPING A RUBBER TREE.

Borneo, Australia, China, Japan, the West Indies, and many other countries. The whole world seemed to be going wild about this newly cultivated product.

In Malaya the planters had many difficulties at first. Their plantations were overrun with wild hogs, deer, and monkeys, and the plants which survived these pests would not be mature enough to tap for four years. In the year 1900 the world's production of rubber was 53,890 tons, and of this total the plantations everywhere supplied only four tons. But the years of discouragement and huge losses were finally outlived, and a steadily increasing demand from manufacturers for the cultivated product has resulted in an enormous output from that source.

At present Malaya produces more cultivated rubber than all other countries combined, and on the Malay Peninsula rubber is the chief agricultural product. The advantages here lie in the fine alluvial soil, and in the equable climate. The rubber tree thrives in its native habitat in the Amazon region because of the heavy rainfall and absence of a cold season. These favorable conditions likewise prevail in Malaya, and here the latex flows every month in the year.

The luxuriance and size of the trees in Malaya are most wonderful. There is a tree in the botanic gardens at Singapore which in 15 years grew 100 feet high, and had a girth of 72 inches 3 feet from the ground. Another has a height of 84 feet, measures 124 inches 3 feet from the ground, and adds an inch and a half to its girth every year. This tree is said to be the biggest on record.

In 1906 Malayan exports of rubber were 430 tons, the average price per pound being \$1.25; in 1911 the exports were 11,500 tons, at an average price of \$1.00, and in 1916 the exports were 92,180 tons, at an average price of 63 cents. The total value of production increased from about \$1,204,000 in 1906 to about \$129,687,500 in 1916.

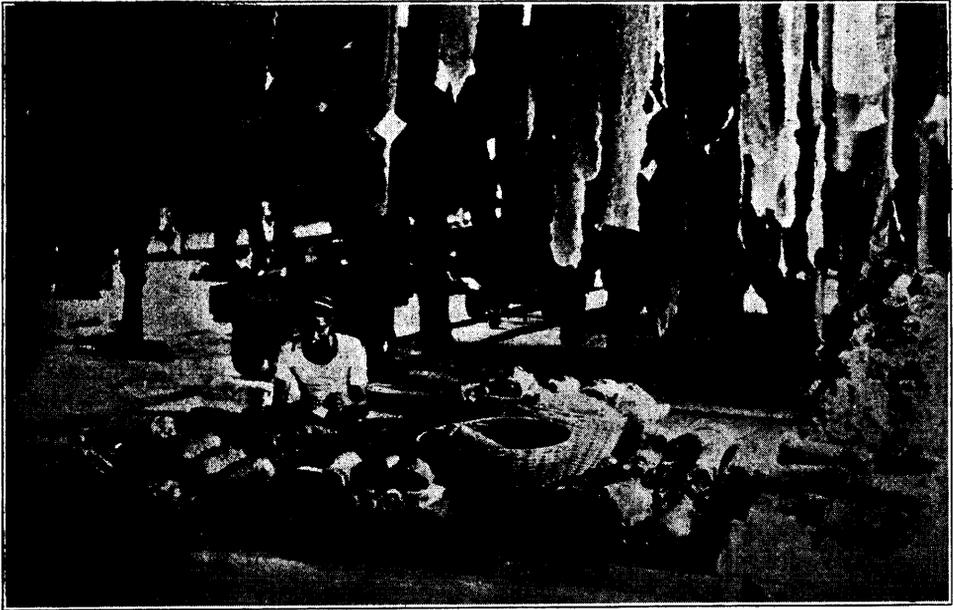
In the tropics the Para rubber tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) is the variety which is most profitably cultivated. However, Ceara rubber grows successfully in Java, Castilloa finds favor in Mexico, and planters in Sumatra have tried the Rambong, Funtumias, Landolphias and Manicoba varieties.

The development of a Malayan rubber plantation is a tedious and irksome business. The first thing to be done after buying suitable land is to fell and burn the jungle, then all weeds must be cleared away. The weeds grow so quickly in the tropics that it is absolutely necessary to keep the estates clean-weeded. The trees are planted 60 to 100 to the acre, and as the Para seeds remain good only about a week after falling and never germinate if they are as much as ten days old, great care is taken to select fresh seeds.

The tapping process begins when the trees are in their fourth year. Incisions in the form of a V are made on the bark of the tree from a point on the trunk as high as the tapper can reach. A sharp knife with a curved point is used, and the cut should not go deeper than the living layer of bark. There are from two to six V's cut into each tree, and these cuts are reopened about every six years, after the daily paring causes the V's to merge. A cup is placed at the base of each tree, and early every morning the tapper pares a fine slice off the upper side of each side-cut of the V, to promote the flow of juice. This liquid is called "latex," and is like milk in appearance. It flows slowly from the cuts into the cup, the flow continuing for about two hours. A good coolie can tap from 300 to 400 trees each morning, and clean his cups and latex buckets. The average production to the acre is about 300 pounds of dry rubber annually, and tapping can be continued for 40 years if the tree is carefully treated. There are producing trees of double this age in Brazil, but Malaya's oldest trees are only about 30 years.

The latex is taken to a factory and strained into huge vats to settle. After 12 to 24 hours it becomes sufficiently firm to undergo the rolling process, which converts it into crepe or sheet rubber. Before it is ready for market it must be smoked, for this develops strength and tensity. The smoking is usually done by modern machinery, as this method has proved to be more economical than smoking it the old way.

No rubber is wasted on first class estates. Women and children gather the latex which hardens in the cuts after the tapping process. This is called "scrap,"



DRYING RUBBER.

but makes excellent rubber and brings a good price on the market. Of less value are the bark shavings, to which small particles of latex adhere. These shavings are crushed by machinery, so as to separate the bark, and the residue rubber is sold.

In Malaya the rubber tree thrives in both swamps and foothills, and on any soil from rich alluvium to abandoned heaps of mine slag. The girth of the average tree at three feet from the base is 24 inches at 5 years, 54 inches at 10 years, 80 inches at 15 years, and 90 inches at 20 years.

Most of the laborers on Malayan plantations are Tamils. These are recruited from South India and Ceylon under the supervision of official agents, and taken to the nearest government depots. Thence they are sent in large numbers to Malaya, the cost of their passage being defrayed by assessing all plantations employing Tamil labor. These coolies can leave any plantation on a month's notice, provided they are not in debt to their employer for food or clothing. The estate boss may be trusted to take care of this small detail. The Tamils are cheaper and much easier to manage than the Chinese and Malay coolies, hence they com-

prise considerably more than half of the estate labor.

Plantation coolies in Ceylon receive 10 to 16 cents per day, but the wage in Malaya is higher. Here the Tamil gets 15 to 26 cents per day, and the Chinese, who can live in districts which are badly infested by malaria and is a much better worker, gets 28 to 85 cents. The Tamil coolies who were brought to these death traps in the early days died like flies.

In the year 1916 there were 202,000 tons of rubber produced in the world. One hundred and fifty thousand tons of this came from the Far East, and most of the balance from the wild plants in Brazil and Africa. The increased consumption in the United States from 1914 to 1916 was 56,000 tons, and in the latter year the states used 61 per cent of the world's supply.

During the past century the number of manufactured rubber products has increased enormously. The first "macintosh" was produced in 1823 by Chas. Macintosh, of Glasgow, and in 1842 Thos. Hancock's discovery of the process of "vulcanization" made rubber of practical value in immense new fields of utilization. This process is a treatment of rubber with sulphur, and two of the simpler



DRYING RUBBER.

forms in which it may be seen are fountain penholders and hair combs. The Para variety is made into waterproof shoes and clothing, elastic bands and erasers, rubber hose and tires, electric insulation, etc. Rubber seeds contain oil similar to linseed oil, and are used in making paints and varnishes. Seed cake is an excellent fattening food for cattle, but sheep will not eat it.

There has been much speculation in rubber shares, and legions have fallen victim to the temptation to become rich over night. During the past ten years there have been great fluctuations in price. In 1910 the high water mark of \$2.75 per pound was reached, and almost everybody in Malaya who had the price of a share plunged into the gambling arena. The following year there came a sickening drop to \$1.00, and while the bubbles of the small investor were bursting and hundreds of homes were being wrecked, the few "sharks" who had made fortunes in a few months by launching dishonest ventures and manipulating the market, moved away to live in ease. Prices have continued low since 1911, but handsome profits are being made even at the present rates.

A few months ago, before America entered the war, there was much grave discussion in Malaya about the so-called "American invasion." Plantation owners met in solemn conclave and passed resolutions condemning the efforts of American capitalists to acquire rubber plantations on the Malay Peninsula. Legislative bodies deliberated on measures to prohibit foreigners from encroaching on the sacred domains of British capital, and

American "methods" were strongly condemned. Because of this agitation no American company owns a controlling interest in any rubber plantation on the Malay Peninsula, so far as the writer has been able to learn.

But why all this hullabaloo? There's a reason. The Dutch island of Sumatra is separated from the Malay Peninsula by the narrow Straits of Malacca. On this island the General Rubber Company owns the largest rubber plantation in the world—in fact, it is three times as large as its nearest competitor, and includes 41,600 acres, a matter of some 65 square miles of rubber. The United States Rubber Company, with headquarters in New York City, is said to be the largest manufacturer of rubber products in the world. This company holds the majority of stock in the General Rubber Company, and in its 1916 report of the immense Sumatra plantation, says: "Our most sanguine expectations from these estates are being realized."

The General Rubber Company is probably the world's largest buyer. It has no factories of its own, but supplies crude rubber to American manufacturers. The office staff in Singapore is composed of wide-awake, hustling young fellows who get business from under the very noses of the British buyers, and rumor says that the profits of the Singapore office since the war began run to ten figures.

Malaya is destined to take the leading rôle in the future development of the great rubber industry, and American rubber interests will always be well represented here unless the Yankee loses his perseverance and business acumen.



MALAYA RUBBER WORKERS.



MALAYA RUBBER WORKERS.



WHICH WILL SURVIVE?

## Why Organic Beings Evolve

By JACK MORTON

**I**N lime stone beds, in clay pits, beneath the layers of volcanic eruptions, in the fossil-bearing rocks, man has found incontrovertible evidence of the long struggle and growth, the rise and fall, of organic beings. On the earth's surface, at varying depths have been found the skeleton remains of animals in their changing shapes that make one vast chain of evidence of the evolving forms and species of the living organisms as we know them today, or that have arisen and failed in the struggle for existence and yielded place to forms better fitted to survive.

For long years scientific men sought among these graveyards of the past for a clew that would yield us the secret of the cause of these changes, the secret that would tell us *why* organic beings have evolved from lower to higher forms. And this is one of the most interesting and important questions that has ever been asked, or answered by the world of modern science.

The REVIEW recently published an article on the Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics, the insistence upon which, i. e. that organic beings inherit all the acquired traits or characters of their parents, for a long time clouded the question at issue. For it seems to me that the unsoundness of a theory that had for its base a premise most obviously disproved in every day life experience of human beings, could add very little scientific data to an understanding of the causes of evolution.

The Theory of the Inheritance of Acquired Characters means that every child born into this world would possess all of the accumulated "good" habits, or "bad" habits, the knowledge, the strength or weakness, the disease, or the virility acquired by his parents. According to this theory the drunkard would beget drunkards and the christian beget christians; the son of the lawyer would be born a lawyer and the children of the foot-bound Chinese woman would be



WHICH WILL SURVIVE?

born with crushed feet. The swimmer would bear mermaidens, etc., etc.

According to the Theory of Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics the son of educated, healthy, powerful parents would possess, at birth, all the acquired characteristics of his progenitors and would enter the struggle for existence so much better endowed than his less fortunate brothers that they might never hope to reach his mental or his physical stature. The children born to uneducated, overworked, weak parents would inherit all these disabilities and could never hope to rise out of the exploited class the misery of whose condition breeds weakness, ignorance and despair.

Then along came the sponsors for the Theory of Use and Disuse, who claimed that if blind cave-dwelling fishes were placed in sunny waters, they would gradually grow eyes and would produce offspring with more highly developed optic nerves; that if the eagle was forced to tread the earth's surface, long enough, he would evolve an extra pair of legs out of his wings and that, after a few generations, his offspring would be born wingless and with four legs. They declared that if an animal stopped using his tail it would gradually dry up and become negligible, and his descendants would be born with shorter and shorter tails.

In other words the scientists who claimed that Use and Disuse caused the changes in or evolution of, organic beings declared that to use an organ in a new way, or for a new purpose was to change it and that its continued use or disuse in this new environ through successive generations changed or eliminated it as it had existed in the original form.

And this second theory sounds so plausible that if Charles Darwin had not come along with his own observations and shed new light on a very old subject, we might all be teaching it today.

"Darwin studied domestic animals. He observed how many, and how widely different races there are of horses, dogs, swine, poultry in general and pigeons in particular. In each instance the many varieties are derived from an original common stock, as domestic fowls from

the Indian jungle fowl, and pigeons from the old-world rock-dove.

"Derived,' but how—by what process? In the case of domestic creatures this was not difficult to answer. It is accomplished by breeders 'selecting' the individuals to be bred from. In the case of pigeons, which Darwin laid particular stress on the fancier seemed to be able to obtain almost any kind of a bird by selecting as parents those pigeons which had the desired characteristics developed to the most pronounced degree, and then again selecting in the same way from their progeny. In this way were produced birds so different from each other and their ancestors as the tumbler, the fantail, the pouter, and about a hundred and fifty other varieties. The same with horses. If the breeder desired draught horses, he selected for parents those animals with massive shoulders and sturdy limbs. When a racer wins a "classic" race, it is at once sent to the stud-farm. Although in the zenith of its powers it races no more; it is 'selected' for another and more important role—the reproduction and, it is hoped, the accentuation of the characteristics which enable it to outrun its competitors.

"All this impressed on Darwin's mind the importance of the word 'selection' which appears in the title of his theory and the sub-title of his epoch-making book. Could it be possible that nature contained some principle or combination of principles, which performed among wild animals a part analogous to that of the breeder, among domestic animals? Darwin discovered that this is precisely what takes place.

"His famous theory may be formulated under the three following heads:

"(1) Heredity.

"(2) Variation.

"(3) The struggle for existence, with resultant survival of the fittest.

"Darwin requires very little of heredity, and what he does ask is beyond dispute. It is enough for his theory if like begets like and 'figs do not grow on thistles.'

"Similarly with variation, the demands of his hypothesis are very slight. If it be conceded that variation is a fact, that offspring do vary from their parents and each other, it is enough. And who will dispute this in a world where no two

creatures are exactly and in all particulars alike? The apparent contradiction that heredity demands likeness, while variation requires difference, is confined to the surface—it is not real. The likeness is general while the difference is particular. A sheep may be born with shorter or longer legs, by variation; but it will be a sheep and not a horse, by heredity.

“As an example of the working of the theory let us take Lamarck’s piece de resistance, the giraffe. Lamarck says: ‘We know that this animal, the tallest of mammals, inhabits the interior of Africa, and that it lives in localities where the earth, almost always arid and destitute of herbage, obliges it to browse on the foliage of trees and to make continual efforts to reach it. It has resulted from this habit, maintained for a long period in all the individuals of its race, that its forelegs have become longer than the hinder ones, and that its neck is so elongated that the giraffe, without standing on its hind legs, raises its head and reaches six meters in height (almost twenty feet).’

“Lamarck thought this length of neck was acquired by ‘continual efforts to reach,’ or, as Alfred Russel Wallace puts it in his criticism of Lamarck—‘stretching.’ Many critics ventilated their wit on this theory of Lamarck’s, under the impression that they were lampooning Darwin’s idea.

“Professor Ritchie has preserved a couple of stanza’s by a witty Scotch judge who aimed his poem at Darwin, but hit Lamarck.

“‘A deer with a neck that was longer by half  
Than the rest of his family, try not to  
laugh,  
By stretching and stretching became a giraffe  
Which nobody can deny.  
‘That four-footed beast which we now  
call a whale,  
Held his hind-legs so close that they grew  
to a tail,  
Which he uses for threshing the sea, like  
a flail,  
Which nobody can deny.’

“But Darwin’s theory is altogether independent of the ‘stretching idea.’ The causes and origin of heredity and varia-

tion are up to this moment, alike wrapped in mystery. But when science succeeds in penetrating those secrets, it is extremely unlikely that Darwin’s theory will be seriously weakened, no matter what the causes may prove to be.

“Now about the giraffe. We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, two giraffes, a male and a female, whose necks are precisely five feet long. We will confine our illustration to the question of the neck alone. We will suppose this particular pair give birth to a family of three. First comes heredity. All we ask of heredity is that the young shall be giraffes, not camels or any other species; and this heredity guarantees. Now comes variation. As this is an ideal case for the purpose of illustrating the theory, we will have one of the three shorter-necked than the parents, another the same length, while the third has a longer neck—over five feet.

“Now comes the struggle for existence. When this family of giraffes is fairly grown and the new-comers are approaching breeding age—mark the importance of this matter of ‘breeding age,’ for the problem is to find out how nature determines which shall be bred from—they are obliged to forage for themselves. There is no pasture to graze; they live in what is almost a desert. There are few shrubs; scarcely anything but fairly high trees—from ten to twenty feet. If a giraffe breeder had this matter in hand and he wished to increase the length of the giraffe’s neck, the problem would be simple. He would select number three with the longest neck, pair it with the longest necked member of the opposite sex in some other family and the trick would be done. But this is in Central Africa, where there is no breeder to interfere, and the question is: can nature accomplish the same result without his help?

“This is what happens. First the leaves are eaten from all the lower branches as they are reached with the least effort. Then they go higher and still higher until the point is reached where number one with the shortest neck cannot reach any further and the terrible struggle for existence begins. Number two sees no danger as yet and number three has things all his own way. But with short-necked number one, a tragedy has begun.

"Every day now sees the food further out of his reach and even number two is obliged to reach out for his supply. The breeding time is approaching but the longer necked and therefore well-fed and vigorous females will have nothing to do with this wobbly starving creature, and the longer necked, well-fed males shun the short necked starving females. If the starving ones mate, the mother dies before giving birth to offspring, or she cannot get nourishment enough to rear her progeny; in either case there is no effective succession. So the longer-necked are the fittest and they survive. Thus does nature 'select' one by the negative process of destroying the rest, in about the same way as a man 'selects' one puppy in a litter by drowning the rest.

"In the case of the puppies we may say 'artificial selection'; in the case of the giraffe it is 'natural selection.' And this theory, simple as it may seem here, revolutionized Biology.

"It is worthy of note that 'natural' selections has many advantages over 'artificial' selection. The breeder may be mistaken; he may select the wrong puppy and drown its superior. The horse that won the great race may have had a fleet-footed companion in the same stable had the trainer known how to develop his possibilities. The gardener may have passed the best root or stem through carelessness. But nature makes no such mistakes, or if she does she eventually redeems them. Her method, while it is wholly fortuitous and unintelligent is practically infallible. The condition of the survival is, adaptation to environment. The very process of selection is, in itself, a sure test of fitness. True, moral considerations are eliminated—at least in the non-social world—yet nature offers something like a fair field and no favors. When we speak of nature's favorites, we simply mean those who are best fitted to meet her hard conditions.

"Take a row of celery plants, from which future seedlings are to be 'selected.'

"In this instance, let us suppose the quality desired is ability to resist frost. How is the gardener to know which of fifty plants are the 'best' in this respect? He has no method of finding out with any degree of certainty. But nature comes

along some night with a sharp frost and 'selects ten by killing forty. And the very act of this 'natural' selection proves that these ten are better able to withstand the frost than their fellows.

"Breeders of white sheep who supply the white wool market have a very tangible guide—they kill every lamb that shows the least tinge of black. But even here, nature is not to be out-done. In Virginia there is—or at least was in Darwin's day—a wild hog of pure black. One of its staple foods was known as the 'paint-root.' Any hog with the least speck of white on its body was poisoned by this root while its all-black brothers found it a health-sustaining and succulent food.

"In an environment which remained constant and where a species of animals had reached a population which strained the limits of subsistence—food supply—those offspring which most closely resemble their parents, who had won out in that environment, would again succeed and be selected. While if the environment changed—became warmer or colder for example—those descendants which happened to vary in a direction making them better able to cope with the new conditions would be selected for survival as against those who resembled their parents, which parents had survived in their day because they were adapted to the prior environment.

"For example, a country is well supplied with water and it is as a consequence fertile and 'green.' In such a country green insects and green reptiles will be selected, because a green background will render them almost invisible to their enemies. Individuals of other colors will make their appearance by variation, but they will be such plain targets to their enemies, they will be devoured before they reach breeding age and have a chance to reproduce the variation.

"But suppose desiccation (drying up) sets in. The country loses its water supply, as Krapotkin has shown to have been the case in North West Mongolia and East Turkestan, leading to the enforced exodus of the barbarians. Now green will disappear and brown or yellow—say brown—takes its place. While this change will not, so far as we know, cause insects and lizards to breed brown instead

of green, it will ensure the survival or 'selection' of such as are born brown and the destruction of those who breed true to their green ancestors. Now every atavistic return to green will be mercilessly weeded out, just as, when the country was well-watered and green, every sporadic production of brown was done to death."

The foregoing pages are quoted from *Evolution Social and Organic*, by Arthur M. Lewis, and is, we believe, one of the clearest expositions of the Darwinian

theory of Evolution we have ever read.

To sum up: In any environment even the offspring of the same parents always vary. Those best fitted for the struggle for existence in that environment will survive and will transmit their more favorable characters to their children. Nature's natural selection of the living organisms best fitted to survive in a given environment, repeated year after year, generation after generation, century after century, is, according to Darwin, the basis of all organic evolution.

## The Course of Revolution

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE bourgeois revolution of England culminated in 1689. That of France came just a century later. What we call the American revolution, the breaking away from England, may be regarded in the main as a belated incident of the more important development in the mother country. In 1848, came the attempted revolution in Germany, and now, in 1917, comes the great overturn in Russia. Broadly speaking, the wave of revolution started in England and rolled eastward over Europe. On account of a variety of historical and geographical reasons it almost skipped Germany in its progress.

With the exception of Germany the spirit of revolution has gone deeper in each country in turn. To a limited extent it is possible to agree with a brilliant young friend who has put it all into a formula: "In England they achieved liberty; in France, equality; in Russia, fraternity," and one cannot help wondering what bearing all this will have on the proletarian revolution to which this is nothing but a prelude.

There is one less important matter which demands more immediate attention at present. In 1848 the Germans went through the form of a revolution without even getting the substance. Not to mention equalization of property holdings and legal privileges such as were achieved to a degree in France, they did not even secure parliamentary government, which was the symbol of bourgeois control in England. Now the

Russians have gone much farther than any of their predecessors. What of the Germans? Will there be a flare-back?

The always interesting Anton Pannekoek has recently taken up this problem. His article, *Russia, Germany, America*, appears in *The International* for July 21. He points out that the first revolution resulting from the present war came naturally in Russia. It came there because the Russian government was the weakest. The Czar and his ministers did not measure up to capitalist requirements; therefore when the workers and soldiers started a rebellion the bourgeois class turned in and helped them.

Turning to Germany Comrade Pannekoek is far from optimistic. The Russian revolution, he says, was bourgeois; the German revolution would necessarily be proletarian. That is, the German government does measure up to capitalist requirements and a united bourgeois class may be depended upon to support it.

This last statement, which Comrade Pannekoek takes for granted, is so important that we should give it serious consideration. Does the Imperial German government come up to the mark set by the modern world? In certain respects it is the best of all existing governments. It has done most to foster industry. It has aided in creating the most productive working class. It has placed at the disposal of business the greatest of all military establishments and one of the best diplomatic and consular

systems. In general its efficiency is above the average and its devotion to industrial imperialism well proved.

Yet the efficient and devoted system has succeeded in placing industrial Germany in the most difficult position ever occupied by a great modern nation. The state of France in 1871 was heavenly by comparison. Germany's geographical position and the nature of her resources are such that she depends upon foreign trade for prosperity. Foreign trade is dependent, in fact, on international organization and good-will. It depends, also, on the relative productivity of the population in question.

At the time the war was begun German trade was growing everywhere. The war shut it within a comparatively negligible area. For more than three years the Central Powers have been cut off from the main body of the world's commerce. If the war was ended now it would take at least a year before trade would even begin to seek out its old routes. I am well aware that in the long run it will take its course according to certain natural laws. But when there is sharp competition an advantage during four or five years may turn the tide for a considerable period. Moreover, Germans, whether they deserve it or not, are under suspicion over a large part of the world. They will emerge from the war with a population impoverished and partly debilitated. Physically there will be a tremendous amount of work necessary at home to bring the nation up to anything like its previous

condition. The same is true of England and France. But it is not true of Japan and the United States. In competition with these countries Germany has been placed at a great disadvantage.

From a capitalist point of view there is but one way out of this difficulty—when a business concern gets a bad reputation it changes its officers, perhaps even its name, and starts out with a flourish to pretend that it is something new and different. Nations have often done the same. This is what Germany must do now. The sign of the Hohenzollern must be taken from over the door. Let the Germans make even a fair pretence at parliamentary government and disarmament and the Anglo-Saxon lords of the world will receive them with hearty salvos. This is what the more intelligent section of the German bourgeois demands and it is what will come in the end.

The German government fails to come up to the bourgeois standard because it has failed to take account of what Germans discuss so much—that is, human psychology. The greater part of the civilized world holds certain vague notions of life which originated west of the Rhine. Germany has disregarded these notions. Moreover the military regime belongs to yesterday rather than tomorrow. It is wasteful and therefore inefficient. The capitalists who will lead the world to its next stage must be able to get on without useless murder. It is quite antiquated to blow a man up instead of making a profit out of his labor.

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## World Policies

By S. J. RUTGERS

**I**N commenting upon a book on American World policies, written by a bourgeois author, the editor of our INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW adds a few remarks, which should not pass uncriticized.

World policy under Imperialism is the most important face of Capitalism, to which internal problems become more and more subordinated. It dominates all social relations; in fact, it constitutes the

class struggle in its most general form as waged by the dominating Big Interests. The counterpart of it is the International organization of the workers, the breakdown of which meant our defeat, the rebuilding of which on new lines constitutes our new hope. To understand the underlying forces in world policies therefore, is most important; it means to understand the position, development and methods of our enemy class as seen from

the broadest, most general standpoint, as a world vision.

This puts certain obligations on our part in commenting on or discussing world policies.

If a worker sticks to his class struggle on the job, his life is worth while and he contributes to the victory of his class. Smaller mistakes, if not interfering with his class consciousness are easily corrected by the logic of actual facts.

But looking at the class fight from a more general standpoint and especially from a world standpoint, requires certain methods of systematical research and analysis, requires the Marxian view. This method is within the grasp of the workers and is barred to bourgeois scientists and philosophers, but it cannot be acquired without effort, without mental exercise. And failures in the use of these methods or studies in world policies without even using these methods are not only worthless, but they are boundless in their errors.

What I object to in the editorial of July are not in the first place the conclusions which I consider altogether wrong, but more so the absolute lack of method in dealing with such all important problems.

After giving typical bourgeois conclusions, vague and conflicting, such as:

Mr. Weyl "proposes" great international corporations, each owned by the capitalists, not of one but of several nations, to exploit backward countries and to prevent war. At the same time he "proposes" free trade with these countries, no protective tariff and equal opportunity.

That a bourgeois writer "proposes" these things as a kind of a remedy against war is only in line with the usual lack of historic sense, but it is almost criminal neglect if a socialist editorial ventures to remark: "These suggestions are of immense importance, because for one thing, they are directly in line with the theories advocated by Woodrow Wilson, who is likely to be in a position to use the resources of the United States in a way to launch some such 'experiments' as Mr. Weyl has outlined."

In a time of world war, in a time in which enormous economic interests and social forces crash upon each other, so as to threaten to swallow humanity, Woodrow Wilson, the Don Quixote of American Imperialism, will launch an experiment to end the war by promoting great private corporations owned by capitalists of "several" nations, with the express purpose to exploit backward nations.

Now we may discuss the problem in how far tendencies in Capitalism lead towards an international organization of capitalism and whether in a more or less distant future this may lead to a general understanding of International Capital about the exploitation of the world proletariat. In my opinion, facts do not point in this direction for any visible future, but by all means let us stop scheming and suggesting and expecting from Wilson or Rockefeller or any other superman to "arrange" an international tribunal or trust for world peace and world plunder. We certainly are beyond that stage of looking at world policies.

(Note by the Editor. I am glad to make room for Comrade Rutger's criticism, but I do not think he succeeds in making his point. Mr. Weyl's book did not consist of Utopian schemes for a better world, unrelated to the facts of this one. It is a remarkably clear analysis of current facts. Moreover, his proposal for an international exploitation of backward countries is directly in line with the material interests of the capitalist class of the United States. That is my main reason for thinking President Wilson will favor the plan, and I ought to have made the point in my July editorial, but omitted to do so. Comrade Rutgers should remember that he instinctively thinks as a European, and that international agreements are far more nearly in line with American traditions than is militarism. Moreover, I suspect that the economic exhaustion of the European countries will soon make such a plan look more feasible than preparations for more wars.—C. H. K.)

# The Labor Movement in Japan

## Socialism a Popular Topic

By S. KATAYAMA

THE years 1902 and 1903 were the most prosperous period for the combined activities of the labor and socialist movement in Japan. Socialism was then a very popular topic of study and discussion in public. Industrial depressions that followed for many years, after the wild boom that ruled the industrial and commercial world during the sudden influx of a vast amount of war indemnity taken from China, were almost overcome. The long expected prosperity had not yet returned because for some time threatening clouds were hanging over the Hermit Kingdom (Corea), the domination of which had been a constant issue between Russia and Japan for many years since China had been defeated by Japan.

But financial conditions were better than for many years and the industrial situation was on a firm basis. These and other circumstances favored our labor and socialist agitation among the workers; and the general public was then very eager to listen to and discuss socialism.

During those two years of activity we had made several extensive propaganda tours all over the country. We made trips to the country in groups of two to five comrades and I always was one of them. Expenses were met by admissions and selling of the *Labor World* and socialist books.

After the failure of the socialist daily, the *Labor World* was again published, starting April 3, 1902, in a much improved magazine form and came out fortnightly. Our socialist movement naturally centered around the *Labor World* in the editorial work of which I was assisted by two or three comrades, including Comrade Nishikawa. Besides, Comrades Abe, Kotoku, Kinoshita, Sakai and others contributed articles to the paper on socialism and social questions. Not only that, Comrade Kotoku also wrote a life history of Ferdinand Lassalle for the *Labor World*; Comrade Sakai translated the main part of "Labor"

by Emil Zola; Comrade Kotsuka translated "Merry England," all of which appeared in the *Labor World* in the course of two years. Moreover, we published a complete review of a book on Millerand's work and Emil Vanderveld's Industrial Revolution.

Socialism and the labor movement became popular. This is shown by the very fact that the editors of the *Labor World* interviewed many prominent persons, statesmen, scholars and business men on the labor questions and on socialism. It is now amusing to look into the columns of the old *Labor World* and to notice how those men, who today are the deadly opponents of socialism, who are condemning socialist activities, at that time approved socialism and gave their own reasons for it. Some even expressed themselves as being already socialists. We will quote here a few of the interviews that appeared in the *Labor World* in 1902 and 1903.

When I called on him for his opinion on socialism, Marquis Okuma, late Premier, told me that "from olden times the ideals of our statesmen appear to have been a national socialism," and the old Marquis went on to give historical facts. During the Tokugawa rule Japan's own socialism was realized, when Iyeyasu, the first ruler of the Tokugawa Dynasty, prohibited the capitalization of land, fixed the wages of labor by law. Some of the feudal lords, in particular those of Kaga, ordered the landlords within his own province to release land rents for three consecutive periods of ten years each, and finally the tenants acquired their own land when the revolution of 1868 was successful.

At one time the feudal government abolished the creditors' lawsuits against debtors. We know that occasionally the government ordered the people to cancel all the debts contracted.

Mr. Genichiro Fukuchi, a noted historian and savant, said to the editor of the *Labor World*, "Japan's Kokutai (Na-

tional Constitution) is really socialism. A person who lives from another's labor is looked upon as a criminal, according to the fundamental national ideas. One who lives from the labor of others is condemned and punished just like a gambler and thief. Labor is the ideal of Japan. Isn't this socialism?"

Prof. Kenzo Wadagaki of the Imperial University said "Japan as a nation is socialistic. The Japanese are of socialistic character." Mr. Rokwa Tokutomi, one of the greatest novelists of modern Japan, wrote a socialistic political novel, *Kuroshio* (Monsoon) that shocked the very foundation of the bureaucratic regime. The book appeared in 1899 and the writer says to the editor of *Labor World*: "I believe in socialism and preach it. Today one who says that he does not believe in socialism or is afraid of preaching it is one who cares for his position, seeks his own property, and longs after his own promotion. One who says he can't understand socialism or can't believe it is not a man but is either a fool or insane."

Prof. Inazo Nitobe of the Imperial University, when he was interviewed by the writer in the summer of 1902, said that he was a good socialist and proceeded to declare that after the trusts, the so-called social democracy of Marx will be established in the sphere of economy. "Socialists shall then rule the world so that the greatest number of human beings will enjoy a happy life. I became a socialist while I was in America three years and ever since my belief in socialism has been growing stronger. The ideal of humanity is in socialism."

This firm believer in socialism and a socialist future in 1902 was Prof. Inazo Nitobe, the noted author of "Bushido." The same professor lately has been faithfully serving the bureaucracy and is attacking socialism and socialists as being detrimental to the interests of the country. Some of his old pupils were influenced by Prof. Nitobe to give up socialism. One of these is Mr. K. Nishikawa, who was one of the founders of the social democratic party. It might look as if these men had expressed mere phrases to the editors of the *Labor World*, but the printed pages of the *Labor World* will attest the fact that socialists were not outcast then and socialism was not

prohibited in Japan at that period as it is now.

For the time the progress of the socialist movement went on very smoothly and we had not only the sympathy of prominent persons, who approved socialism and its movement, but also we gained a very strong and prominent socialist in Mr. Fumio Yano. In the summer of 1902 Mr. Fumio Yano declared himself a socialist and gave us many lectures on socialism. He went with us several times during this period for socialist propaganda. Mr. Yano was an old liberal statesman and an influential agitator for the constitutional government in the eighties. But he left the liberal party because the party became too corrupt.

In 1882 Mr. Yano wrote a book about a group of youths who brought about the Theban Hegemony. This book served the cause of the liberal movement in Japan. Half a million copies were sold and he became a well known writer and thinker. Now this author came out as a socialist and went with us in the common cause for socialism. Mr. Yano was not only in the active propaganda work, but he wrote a book called "New Society." It is largely original and is well written, working out the problems of modern socialism thoroughly. He took the best there was of Utopian socialism and elaborated on the way to convert Japan into a socialist state. He showed the most skill in picturing the transition stage from the present capitalist state to a socialist state, adjusted admirably every phase of society and international relations under socialism. These two problems the author considered his own contribution to the literature of Utopian socialism as represented by More and Bellamy.

The *New Society* at once became very popular in the country. Several hundred thousands of copies were sold in a few months.

The *Labor World* records our socialist activities in 1902, beginning with April 3rd. We held sixty-seven public meetings in 1903, one hundred and eighty-two altogether, in nineteen months—182 meetings. Besides those meetings there must have been many meetings held by other comrades in the country.

During this period we made several

propaganda tours into the country. In the summer of 1902 three of us went to the northeast along the Nippon railroad for fifteen days to hold thirteen meetings in twelve cities scattered in over a distance of 500 miles. In January, 1903, two of us made a trip to western cities, traveling over 400 miles and held meetings at Kiyoto, Osoka, Kobe, Hiroshima and Kure. In the summer of the same year from July 4th to September 5th, three and part of the time four of us made an extensive trip to Shikoku, Kushiu Islands, covering eleven provinces and twenty-one cities in which we held twenty-six meetings. Many short trips were made from time to time. The propaganda was self-supporting and the *Labor World* got a very good advertisement from them.

As to the organized work of our socialist movement, we were prohibited from organizing politically, so the socialist association was our only organization. It had a few branches in the principal cities. Our work, therefore, was necessarily limited to education and propaganda. But in the sphere of the working classes we had a very strong influence, especially among colliery workers. In Ubari, Hokkaido, we had a very good organization. There were, however, only a few socialists who were the moving spirits of the organization.

Miners of Japan have been historically considered the toughest kind of workers, so they really could defy the public peace police law. Our agitators could more readily gain access to them than to other factory, railway or iron workers. This is a reason why we were able to organize the miners in Asio copper mines during the late Russo-Japan war. Our miners live in congested barracks like rows of sheds, which are built by the mining company. They make a little community of their own, know each other and when working underground they can talk to each other freely on whatever subject they choose. So two socialist comrades, Minami and Tsuruoka, were able to organize the miners at Asio copper mines as late as 1904-7, which organization however was crushed out of existence with the great riots in February, 1907.

Although we had no political organization, being deprived of that right two years before, yet we could manage to

organize the socialists of the country in socialist association and we held the first national socialist conference at Osaka on the 5th and 6th of April, 1903. Besides the sittings of the conference at Osaka Y. M. C. A. hall, we had two big public meetings in the Municipal Assembly hall, the largest hall in the whole city. Both meetings were well attended and made a very good impression on the audience about the aims of socialism. The conference passed by unanimous votes the following resolutions:

1. We, the socialists of Japan, shall exert ourselves in the effort to reconstruct human society on the basis of socialism.

2. We must endeavor to realize socialism in Japan.

3. To reach the ultimate goal of socialism it is necessary to have a united action of socialists of all the countries.

Ten thousand leaflets of a brief socialist manifesto were distributed during the conference at the gates of the national exposition then held in the city.

During the year 1903, two or three events marked the course of the socialist movement in Japan for coming years. One was the attitude of Japanese socialists toward war, which was then threatening in the far east between Russia and Japan over the domination of Korea. We took a firm stand against war and especially against the war with Russia. The first great socialist anti-war meeting was held at Y. M. C. A. hall, Tokyo, on the 8th of October, 1903. In spite of a strong opposition from jingo parties, the meeting was a great success. This meeting proved to be the very first declaration of Japanese socialists against the coming war and its spirit and tone of the speeches were prophetic of the great strength of the socialist struggle and fight against the war also during the war.

The next event is the entering into active socialist propaganda work by two comrades—Kotoku and Sakai, who gave up their editorial positions in the *Yorozu*, and devoted their entire time to the cause of socialism. This decisive moment came to them through two causes, first, the popular daily, *Yorozu*, in the columns of which they had taught socialism for several years with the full approval and sympathy of the proprietor Kuroiwa, became

ultra-jingoistic and a conflict resulted between the proprietor and the two comrades. Of course the latter had to leave the daily. The entering of these two comrades into the active socialist work was destined to shape largely the course of the Japanese socialist movement in the future.

In November, I made a short trip to Hokkaido, passing through the northeast province and visited Yubari colliery where we had a miners' union under socialist leaders. This was my last labor propaganda work in that year, for I left in December for the United States on my way to attend the coming International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, Holland, the following August, 1904.

Our socialist movement so far preached socialism more exclusively among the working class and our meetings were largely attended by workers and sup-

ported by them. I have been always in touch with the workers of the country, because I served, myself, as a secretary to the iron workers' union since its organization in 1897, up to that time, 1903, and had been making an occasional trip to the different branches. My personal acquaintance with many workers and their families brought me many pleasant experiences and also support for the socialist movement long after the union died and they were no longer members of it. This being the case, our socialist movement never lost sight of the labor cause and of the interest of the working classes, who are naturally inclined to work out problems in practice, which as a rule is a rather slow process. Consequently, I never went to extremes in views or in tactics, but our movement was not dominated by intellectualism.

(To be continued)

## Rena Mooney Acquitted

### Fickert Says He Will Hang Her Anyway!

Before you read this interesting story of a plot to hang or imprison for life, four militant union men and one woman, we want to remind you that:

"The State is the Executive Committee of the *Owning Class*" and that the statutes are merely the rules they have made for the successful expropriation of the productive workers. Government, laws and all social institutions have all been organized in the interest of the *idle owning* class. And yet, this class, which has bound the working class with its own institutions, its own laws and customs, this class which is always howling for "law and order" on the part of the working class, admits publicly in a court of law that it will hang an *acquitted* woman and innocent men even, as Attorney Cunha declared, "if I knew that every one of my witnesses had committed perjury."

So much for the Law. It is made for you, Fellow Workers; not for the owning class which robs you of your products. The law says that when a man or a woman is once acquitted of a crime he may never again be tried on the same charge. But what's a little thing like Law among the capitalists and their henchmen in San Francisco?

**R**ENA MOONEY has been acquitted, but she is still in prison awaiting the pleasure of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

The jury has declared that she is innocent. They heard not only the relevant evidence in the case, but also the "conspiracy evidence" relating to strikes and other things not even remotely connected with the crime which was allowed by Judge Seawell and which was designed to hang Mrs. Mooney.

Twelve men, whose every prejudice, racial, social, and religious, was appealed to by the snarling beast Fickert, and his "human stiletto," Ferrari (who had the audacity to admit in his closing address to the jury that his star witness, Samuels, had perjured himself), rose above the poisoned atmosphere and did simple justice.

The scene in the courtroom baffles description. The friends of the defense were alarmed, when on the previous day the jury came into court and asked about the law

on second degree murder, also a letter which contained a slight reference to the defendant. The jury was then said to be split, eight favoring acquittal and four conviction. Their asking for the law bearing on second degree murder was thought to indicate that they were considering that most infamous of all verdicts, a compromise one.

But as they filed into court at 3:40 on Wednesday evening, after fifty-one hours deliberation, the venerable juror, August Erz, smiled a kindly benediction at Mrs. Belle Hammerberg, the splendidly devoted sister of Rena Mooney. A momentary glance disclosed the fact that instead of the strained features we saw when they came into court the previous day, most of the jurymen looked immensely relieved and many of them smiled openly.

Judge Seawell, who has consistently ruled against the defense, glanced at the verdict sheet and with a sour look he handed it to the clerk of the court.

There was a breathless silence. It seemed an age before we caught the words, "NOT GUILTY." Then like the roar of ocean breakers came the applause of the workmen and women who packed the courtroom, corridors and street. The court attaches, who have seen two men convicted on absolute perjury, didn't try very hard to suppress the enthusiasm. It ran riot. Rena Mooney tearfully kissed the jurors, whilst Fickert jumped into his high-powered auto and sped to his favorite saloon to seek solace in his cups. The big corporate tool wasn't in court. He got wind of the verdict and ran. Ferrari wasn't there. He was unavoidably absent in the country. Plug-Ugly Jim Brennan, Aylett Cotton, who barefacedly told Chief Justice Angellotti that though he was prosecuting Oxman, yet he endorsed the view of Oxman's lawyer, Shortridge, that the perjury buyer be turned loose; Fred Berry, whose personal friend, Malpiede, was caught "planting" a "friend" on the jury—all those "law and order" lights were nowhere to be seen. Of all the gang, Fickert's detective, "Collector" Williams, was the only specimen in sight. He looked ill. The night a corrupt jury declared that Tom Mooney should be murdered, Williams belligerently jostled the defense attorneys and friends in the hope of starting a riot and getting an excuse to make a shambles of the courtroom. Williams looked pretty sick Wednesday. During the trial he

has been badgering witnesses for registration cards and threatening then with his hand on his gun. Rena Mooney's acquittal may mean the dismissal of thugs of this type.

The newspaper extras sold like hot cakes. The workers stared at the caption, "RENA MOONEY ACQUITTED," till their eyes bulged. Rena Mooney acquitted! Rena Mooney back in her music studio with her devoted little pupils. Rena Mooney walking the streets of San Francisco despite the perjury gang, the Oxmans, the Kosters, and all their gunmen.

Oh, what a glorious victory! But——?  
*"I'll Hang Her Yet!"—Fickert*

The acquittal of Rena Mooney wasn't an acquittal after all. She was hurried back to her cell and as soon as Fickert recovered his breath, he called the reporters together and told them that the acquittal meant nothing to him. "I'll hang her yet," he told them. "There are seven more indictments and I can try her again and again."

Is there anything more illustrative of the FRAME-UP? "They should be strung up without ceremony," the enraged Cunha shouted a few weeks ago. "I wouldn't lift a finger to save Mooney, even if I knew that every one of my witnesses committed perjury."

The Chamber of Perjury held a mass meeting a few days after the boys and Rena Mooney were arrested and sought to fan the indignation of the people into a lynching. The bought press roared their approval and spurred on the mob spirit, but the quiet determination of the fearless unionists of San Francisco defeated the scheme and gradually the people decided that the mere arresting of the unionists did not indicate their guilt.

But again and again the mob spirit has raised its head, not among the mass of the people, but in the office of Charles Marion Fickert, the abject tool of the corporation beasts of California.

### A Jury of Harpies!

Fickert now announces that he'll get a jury of women to try Rena Mooney the next time. They'll not be so squeamish about hanging her, he thinks.

Perhaps that's why Fickert's wife, mother and their bunch of cronies made a vaudeville show out of the trial last week.

The prosecutor's mother and wife sat immediately behind Rena Mooney, laughing at the plight of Rena Mooney's sister and

the aged mother of Tom Mooney. Their giggling glances met the eyes of Mrs. Hammerberg every time she looked down the courtroom. The suffering of Rena Mooney was a matinee for them.

Such a jury would indeed hang Rena Mooney. Not alone would they return a hanging verdict, but they would be perfectly willing to carry out the sentence with dagger, gun or rope.

It must have been women such as these that Fickert had in mind when he told the newspapers that he'd hang Rena Mooney the next time with a jury of women.

*"The Simple Truth Triumphed,"*  
Said Ed. McKenzie

The notable feature of the trial was the cross-examining of the different members of the perjury ring by Attorney Ed McKenzie, a member of Local No. 6 of the Electrical Workers' Union.

His aggressiveness and determination to get at the truth angered the prosecution so much that Judge Seawell repeatedly fined him. When Sadie Edeau was breaking down on the witness stand under McKenzie's fiery cross-examination, Seawell saved the situation by declaring a recess of court. A few days later McKenzie told Seawell in open court that he wasn't giving Rena Mooney a fair trial. The remark cost McKenzie \$50.

After the victory, McKenzie gave the following interview to "Organized Labor":

The simple truth triumphed over perjury, corruption, bias and intolerance. The acquittal of Mrs. Mooney morally is a conviction of Witness Oxman and Prosecutor Fickert. The trial of Mrs. Mooney has been the most disgraceful trial ever had in an American courtroom. There was no evidence, nothing but corruption and prejudice. Had she been convicted under such circumstances the consequences to the American people would have been far greater than the loss of a war.

San Francisco jurors can no longer be used by corporations to hang working men and working women whose legitimate efforts for betterment arouse the enmity of employers. The slimy trail of the perjurer was plainly visible thruout the entire case. When Assistant Prosecutor Cunha said to Reporter Fitch of the *Survey Magazine*, "If I knew that every single witness who testified against Tom Mooney perjured himself in his testimony, I would not lift a finger to get him a new trial," Cunha expressed better than we can the attitude of

those officials of San Francisco who owe their positions to corrupt public service corporations. No more dreadful indictment can be drawn against these officials than to quote Mr. Cunha's statement.

*Oxman Still at Large; Rena Mooney Still in Jail!*

Our enemies have been circulating the report that with the Oxman expose, the entire prosecution had fallen flat. Consequently our friends have slackened up. They must remember that:

1. Oxman is at liberty. He'll be tried, "some time" in Judge Frank Dunne's court and will be "prosecuted" by Assistant District Attorney Bianchi, brother-in-law to Oxman's co-conspirator, Charles Fickert. Dunne called the defense attorneys "a bunch of cowardly blackguards" a few months ago and it was he who picked Seawell, the notoriously partisan judge, who tried Rena Mooney.

2. Tom Mooney is still in the shadow of the gallows. Attorney General U. S. Webb has ignored the request of Judge Franklin A. Griffin, who demanded after the Oxman exposure, that Webb take immediate steps towards securing a new trial for Mooney. Webb refuses to take any action whatsoever and Tom Mooney will hang, unless strenuous efforts are made by organized labor.

3. Ed Nolan and Israel Weinberg will be tried in a few weeks. The only evidence against Nolan was a box of epsom salts found in the basement of his house. The prosecution dropped the theory during Rena Mooney's trial that the salts was a "high explosive." Still they declare they will hang Nolan.

The fight will have to be kept up. We'll have to fight every inch of the ground. The exposure of Oxman and the acquittal of Rena Mooney are only incidents.

Our friends must NOT lay down their arms with the expectation that the fight is won. We have captured a few trenches only. The prisoners at the rear must be rescued.

Agitate, hold meetings and raise all the funds you can! We have incurred huge expenses in this trial. The result speaks for itself!

**WE MUST HAVE IMMEDIATE FUNDS TO FIGHT THE REMAINING TRIALS AND APPEALS.**

Send your contributions at once to International Workers' Defense League, 210 Russ Building, San Francisco.



The Book  
you need

# WHY THE CAPITALIST?

By FREDERICK HALLER

Do you know that it is more difficult to get a convincing argument for a vital proposition than it is to get a complete understanding of the proposition itself? This is because deeply rooted false notions must be cleared away before the truth can be made to stick.

Have you ever had trouble in getting anyone to understand that labor creates all value?

Did you ever wish for a smashing answer to the palaver "that capital and labor must work together in harmony," or that capital is "entitled to a fair remuneration," or that you will always have to recognize the "rights of capital"?

Did you ever need a SILENCER for the loud talk about the "rights of property"?

Has the "supply and demand" argument ever been so put up to you that you could not make the fellow putting it up admit that he is entirely in the wrong?

Have you ever found difficulty in making the reformer see that the exploitation of the worker takes place at the point of production?

Would you like to hand out something that lays the present system of exploitation bare, from the production of raw material, through every stage of manufacture, through all the phases of merchandising, and through the system of commercial banking?

Have you ever wanted a hitting and convincing argument that schemes to solve the social question by free trade, or protective tariffs, or any other method of taxation, by charity, or by higher efficiency, or by saving, or by laws against price-fixing, laws against big business, laws against the grocer, the butcher or the baker, are all bound to fail?

Do you want a pithy, concise and friendly presentation of trade unionism, giving credit for what it has done, and pointing out its inherent shortcomings?

Would you like to drive it into the heads of those in small business and in the professions that their only salvation is in the Socialist movement?

Would you understand the ways of commercial banking and know how bankers can and do extort higher rates of usury from business than even the worst of loan sharks can obtain from their victims?

Would you like to have an effective explanation of the exploiter?

Would you like to have the substance of "Das Kapital" so presented that any man who can read a newspaper can get a full understanding, with an unflagging interest?

"Why the Capitalist?" by Frederick Haller, LL. B., fills all these wants. It is the clearest and most trenchant presentation of real political economy ever written; yet without free from acrimony, crimination or recrimination. Nor is it in any respect exhortative. It is an American's understanding of Marx. It is a text-book, not only for the producer, but as well for that large and ever growing number which is denied the right to take part in productive industry and is driven into so-called business, and into shady and useless vocations and avocations in order to hang on to a livelihood.

"Why the Capitalist?" is a \$1.50 book, but we have just made a contract with the author by which we are enabled to publish it at a dollar a copy. Now ready. Use the blank.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,  
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago:

I enclose \$1.00, for which please mail a copy of "Why the Capitalist?"

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

Postoffice ..... State .....



## EDITORIAL

If This Be Treason, Make the Most of It. The successful revolutionists who framed the constitution of the United States of America had learned one important truth thru bitter experience, namely, that public officials are likely to regard as treasonable, and if possible to punish as treasonable, any act that interferes with their exercise of power. Therefore they put into the constitution this provision, which still stands: **Treason against the United States shall consist only in making war upon them, and in giving aid and comfort to their enemies in time of war.** The United States of America is at war with the imperial government of Germany; it is not officially at war with the working class of the world, much as certain people like the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* might like to see it enter on such a war. We socialists and industrial unionists do not desire the success of the imperial government of Germany in the war now raging. What we do desire and what we are struggling for is more power and a happier life for the propertyless millions who do the work of the world.

**Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors.** An extreme instance of stupid as well as malicious libel against the Industrial Workers of the World is found in the following special Washington dispatch taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of August 18.

[BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

Washington, D. C., Aug. 17.—Special.)—Senator Ashurst of Arizona denounced the Industrial Workers of the World in the senate today. He said he had been asked by constituents and others what "I. W. W." stands for and had discovered the answer.

"I know what the meaning of the three letters is," said he. "They stand for 'Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors.'"

Mr. Ashurst also said that I. W. W.'s "stand for murder and perjury," and declared he proposed to discuss them at length later. The senator had read into the record an editorial from the *Guardian*, a newspaper published in Graham county, Ariz., which gives the follow-

ing lines as an extract from the I. W. W. songbook:

"Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite,  
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite;  
Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize,  
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you please."

"IT'S TYPICAL OF I. W. W."

"This sort of diabolical sentiment, running with unbridled crime of every character, up to murder, seems to typify the I. W. W.," Mr. Ashurst declared.

Now it is true that the lines quoted are from the "I. W. W. Song-book," but to any one with a particle of common sense, this very song goes far to refute the senator's accusation. Members of the I. W. W. do not, let it be understood, refer to **themselves** as "Christian Soldiers,"—such an idea would call out hearty laughter but for the evident malice of the charge and the chance of its prejudicing many people ignorant of the facts. The "Christian Soldiers" referred to in the song are precisely the soldiers of the Kaiser, who have, it is generally believed, carried out the precepts of the song in Belgium and northern France. What the I. W. W. is doing is to stand out for higher wages in opposition to the copper magnates loved by the Senator from Arizona. There seems to be an organized attempt to hoodwink the people of the United States into the belief that the I. W. W. is in collusion with the Kaiser. If this charge is true, it is a case of actual treason, and patriots like the *Tribune* editor should come forward with the evidence. That they have not done so is very good reason for believing that no such evidence exists.

**The Review and the Censorship.** Our June issue was barred from the mails by the censors at Washington after nearly the entire issue had been circulated. Our July issue was completely barred from the mails, but we circulated nearly the usual number by express thru the cooperation of our friends in many cities

who ordered bundles. Our August issue was held up for examination, but we were finally allowed to mail copies after omitting three paragraphs from an article reprinted with due credit from the *Chicago Daily News*. This September issue can not be mailed until the Washington officials have passed on it. We have published and intend to publish nothing contrary to any constitutional law passed by Congress. The United States courts have already decided, in the case of "*The Masses*," that periodicals are within their rights in criticising laws and advocating their repeal, so long as they do not counsel unlawful acts, which no Socialist periodical has done in this country, so far

as we know. As we go to press, word comes that *The Masses*, having previously received an order of court compelling the postmaster to mail its August issue, has applied for a similar order on its September issue, which has likewise been held up. If the censors expect to keep people from reading Socialist literature, they will be sadly disappointed. The net result of their activity up to this time has been to unify the Socialist movement and to increase immensely the demand for its literature. The Socialist victory at Dayton, Ohio, recorded on this page, is a faint indication of what will happen all over the country in next year's elections.—  
C. H. K.

**Dayton, Ohio, Swept by Socialists**—Dayton, Ohio, Aug. 17.—(Special.)—Owing to the fact that a wave of socialism swept this city in the primary election last Tuesday, a united effort is being made by all the elements opposed to the socialistic propaganda to prevent a Socialist victory at the polls in November.

The local political situation is unique. During the summer a series of conferences, in which the leading business and professional men of the city participated, were held with a view to securing an amalgamation of the two old parties.

The Democratic and Republican leaders could not agree upon candidates who were to stand for the maintenance of the present commission manager charter and a Democratic and a Citizens' ticket were put in the field.

#### **Socialists Pile Up Vote**

The Socialists presented three candidates, with a demand for a statement of war terms, repeal of the draft law, the overthrow of the local government, and an entire new alignment as their platform. As a result, the Socialist candidates received as many votes as were obtained by the candidates of the two other divisions combined.

The commission is composed of five members, and if the Socialists succeed in electing their three candidates they will have control of the government.

#### **Pacifists Heard From**

Washington, D. C., Aug. 17.—(Special.)—The American Union Against Militarism addressed an open letter of inquiry to Senator Pomerene of Ohio regarding recent election results in Dayton today. The letter reads:

"The American Union Against Militarism would be interested to know your explanation of the primary election in Dayton, O., Aug. 14, in which it appears that the Socialists, on a platform demanding a statement of our war terms and the repeal of the draft swept the city with 11,017 votes against 7,314 polled by the 'nonpartisan' ticket, and 3,014 votes polled by your own organization. We have been informed that your recent epigram about Washington, Lincoln and the president figured somewhat disastrously in the result."

"What would you say to that?"—From Chicago Tribune.

# Ruptured?— Throw Away Your Truss!

For Many Years We Have Been Telling You That No Truss Will Ever Help You—  
We Have Told You the Harm That Trusses Are Doing. We Have Told You  
That the Only Truly Comfortable and Scientific Device for Holding  
Rupture Is the Brooks Rupture Appliance—and That It Is  
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If you have tried most everything else, come to me. Where others fail is where I have my greatest success. Send attached coupon today and I will send you free my illustrated book on Rupture and its cure, showing my Appliance and giving you prices and names of many people who have tried it and were cured. It is instant relief when all others fail. Remember, I use no salves, no harness, no ties.

I send on trial to prove what I say is true. You are the judge and once having seen my illustrated book and read it you will be as enthusiastic as my hundreds of patients whose letters you can also read. Fill out the free coupon below and mail today. It's well worth your time, whether you try my Appliance or not.

## Cured at the Age of 76

Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.

Dear Sir:—I began using your Appliance for the cure of rupture (I had a pretty bad case) I think in May, 1905. On November 20, 1905, I quit using it. Since that time I have not needed or used it. I am well of rupture and rank myself among those cured by the Brooks Discovery, which, considering my age, 76 years, I regard as remarkable.

Very sincerely yours,  
SAM A. HOOVER.

Jamestown, N. C.

## Child Cured in Four Months

21 Jansen St., Dubuque, Ia.

Mr. C. E. Brooks.

Dear Sir:—The baby's rupture is altogether cured, thanks to your Appliance, and we are so thankful to you. If we could only have known of it sooner our little boy would not have had to suffer near as much as he did. He wore your brace a little over four months and has not worn it now for six weeks.

Yours very truly,  
ANDREW EGGENBERGER.

## Confederate Veteran Cured

Commerce, Ga., R. F. D. No. 11.

Mr. C. E. Brooks.

Dear Sir:—I am glad to tell you that I am now sound and well and can plough or do any heavy work. I can say your Appliance has effected a permanent cure. Before getting your Appliance I was in a terrible condition and had given up all hope of ever being any better. If it hadn't been for your Appliance I would never have been cured. I am sixty-eight years old and served three years in Eckie's Artillery, Oglethorpe Co. I hope God will reward you for the good you are doing for suffering humanity.

Yours sincerely,  
H. D. BANKS.



The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor of the Appliance, who cured himself and who is now giving others the benefit of his experience — If ruptured, write him today, at Marshall, Mich.

## Pennsylvania Man Thankful

Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.

Dear Sir: Perhaps it will interest you to know that I have been ruptured six years and have always had trouble with it till I got your Appliance. It is very easy to wear, fits neat and snug, and is not in the way at any time, day or night. In fact, at times I did not know I had it on; it just adapted itself to the shape of the body and seemed to be a part of the body, as it clung to the spot, no matter what position I was in.

It would be a veritable God-send to the unfortunates who suffer from rupture if all could procure the Brooks Rupture Appliance and wear it. They would certainly never regret it.

My rupture is now all healed up and nothing ever did it but your Appliance. Whenever the opportunity presents itself I will say a good word for your Appliance, and also the honorable way in which you deal with ruptured people. It is a pleasure to recommend a good thing among your friends or strangers.

I am, Yours very sincerely,  
JAMES A. BRITTON.  
80 Spring St., Bethlehem, Pa.

## Ten Reasons Why You Should Send for Brooks Rupture Appliance

1. It is absolutely the only Appliance of the kind on the market today, and in it are embodied the principles that inventors have sought after for years.
2. The Appliance for retaining the rupture cannot be thrown out of position.
3. Being an air cushion of soft rubber, it clings closely to the body, yet never blisters or causes irritation.
4. Unlike the ordinary so-called pads, used in other trusses, it is not cumbersome or ungainly.
5. It is small, soft and pliable, and positively cannot be detected through the clothing.
6. The soft, pliable bands holding the Appliance do not give one the unpleasant sensation of wearing a harness.
7. There is nothing about it to get foul, and when it becomes soiled it can be washed without injuring it in the least.
8. There are no metal springs in the Appliance to torture one by cutting and bruising the flesh.
9. All of the material of which the Appliances are made is of the very best that money can buy, making it a durable and safe Appliance to wear.
10. My reputation for honesty and fair dealing is so thoroughly established by an experience of over thirty years of dealing with the public, and my prices are so reasonable, my terms so fair, that there certainly should be no hesitancy in sending free coupon today.

## Remember

I send my Appliance on trial to prove what I say is true. You are to be the Judge. Fill out free coupon below and mail today.

### FREE INFORMATION COUPON

C. E. Brooks,  
122 State St., Marshall, Mich.

Please send me by mail in plain wrapper your illustrated book and full information about your Appliance for the cure of rupture.

Name .....

City .....

R. F. D. .... State .....



The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor  
of the Appliance, who cured him-  
self and who is now giving  
others the benefit of his ex-  
perience — If ruptured,  
write him today, at  
Marshall, Mich.

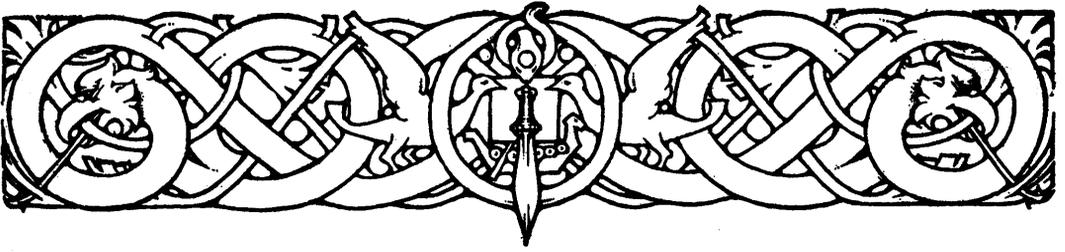
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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

## **British Labor and Peace**

Socialist Russia is having an excellent influence on English workers. Some time ago Ramsay MacDonald was not allowed to go to Russia, because he favored participation in the new Copenhagen conference. Then Arthur Henderson was sent, because he was opposed to it. When he came back he had changed his mind. Readers of last month's REVIEW will remember that two French Socialists underwent a similar change while in Russia.

Arthur Henderson has been, since the reconstruction of the British cabinet, a member of the War Council. This is a group of five men who really rule England. He has done so little by way of representing the needs of the working class that English Socialists had quite lost hope of him. But soon after his return from Russia there was a Labor Party conference. It was held at Westminster on August 10. Henderson attended and made a great speech in favor of having British labor represented at Stockholm.

Lloyd George was shocked. He said that Henderson might at least have told the War Council what he was going to do. Then Henderson resigned from the War Council, and his resignation was immediately accepted.

Here is one interesting incident: The members of the British Seamen's Union are naturally the ones who have suffered most from German atrocities at sea. It was they who refused to take a delegation to the first Stockholm conference. When the discussion was going on at Westminster they shouted that the conference might do as it liked; they would be the ones to make the final decision as to whether anyone should go to Stockholm.

The decision in favor of representation is not by any means to be accepted as a vote

for peace. The argument that really won the conference was an anti-German one. The delegates were told that the Russian and German Socialists should not be allowed to meet alone. There should be Englishmen there to represent the side of the allies.

A long resolution adopted is an elaboration of the Russian motto, "No annexations, no indemnities and self-determination for all peoples." In a general way this formula is interpreted to the harm of Germany without mention of Ireland or India. But the plea for peace on these terms is strong and evidently sincere.

## **Keeping Ger- many Quiet**

The German Reichstag has once more demonstrated its perfect unfitness for the part it might play in the great events now going forward. It met, adopted a pious resolution in favor of peace, and adjourned. This resolution, which was definitely opposed to annexations, showed that the Socialists, Centrists and Liberals were in the majority. The super-annexationists were horrified.

But the government has countered in a very clever political move. The military clique which controls the Emperor forced Bethmann-Hollweg to resign. Thus we say farewell to the last of the statesmen who started the war. England, France, Russia, Austria, Germany—all have changed prime ministers within the past three years. None need mourn for Bethmann-Hollweg. He remained so long in office chiefly because he could keep all factions guessing and lead them all to think he was of their opinion.

There is, however, no good to be expected of the new cabinet. Dr. Michaelis, the chancellor, is not a nobleman, but he is a regular Prussian bureaucrat. His followers liken him to Bismarck. No doubt he would like to imitate his great predecessor. There

are two interesting points about the new cabinet. Dr. Peter Spahn has been made Prussian minister of justice. He is the great leader of the Centrists, the Roman Catholic party. It is the defection of these Centrists that upset the plans of Bethmann-Hollweg. The appointment of Dr. Spahn is a sop to them. Apparently it has had the desired effect. Catholic papers say they have not got quite what they asked for, but the presence of a good Romanist in the cabinet relieves the situation. The other interesting point is the naming of Dr. Richard von Kuelmann as secretary of foreign affairs. He has lived long in England and is eager to conciliate the Anglo-Saxon countries. He was opposed to the U-boat war, and it is said that had he been in office earlier, he would have prevented the break with America—or tried to do so. Now his great ambition is to represent Germany at a peace conference.

It is evident, however, that the whole shake-up was undertaken as a blind to the German people. For the moment it has worked. The majority Socialists are opposed to the government, but that worries

nobody. More important is the news that a great mass meeting of miners has voted for peace.

#### Strikes in Spain

In Spain the war stirs up labor troubles. Times are hard there. The foreign market for Spanish fruits and other wares has practically disappeared. The cost of living has gone up and the chances to make a living have gone down. Twice in the course of the month there have been railway strikes. As we go to press a great stoppage of labor is reported on the Northern Railway. Troops are to be called out and there will doubtless be rioting.

The King of Spain thinks his country is moving toward Socialism. He is an intelligent young man and has abundant opportunity for observation.

#### Karl Liebknecht

A cable dispatch, probably untrustworthy, reports that Karl Liebknecht has been dismissed from jail and is suffering severely from tuberculosis.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



FINNISH HALL AND OFFICE OF METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION AND STEEL BLOCK, BUTTE, MONTANA.

**Ohio News**—Ammon A. Hennacy and Charles Townsley were convicted at Columbus of conspiring against the conscription law. Hennacy was also found guilty of not registering. He was sentenced to two years and nine months in Atlanta federal prison. Townsley was sentenced to two years in prison. Notice of appeal of the cases has been given, but the comrades are in jail because bondsmen could not be secured.

The fifteen comrades arrested in Cincinnati are all out on bail. Indictments against them have not yet been drawn, and it is not known when the cases will come to trial.

In Cleveland C. E. Ruthenberg, Socialist candidate for mayor; Alfred Wagenknecht, state secretary, and Charles Baker, state organizer, were convicted of aiding and abetting a certain Alphonse Schue to register. Schue, when arrested for failure to register, stated that he had been influenced by speeches made by Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker, and the charges against the latter were based on this statement.

The three men were sentenced to serve a year in the Canton, Ohio, jail. The case has been appealed to the supreme court and will not be decided until October or November. In the meantime all of the defendants are out on bail and continuing their activities in the fight for Socialism, Peace and Democracy.

A dispatch from Washington, D. C., informs us that the cases of Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht will be first to come up for review before the U. S. Supreme Court to arrive at a decision as to the constitutionality of the draft law.

**No Yellow Streak in This Bunch**—Local Union No. 2328 of the United Mine Workers of America at Superior, Wyo., is a staunch supporter of the Review. For the past six years it has regularly subscribed for 42 yearly subscriptions. Guess the boys appreciate a revolutionary working class magazine.

If every union man who reads the Review would get busy in his own local union, it would not be long before we would be reach-



FINNISH HALL AND OFFICE OF METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION AND STEEL BLOCK,  
BUTTE, MONTANA.

ing a quarter of a million wage slaves every month.

**Sugarman and Bentall**—Just as the Review goes to press word comes to this office that State Secretary of the S. P. of Minnesota, A. L. Sugarman and J. O. Bentall have been arrested on a charge of attempting to "obstruct the war." Comrade Bentall writes us from the county jail in Minneapolis: "There are about fifty of us on this floor and the boys are all eager to know about Socialism. Some are party members and "slackers." We have had some great meetings in Minnesota, all from 3,000 to 10,000 people. At Hutchinson at least 10,000 came—some 20 or 30 miles—full of enthusiasm and eagerness. I never saw anything like it. In the middle of my speech the postmaster rushed up on the platform and struck me in the face. He was promptly reduced to quiet by some big farmers, and I talked another hour and a half. People are falling over each other to hear about Socialism these days. They are no longer afraid of it, and the farmers are most radical and fearless. They no longer imagine that this is a free country and they rebel like mad bulls. They can't believe that capitalists, through a few hireling politicians, can rob us of "our liberties." All they need is education. Eight thousand attended the meeting at Dale, including two sheriffs, three judges and several U. S. deputy marshals and a number of plain clothes men. We sold all our literature and needed more. Later I went back to the old farm, hitched up the tractor to two eight foot binders and had just gone one round on our oats when a U. S. deputy marshal came along and arrested me. So I shut down the gas horse and here I am. There is just one thing I want to say, I never talk against war; all I do is to talk peace. They say that it was the little Hutchinson postmaster who reported me as undesirable. His word went. Good cheer to you all in the grand work for the revolution. Everything is coming our way.

**Muscatine, Iowa**—Lee W. Lang, one of the old guard, writes: "I purchased twenty copies of the August issue of the Review at the Tri-

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"Enchanted Hills Colony" in Sunny California. Socialism in practice among the orange groves where it is delightful all the year. Become a member and stop worrying about how to make a living. Write for particulars. 625 Fifth street, San Diego, Calif.

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## Is He Crazy?

The owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, where the fine figs grow, is giving away a few five-acre fruit tracts. The only condition is that figs be planted. The owner wants enough figs raised to supply a cooperative canning factory. You can secure five acres and an interest in the canning factory by writing the Eubank Farms Company, 1428 Keystone, Pittsburgh, Pa. They will plant and care for your trees for \$6 per month. Your profit should be \$1,000 per year. For 18 cents to cover mailing expense, they will send you, prepaid, sample jar preserved figs, grown on the plantation.

City picnic a week ago last Sunday, but they sold so fast that I have to have twenty-five more to sell to my regular customers." If we had a few more comrades like Comrade Lang, it would not be long before Iowa would be on the red map.

**Joplin, Mo.**—Comrade Eleanor E. Carpenter orders a bundle of seventy-two Reviews and adds: "Reviews sell like hot cakes down this way. All it needs is for one to have the time to devote to it. We intend to keep increasing our order."

**Fresno, Calif.**—Secretary Elliott of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union remits for a bundle of Reviews and says: "The O. B. U. is fast getting a footing here, one hundred members in July."

**All Tied Up**—The secretary of Seattle District Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500 of the I. W. W. rolls in twelve big iron dollars for August Reviews along with an interesting letter, from which we quote as follows: "The strike in the lumber industry is coming along with a rush. Of course they are jailing lots of our members and trying to close our halls, especially in Idaho, where they are trying to enforce the anti-syndicalist law, but all log workers and mill workers are staying away from Idaho. The solidarity amongst the workers and their determination to win the strike is growing stronger every day. WE HAVE PRACTICALLY EVERY CAMP AND MILL IN WASHINGTON, IDAHO AND MONTANA TIED UP."—J. M.

**Rock Island, Ill.**—The annual Tri-City picnic was pulled off on schedule time this year and the Rock Island reds were on the job as usual. Comrade Edgar Owens writes: "Our picnic was one grand success. We pulled the biggest crowd in the history of the local party organization. We hope to increase our order for Labor Day number a couple of hundred."

**St. Paul, Minn.**—State Secretary Sugarman writes: "Enclosed find our check for \$25.00. Send us 500 additional August Reviews. Sold 700 copies yesterday at a big meeting of farmers. Could have sold more if we had had them. Well, just watch the farmers of this state."

**Slavery in Utah**—"The sugar factory workers are slaving for the Mormon church barons at the rate of 20 cents an hour. Several weak attempts to strike have been broken by the bishops. In fact, the Mormon Church is the most efficient strike breaking organization we have run up against.

"An attempt was made in the last legislature to pass an 8-hour day for the sugar workers, but the church influence defeated the bill. The slaves now work 12 hours a day."

**Strike at Mineral, Wash.**—Comrade Longmire writes: "Enclosed find \$1.20 express order for the August Review if you have any left by the time this reaches you. A big strike is on here now, the timber, saw-mill and shingle workers have all walked out for an eight-hour day. The Review is needed. The July numbers are about all gone."

**Kentucky Becoming Revolutionary**—Louisville, Ky., state office of the Socialist Party reports Socialism and industrial organization sweeping the state. Three weeks ago 25 garment workers at Shimanski's big clothing establishment walked out, demanding an eight-hour day and 15 per cent increase in wages and recognition of the union. Frank Rosenblum of Chicago, Ill., organizer for the Amalgamated Garment Workers of North America, was placed in charge of the strike and the Socialist Party threw open their headquarters, Karl Marx Hall, 306 West Jefferson street, where the strikers can meet daily and confer. They were offered every assistance possible by the Socialists and as a result 18 joined the local, including many members of the executive committee of the newly organized union.

The strikers are furnished electric fans, ice water and piano by the Socialist Party, and they pass the time very pleasantly. Ben J. Robertson, Socialist Party nominee for mayor, and Rev. John G. Stilli of the leading revolutionary church in the state, addressed the strikers at a big mass meeting which startled the old parties. Coal miners in Central Kentucky and Eastern Kentucky are all on strike demanding shorter hours and better pay and recognition of the union. Now comes the tobacco workers in the largest establishment in the city ready to walk out. The city employes are demanding more pay or a strike. At a big meeting Aug. 5th, which was addressed by George R. Kirkpatrick, 100 International Reviews were sold, and the larger part of the strikers in the Garment Workers' Union were present and the girls occupied box seats as being the most honored guests of the occasion.

Fully 100 new party members were added to the Socialist Party in the month of July.

**The Chamber of Commerce**, in league with the chief of police and other crooks in Aberdeen, S. D., have recruited a band of out-laws. They are shielded in their bloody and brutal work by the national war cry of "save the world for democracy." They are carrying on a campaign of mob rule and murder. They have arrested men on the main street and thrown them in jail with no charge placed against them. In the dark hours of night these men are taken out of jail by the chief of police, loaded into autos and taken to the country. They are stripped of their clothes. With pick handles and black-jacks they are beaten and left bleeding on the prairie. Men are coming into Minneapolis every day showing the marks of this dirty and degenerate mob. Although the men so badly beaten have come into town, they are only here to recuperate and though their bodies are broken their spirits remain unshaken. Their determination to carry the message of freedom to the workers is stronger than ever. The capitalist papers are continually lying about the lawlessness of the I. W. W. and it is safe to say that if such tactics being used by the thugs of Aberdeen are continued, the press will have a real excuse for accusing the I. W. W. Violence breeds violence. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if the workers can't get protection from the courts and have such brutality stopped, it is only natural that they will take the law into their own hands and protect themselves.—F.

Edwards, secretary, and Ted Fraser, chairman Organization Committee.

**From the Socialist Party, Superior, Wisconsin**—The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Douglas County at a meeting held in Superior, Wisconsin, August 6, 1917, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the high cost of living has forced the workers of this country to struggle for higher wages; and

Whereas, one of the most bitter struggles is now being waged between capital and labor at Bisbee, Arizona; and

Whereas, 1,600 striking miners have been deported from their homes for demanding bread for themselves and families; and

Whereas, these men have been kept at the government camps at Columbus, New Mexico, since July 13, 1917; and

Whereas, capitalism has recently committed the crime of lynching Frank Little, the I. W. W. organizer at Butte, Montana;

Be it resolved, that we, the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Douglas County do bitterly protest against such outrages perpetrated by the capitalistic parasites against the laboring classes; and

Be it further resolved, that we demand a fair investigation by Federal authorities of the above criminal affairs, and the prosecution of the murderers of labor; and

Be it further resolved, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to President Wilson, to Representative Lenroot, to the Socialist Representative Meyer London of New York, to Senator LaFollette, the mayors of Butte, Montana, and Bisbee, Arizona, to the governors of Montana and Arizona, and to the Socialist press.—Resolution Committee: Angelina Hilger, Jos. R. Booth, Ethel Adams Peterson, 300 West 6th St., Superior, Wis., Secretary Central Committee.

**From Leetonia, Ohio**—Comrade Stewart of Leetonia, Ohio, sends in \$2.00, which he says he hopes we will use to make democracy safe in America.

**Heard on the Streets**—A young engineer who came from the Arizona mines to visit in Los Angeles during the I. W. W. strike said: "This strike isn't going to be ended so easily as some of the 'authorities' think. There are plenty of clerks, engineers and workers outside the I. W. W. who are wondering why salaries remain so low when the mines are selling all products at such high prices.

"Old men scarcely able to handle a truck are gladly accepted in Los Angeles warehouses these days. They are about the only ones willing to work a few days extra now and then for 25 to 30 cents an hour. Their appearance is creating discontent on the part of the regular slaves, who are saying, 'Why do these fellows who can't do a day's work come in and get as much pay as us fellows who understand and are physically able to do it? If it is that hard to get men, they will have to come across with more for us.'"

I have visited a number of warehouses and talked with scores of teamsters and other casual laborers. The same general ferment is at work in the minds of a large proportion of these men.

# STUDY SOCIALISM

The great war has made the old competitive system no longer possible. Each warring nation is taking over an increasing share of production, and the question now is whether the nation shall be controlled by the workers or by the bondholders. We Socialists think it should be controlled by the workers. Read these books and you will agree with us.

**Shop Talks on Economics.** By Mary Marcy. Explains why the wage-workers create wealth and then turn most of it over to the capitalists. Clear, simple, forcible, just the book to start with. Price 10 cents.

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**Evolution and Revolution.** By Mark Fisher. This is a brief industrial history of the human race from primitive times to the present, showing how changes in methods of production bring new classes into power. Price 10 cents.

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**Scientific Socialism Study Course.** Prepared especially for study clubs and classes. Questions and answers, the latter mostly taken from the Socialist classics. Price 10 cents.

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# **LEADERS:** Why They Appear Why People Follow Them Why They Become Autocrats

These questions are vital to the Socialist movement, since its central aim is not merely collective ownership but also *democratic control* of production and distribution. Is a democratically managed society possible? And if so, do political and labor leaders *help* or *hinder* the oncoming of democracy?

These are a few of the questions discussed in a great book by ROBERT MICHELS, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Basle, entitled

## **POLITICAL PARTIES: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy**

The author does not attempt to solve our problems for us. He merely shows what *has happened* in the Socialist parties and the labor unions of France, Germany, Italy, England and the United States. Here are a few of the chapters:

The Need for Organization.

The Need for Leadership Felt by the Mass.

The Political Gratitude of the Masses.

Financial Power of the Leaders.

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The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses.

Centralization.

The Exercise of Power and Its Reaction Upon the Leaders.

The Metamorphosis of the Leaders.

Syndicalism as a Remedy.

Anarchism.

Party-Life in War-Time.

The last-named chapter was written in 1915 especially for the American edition, and shows how the action of the German Socialist officials has confirmed the author's theories.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a critical analysis of the workings of democracy, both on the political and economic fields. It introduces the reader to a new branch of science, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a large volume of 426 pages, handsomely printed and bound. It was published in New York at \$3.50 net. We have bought all remaining copies of the American edition, and while they last we offer them to any REVIEW reader at \$1.50 postpaid; with the REVIEW one year, \$2.00.

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Name.....

Street and No.....

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



**Tobacco Talks on  
Nervous System**



**Tobacco Ruins  
Digestion**



**Tobacco Stunts  
Boy's Growth**



**Tobacco Robs  
Man of Virility**



**Tobacco Steals  
from You the  
Pleasures, Comforts,  
Luxuries  
of Life**