

AUGUST, 1912

The

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE
OF THE WORKING CLASS



TIMBER WORKERS AND TIMBER WOLVES

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

This is *an invaluable work*, and I shall appreciate it more and more as I have occasion to consult and quote from its pages. The service you have rendered the American people, and especially to the workers of the nation, can scarcely be overestimated.—*Eugene V. Debs.*

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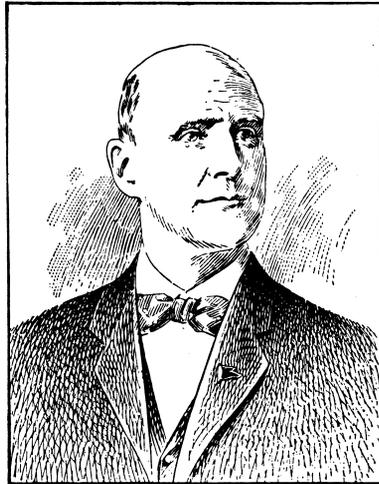
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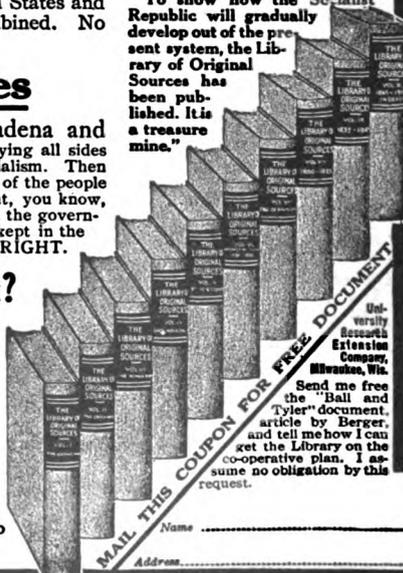
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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By Eugene V. Debs

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HOW TO KICK, by Robert Rives La Monte

American workmen have many just grievances and have repeatedly kicked about them, but in vain. Their manifold protests for years have been left unheeded. Too often they have merely kicked one master out of the saddle only to kick another one into it. Why? Because they have not kicked in the right way. You will agree with this after reading this corking booklet.

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The
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VOL. XIII

AUGUST, 1912

No. 2

TIMBER WORKERS

AND

TIMBER WOLVES

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



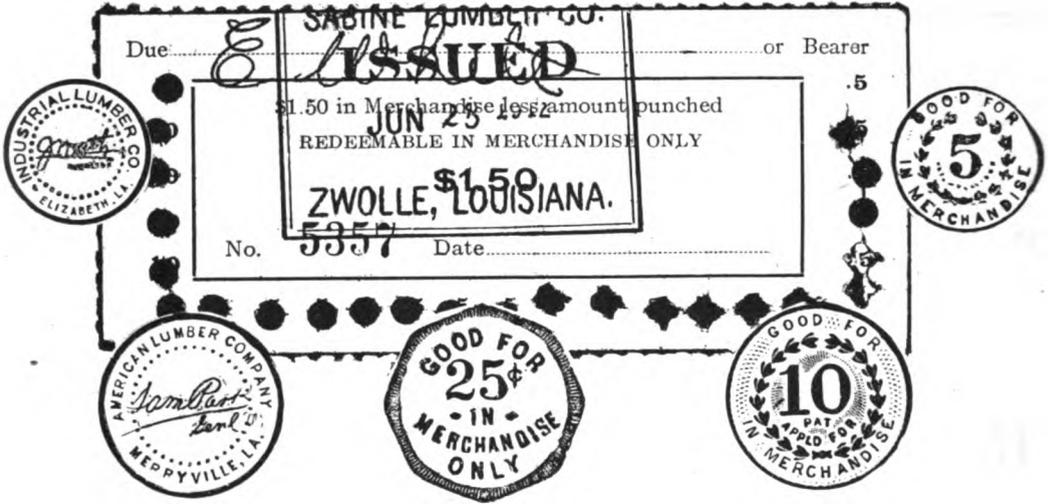
A. L. EMERSON, President of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, is in jail at Lake Charles, La. He was arrested following the shooting at Grabow, La., where three union men and one company hireling were killed outright and nearly two score of men were more or less seriously wounded.

The shooting is the outcome of the bitter war waged against the members of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers by the Lumber Trust for the last eighteen months. The scene of the tragedy that occurred on Sunday, July seventh, is a typical Southern lumber camp. The mill at this place is operated by the Galloway Lumber Company. In common with all others, it is surrounded by the miserable houses where the workers find

habitation, the commissary store of the Company being the largest place of business in the towns. A strike has been on at this place since the middle of last May. The single demand on the part of the union men was for a bi-weekly pay day. Heretofore the pay days have been at long intervals—usually a month apart.

During the intervening weeks, when the men were in need of money to meet the necessities of life, they could secure advances on their pay but not in real money. They were compelled to accept *Company Scrip* payable only in *merchandise* and exchangeable only at the company commissary. If accepted elsewhere it is uniformly discounted from 10 to 25 per cent on the dollar.

In the commissary stores where the cash prices are always from 20 to 50 per cent



BOGUS MONEY—COMMISSARY SCRIP.

In Lumber Jack Language Called: Gouge Outs, Batwings, Cherry Balls, and Other Appropriate Names.

higher than at the independent stores, the company has established another means of graft by making two prices—the coupon or scrip price being much higher than that exacted for real cash.

The conditions at Grabow can be used as an illustration of nearly all of the other lumber camps of the South.

The commissary store is not the only iniquity imposed upon the Timber Workers. For miserable shacks they the compelled to pay exorbitant rents; sewerage there is none; there is no pretense at sanitation; the outhouses are open vaults. For these accommodations families pay from \$5 to \$20 a month. In one camp worn-out box cars are rented by R. A. Long, the Kansas City philanthropist, for \$4 a month. Insurance fees are arbitrarily collected from every worker, for which he receives practically nothing in return, but whether his time be long or short—one day or a month—with the company, the fee is deducted. The same is true of the doctor fee and the hospital fee, which, in all places, is an imaginary institution. The nearest thing to a hospital that the writer saw was an uncompleted foundation at De Ridder, the place visited a few days prior to the Grabow tragedy. The gunmen and deputy sheriffs are an expensive innovation in the manufacture of lumber. These miserable tools are to be found

everywhere and are used to browbeat and coerce the workers.

The lumber crews are hired without regard to color or nationality. In building up the Brotherhood of Timber Workers the officials of that organization have followed the lines laid down by the bosses and have brought into the ranks such persons as the bosses have employed. With wisdom and forethought they have refused to allow a discordant note to cause dissension in their ranks. This spirit of class consciousness aroused the ire of the lumber company to such an extent that no member of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers or the Industrial Workers of the World is given employment.

The spirit of the organization was plainly shown in its recent convention held at Alexandria where an effort was made on the part of the authorities to prevent a joint convention of white and black members. The Democratic officials of the county threatened to have an injunction issued or some other process of law invoked to prevent the body from coming together. As there is no law in Louisiana that prohibits the mixing of the races on the job, the B. T. of W. could not understand why they should not confer and council with each other in convention about their daily work, it being the purpose of the

organization to improve the conditions under which its members labor.

After the Alexandria Convention adjourned, the first effort of the Timber Workers was to establish the semi-monthly pay day at Grabow. The demand was made of the company that pay day should come every two weeks. The demand was flatly refused and the strike followed and has continued since. The Galloway Lumber Company, the concern affected, tried to operate their mill in the meantime with non-union men who had been induced to fill some of the places of the striking timber workers. It was for the purpose of bringing these men into the organization that President Emerson, accompanied by a hundred or more members and sympathizers from De Ridder, went to Grabow.

While Emerson was addressing the crowd that had assembled a shot was fired from the direction of the lumber company's office, which struck a young man standing by his side. This shot seemed to be the signal for a fusillade, coming not only from the office but from barricades of lumber and from the houses occupied by company thugs, one of whom stepped to the door and fired a shot

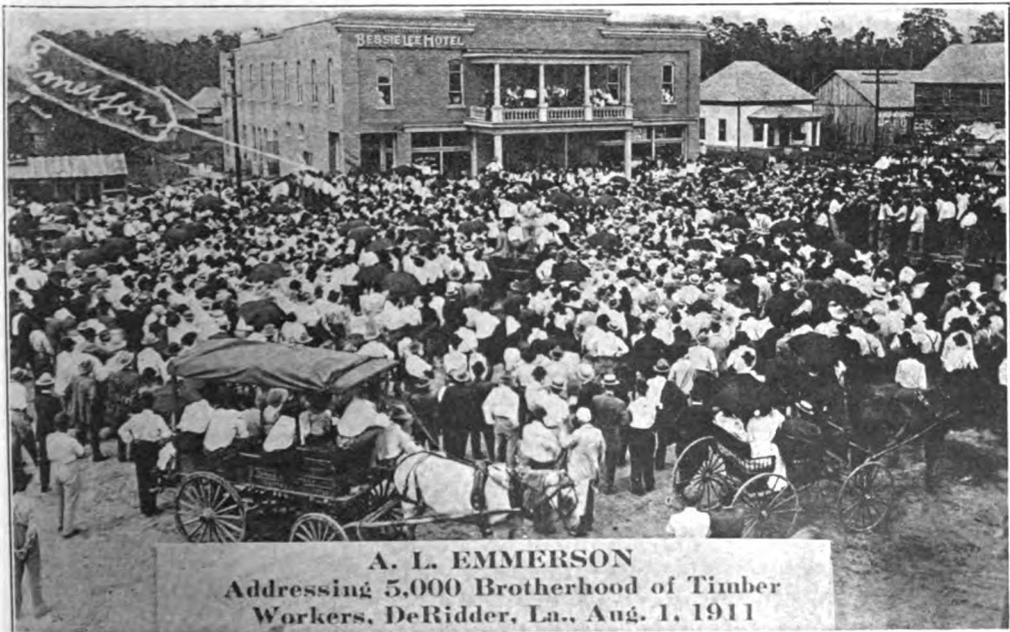
which lodged in the abdomen of Bud Hickman, a farmer, who with his wife in his buggy, was trying to get away from the conflict.

Roy Martin and Gates Hall, two union men, were killed outright and A. W. Vincent, a company man, was also killed.

That the company was prepared and looking for an opportunity to make just such a murderous assault is evidenced by the fact that the office had been converted into an arsenal.

The first news received at New Orleans, which later reports seem to verify, was that managers, superintendents and gun-men from other lumber companies were ambushed in the Galloway Lumber Company office and that a wholesale slaughter of union men had been deliberately planned. That the murder of Emerson was intended is clearly shown by the fact that the man standing closest to him was the first shot down. Emerson was the desired victim. He had long been a target for the lumber barons' hatred and venom.

Emerson is in jail, being held without bail at the time of this writing to await the action of the Grand Jury, that is to convene on the 15th of August. He is charged with murder on two counts. It



A. L. EMMERSON
Addressing 5,000 Brotherhood of Timber
Workers, DeRidder, La., Aug. 1, 1911

will be proven in the course of time that his only crime is that of trying to lessen the burden and lengthen the lives of his fellow workers.

Before the campaign of organization now inaugurated by the Industrial Workers of the World is closed the lumber barons of Dixieland will have learned that it is impossible to fell trees with rifles and saw lumber with six shooters.

It should be mentioned here that of the nine men arrested four are non-union men, two of them, John and Paul Galloway, being owners of the Lumber Company. All are charged with murder. This, perhaps, indicates that the Trust has not entirely corralled the officialdom of Louisiana. It is certain that they are in bad repute with the business element in nearly all of the towns as their commissaries have been the means of controlling nearly the entire earnings of their employees, who are compelled to trade with the companies or lose the only means they have of making a living.

To maintain their absolute control of the camps the lumber companies, with the aid of their thugs, patrolled the towns, in some places inclosures were built around the mills and shacks. Notices were posted warning away union men, peddlers and Socialists.

Only a few days ago, H. G. Creel, one of the *Rip-Saw* editors on a lecture tour, was roughly handled at Oakdale and Deridder, La. He was compelled to leave the first-named place, being threatened and intimidated by gun-men.

The small merchant realizes that if the workers are allowed to trade where they choose some of their money would pass over their counters and they know if wages are increased there would be a corresponding increase in their day's receipts. This will account for the fact that the small business man and farmer have given their sympathy and a measure of support to the growing union of timber workers.

Arthur L. Emerson and Jay Smith, both Southern born, are the men around whom interest centers. They are the men who organized the Brotherhood of Timber Workers. Emerson had made

two trips to the West—one to the Lumber District to the Southwest and the other to the Northwest. It was during the time that he worked with the lumber jacks of the Pacific Coast that he learned the need of organization. This thought was especially developed when he came in contact with the Lumber Workers' Union of St. Regis and other points in the Bitter Root Range of Mountains. Being a practical lumber jack and saw mill hand and mill-wright himself, he saw at once the discrepancy in wages between the Pacific Coast and the Gulf States and upon his return to Dixieland he immediately took up the burden of organizing the workers as the only possible means of bringing up their wages and conditions to the level of the already too-low Western scale.

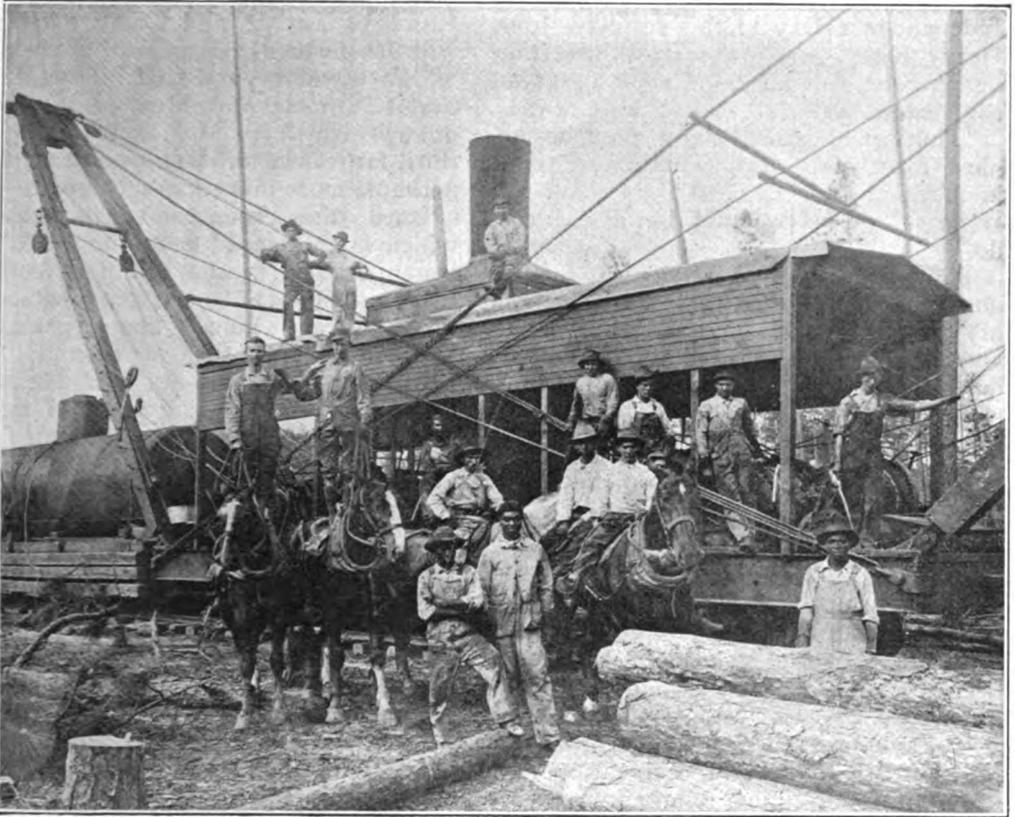
His first attempt was at Fullerton, Louisiana, where, after securing employment in the mill, by energetic work, he had in a few days secured a list of eighty-five of the one hundred and twenty-five employes who signified their willingness to join an organization such as he, in his earnestness, explained to them, outlining the benefits to be derived if all would stand together in one union.

Emerson traveled from place to place securing a few days' employment in the different lumber camps, carrying his message of unionism to the slaves of the pine forests and cypress swamps of the Southern states.

In this work of organization, he soon enlisted Jay Smith, his colleague in office, the present Secretary of the organization, and thousands of other stalwart men of the woods and saw mills, never hesitating at the color line or the nature of a man's work.

The framework of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers was as solid as the heart of the mighty oak that they converted into lumber. It was securely rooted. With headquarters at Alexandria, La., it branched out into the surrounding states. Its membership rapidly increased until thirty thousand of the wage slaves of the Lumber Trust were enrolled in its ranks.

Through the system of espionage which the Trust has established through-



THE LUMBER WORKERS OF THE SOUTH.

out its domain, the managers of the companies kept themselves informed of the work of the organization and its rapid growth. They realized that with this kind of an organization to contend with, their despotic methods would be at an end and they determined to destroy it root and branch.

To this end the Southern Lumber Operators' Ass'n. applied the most drastic action, closing down without notice forty-six mills. The thousands of workers who were employed in the lumber industry were thus deprived of their means of livelihood and left to shift for themselves. This arbitrary shut-down was continued for a period of nearly six months and it is only now that the operators are endeavoring to run their mills as the demand for lumber has become so great and as the prices are higher than at any period in the history of the lumber industry the most vigorous efforts are being made to man the mills with non-union labor.

Being unsuccessful a few of the largest companies have withdrawn from the Association; have granted the demands of the Timber Workers and are now running their mills night and day to fill accumulated orders.

The more obstreperous members of the Association are still trying to maintain their black list through the agency of their labor clearing house which has recently been established at Branch Headquarters located at Alexandria.

Their black-listing system is the most complete in operation anywhere. A man is compelled to give his name, birth-place, his color is recorded, the name and residence of his relatives, his former place of employment, the reason of his discharge or leaving his last place of work and particularly is he compelled to abjure all connection with the Brotherhood of Timber Workers or the Industrial Workers of the World. No later than the Fourth of July, celebrated as

Independence Day in this country, John Henry Kirby, one of the wealthiest timber barons of the South, in a spread eagle oration, declared:

"That we do ask a man when he applies to us for work whether he is a member of the B. T. W. or I. W. W. If he is, we have nothing that he can do."

Thus a free-born American citizen, or one who has adopted this "Freeland" as his country, is denied the right to live and at the same time belong to this organization. The two having now merged, Mr. Kirby will have to refer to them as one in the future.

At the last convention of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, attended by the writer, which was held last May, by an almost unanimous vote, application was made to the Industrial Workers of the World for a charter. The action of the convention was submitted to a referendum of the rank and file and has been sustained without a single opposing vote.

In September the Timber Workers of the South will meet in Convention representatives of timber workers from all other districts.

This meeting will be held in Chicago about the time of the general convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. Then a National Industrial

Union of Timber and Lumber Workers will be formed. This will include all of the workers employed in the United States, Canada and Mexico, in this industry, which in this country, is the third largest in importance and employs, perhaps, more men than any other.

Until the American Labor Union, which later merged with the I. W. W., began organizing the Lumber Workers, these millions of men were without a union of any kind. The organization which has now such a splendid foothold, will not limit its jurisdiction to any craft, section or division of the industry, but will include every man employed in the woods, the mills and the co-related industries.

The fight will be a long one and a bitter one. The struggle will be intense. Members and their families will suffer keen heart pangs, as the lumber barons will not loosen the stranglehold on their ill-gotten profits until they have exhausted every weapon that Capitalism has armed them with. But now that the workers of the Southland have joined hands with their fellow workers of the North, there can be but one result as the outcome of their united efforts. It can be recorded in one word—VICTORY! And the first step has been taken in the onward march toward Industrial Freedom!



THE LUMBER WORKERS OF THE NORTH.

Socialism

the Hope

of the Workers

By CON FOLEY



CON FOLEY.

MANY people fail to see the two great classes that are struggling in the world today. But if you will stop and consider a little while you will realize—you working men and women—that on one side we have the great and powerful millionaires, who do not work but who own everything, and on the other side, the men and women and the little children who toil for low wages and who own nothing.

You can look all about you and see the results of the labor of these workers. Houses and bridges, cities and railroads, factories, shops and the mills, all are the product of their hands and brains. The whole of civilization is the work of those who toil, and possess nothing.

Socialism is the cause of these men and women. It is the hope of the dispossessed.

Did you ever stand outside one of the great steel mills and see thousands of hungry, ragged men begging the bosses to buy their power to work, striving to sell themselves or their labor for so many dollars a week?

The millionaire who owns the steel mill may be thousands of miles away, but still every man who toils in his great mills is working to MAKE PROFITS for HIM. He is of the master class and they are of the propertyless wage-working class.

The reason he is of the master class is because he OWNS the mill, the mine, the factory or railroad, whichever it may be. If your father had left you owner of a steel mill you also would be of the master class and men would come to ask for jobs of your superintendents and your managers.

It is property that makes it possible for the man who employs you to cheat you out of the things you make. You and your fellow workers may weave cloth valued at \$1,000 in a single day, while your wages may be only \$200 a day altogether. The boss has robbed you of \$800 worth of value that you and your comrades have made. He calls it profits or dividends. It is really theft.

Working men and women are always trying to gain more of the value of the

cloth they weave, or the coal they dig or the cattle they raise, or the wheat they grow, and the owners of the coal mines, the mills, the farming lands or the factories are always trying to give you a smaller portion of the values you create.

It is very clear that every time you get a raise in wages, there is less left for the factory owner and that every time the factory owner is able to force you to work longer hours, or to lower your wages, there are more profits remaining for him. Socialists call this continual struggle between the masters of jobs and the workers—the class struggle.

Government statistics (Bulletin 150) show that the laborer produces commodities valued at \$2.471 every year and that his boss pays him in return in wages, only \$437. Yet we see the paid servants of the bosses, the editors, the law-makers and the "educators" declaring that we are poor because of our laziness or our extravagance—we who do all the world's work for one-fifth of the value of our products, with the rest appropriated by the idle owners of the machinery of production.

The workers are not PAID; they are ROBBED. They do not spend too much, but far TOO LITTLE and they spend too little because they get low wages, instead of the full value of the things they make and build or weave. We do not want Charity. We won't need Charity when we have Justice.

We Socialists are not organized to give alms but to abolish forever the cause of poverty, to banish pauperism from the face of the earth. In other words; we propose to give the entire products of the workers to the workers themselves. No land is truly civilized while those who do not work possess every luxury modern ingenuity can invent and those who clothe and feed and house the world, wear rags and live in tenement houses.

Poverty is the mother of disease, vice and crime. Without her they would die and fade from the haunts of men!

But what is the cause of poverty? How is it that a few are able to suppress the many? By what mighty magic are a handful of folks enabled to confiscate the products of the hands and brains of

the toilers? The answer is simple. We live today in a CLASS society with the capitalist class on top.

This class owns over 75 per cent of the nation's wealth: the mills, the mines, the railroads, factories, shops and the land—the great tools with which food, clothing and houses are produced. But these rich men or women do not USE these instruments of production. They do not build homes or make cloth. They hire working men and women to do these things.

It is because they own no property, because they are unable to use the factories and machinery to make things they need that the workers are compelled to sell their strength to the master class for wages. Because there are so many more men and women who want jobs than there are jobs, the bosses are able to hire men at just enough to live on.

The capitalists are masters because they own the great TOOLS of production. The workers are slaves because they have to sell their strength in order to live. As they only get just enough to live on, they are in continual servitude and they are NEVER EVEN SURE THAT THE BOSS WILL LET THEM HOLD THEIR JOBS.

The capitalists are able to dictate terms to the workers because if one batch of men demands higher wages or shorter hours, there is generally another group ready to take its place.

The capitalists own the newspapers, the colleges, the schools and the government. At every struggle between them and the workers, it is the capitalists who are able to call on the troops and the police to take the places of strikers and to force or shoot them into submission to the masters' terms.

The capitalists are able to buy the services of senators and congressmen and presidents and judges just as they buy machinists. They control the entire government for the purpose of maintaining themselves as idle non-producing capitalists and you and me as propertyless wage slaves.

The way to put an end to poverty, to wipe out panics, to give work to the army of the unemployed, is to abolish the

private ownership of the tools of production. Nothing will do it but Socialism, which means the COLLECTIVE ownership of the means of production and distribution (the factories, mines, mills, railroads and the land) by the working class.

When every man in the world has an equal share in the ownership of these things they will be sure of steady jobs as long as they live. They will know that all the value they create in the shape of commodities—chairs, cots, stoves or

whatever they may be, will go to them alone.

Then the man who produces most, and he who works longest, will possess most, and idle millionaires and ragged working men will vanish from the face of the earth.

Now is the time to find out more about Socialism. The Socialist party is the party of working men and women, managed for and by them. If you want to advance your own interests, vote the Socialist ticket.

THE SLAVE DRIVER

BY

ROSE PASTOR STOKES

The brazen loud alarm clock whips my brain.

Its lash stings the raw thought. I curse, and rise,
And drag my bleeding thought thru bogs of pain
To where the gray mills grin as darkness flies.

We wait before the gate, my thought and I,

Till sharp shrieks the mill throat. Oh, hell-horn song!
We're drawn . . . We're lost! Now Cease, Greed's Lorelei!
And blush to see, low sun, this maddening wrong.

It's evening: spat from out the mammoth maw

Of Greed's gray, supine Beast, I drag my way,
A broken, sucked-out thing, again to draw,
In sleep, a mending breath ere yawns the day.

It's night now—night now—night! I wind the clock:

A thought sweeps the dull brain, red wave on wave:
"This cheap concern—and I!" (myself I mock)—
"I! master of this thing, make me its slave!

By God! some night I'll wind the thing so taut,

I'll just snap the weak spring! and then—a span
I'll sleep . . . I'll sleep . . . and wake again for naught
Except to work in joy; and live, a man!

What Threatens Ettor and Giovannitti

BY

ROLAND D. SAWYER



GIOVANNITTI.

ETTOR.

RECENTLY an organization of conservative but liberal minded men in Boston appointed a committee to investigate the situation as to the Ettor Giovannitti case. This committee unanimously reported that the situation was very serious, and that it was their earnest judgment "that if ever men were in danger of the electric chair those men were Ettor and Giovannitti." This is the exact situation. I find many who do not stir much over the Ettor case because they do not think it serious; the case is so preposterous that they think it hardly worth while to bother over. But men and women who do not think this

case serious sadly misunderstand the temper of the cotton mill barons.

I want here to summarize the things that threaten the lives of our comrades; for unless labor exerts great pressure, I believe Ettor and Giovannitti will be found guilty and sentenced to the chair. Then to allay labor's indignation the sentence will be commuted to life-imprisonment; thus sentiment will be lulled, the manufacturing capitalists revenged and protected from further agitation among their wage-slaves by these two men.

First comes capitalist hate. Joe Ettor did at Lawrence what the capitalists

have always scoffed at as impossible; he cemented sporadic discontent into a compact organization. The capitalists not only had to loosen up and give more wages, but what is far more hateful to them they can never go back to the old order of manufacturing feudalism.

The workers have come into their own, henceforth they belong to the militant, solidified, fighting labor class; they will never again be the abject, cringing, unorganized slaves that they were. When William Wood and his associates think of this they grind their teeth in rage. But there is no help for it. The thing is done; Wood and his cohorts can only take revenge upon Ettor and Giovannitti; and this they will do unless the militant working class of America awakes.

Labor union envy also threatens our comrades. The A. F. of L. of Massachusetts is entirely a moribund organization. Though it has thousands of good men and women in its rank and file, its leaders have for years done nothing for the working class save to draw salaries and trade the workers' votes with capitalist politicians. These men now see their jobs threatened, and from the pettiest collector to the foremost men, like Golden and Tobin, they are using their influence against the new union and its leaders. Tobin's "Boot and Shoe Workers" (of the "tainted" label) is

strong in Essex county, and it is being used to inflame sentiment against Ettor and Giovannitti.

When the Haverhill Socialist local sought the city hall to hold an Ettor protest meeting it was the C. L. U. of the city that prevented its getting the hall. An active secretary recently said about Ettor to the applause of his following: "We hope they kill the damned skunk—he cost our union \$100,000 in the Brooklyn strike, and we will do our part to send him to the chair." Narrow minded trade-union hate is being used to inflame Essex county against Ettor and Giovanitti.

Racial feeling runs strong in the county that will try Ettor and Giovanitti for their lives. The Irish-Americans who have seen themselves displaced industrially by the Continental immigrants now see that in a few years these same immigrants will displace them in political power; so they join in the native-stock prejudice against the "Dagoes and Hunkies." These men hold the petty political machinery which is at the disposal of the manufacturing barons. Their racial feeling prevents them from judging Ettor's case justly if they would, and their servility to the cotton mill millionaires is such that they would not if they could.

If the present indifference on the part of the militant working class continues nothing can save Ettor and Giovannitti. Action, aggressive and prompt on our part, is all that can save them.

Ed. Note:—Before The Review appears again Ettor and Giovannitti will have been placed on trial for their lives in a Massachusetts court on a charge of having been accessories before the fact of the murder of Anna La Pezza, the Lawrence working girl who was shot dead by a policeman at a time when these two men were holding a meeting two miles away. The accusation is monstrous in its absurdity. But the mill owners of Massachusetts are determined to stop at no legal atrocity in their anxiety to punish these two young workmen for the

crime of having helped to win a strike. The working class of the nation has already become aroused over this case, but something besides protests is needed. To insure a fair trial to these prisoners an immense amount of money is needed. It must come from the working class, for the reason that no other class either knows or cares. Contributions are urgently requested and may be sent to Ettor-Giovannitti Defense Fund, Wm. Yates, Treas., Central Bldg., Lawrence, Mass.

YOU AND YOUR VOTE

BY

BY ROBERT RIVES LaMONTE

Socialist Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut.

THIS month I want to talk to the millions of men and women who have votes. It is true that there are hundreds of thousands of working men and millions of working women who have no votes. But millions of you do have votes. Figures just published by the government (*the government, not your government*) tell us that there are 26,999,151 men of voting age in the United States. While millions of Negroes and thousands of migratory and casual workers are disfranchised there are many states in which the women vote, so that we probably have not far from 25,000,000 men and women who have votes. At least thirteen million of these are working men and women. It is to you, who make up these thirteen million, I want to talk.

You have votes. What are you going to do with them? You are surely going to vote; are you not? To vote costs you nothing. To strike usually means to pinch your stomach, while you can vote without having a scrap the less in the larder. If your vote can help you at all it is folly not to use your vote.

Can it help you? That depends on how you use it. Any party that is elected this fall will carry through into law some reforms that will benefit the workers more or less. The Industrial Revolution is moving so fast that no party any longer ignores it. No party is in favor of standing stockstill. Back in the last century a great English statesman (Harcourt) said, "We are all Socialists now." Today in America any politician can truly say, "We are all progressives now."

Reforms Are Coming

No matter whether the Republicans or the Democrats win we shall get more and

more Workingmen's Compensation Acts, more and more restrictions upon child labor, more and more regulation of the labor of women in industry. No matter whether Republicans or Democrats are in power more and more states will grant women the franchise, and more and more serious attempts will be made to reduce the awful economic waste of unemployment and the human degeneracy it causes. No matter whether the Republicans or the Democrats win the movement to lessen the strain upon organized charity by Old Age Pensions will grow in force, volume and velocity.

If you want nothing more than reforms such as these it matters very little whether you vote or not. It is true you can hurry them up a little by voting the Socialist ticket, but these reforms are coming anyhow, no matter how or whether you vote. Why? Because labor power is the capitalist's goose that lays the golden egg. The efficiency of your labor power depends absolutely upon your health and material well being. If the capitalist does not see to it that you are well stabled and fed, he is killing the goose that lays him the golden egg of profit.

Formerly the capitalist could afford to neglect or ignore this. When your body rotted in the slums till the charity mongers labelled you "unemployable" (which means no longer pregnant with profits) the capitalists could draw upon the villages and fields of the country for fresh supplies of robust and vigorous humanity.

Labor Power Becoming Scarce

In England the supply of healthy rural labor was long since exhausted, so that there the degeneration or physical shrink-

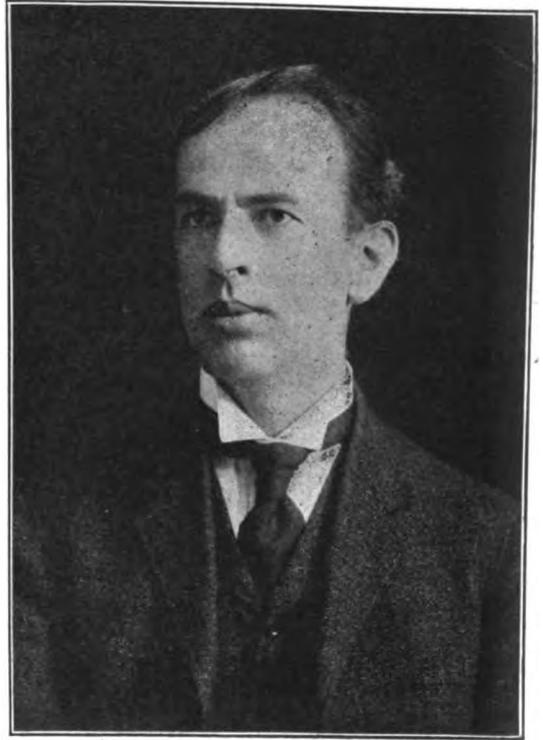
ing of the bodies of the workers has been going on apace. In the fifty years between the Crimean War and the Boer War the medical records of the British army show that the candidates for the army had decreased three inches in height and thirty pounds in weight. English labor power has been rotting at the core, and consequently England has been outstripped in the mad race of international commercial competition by Germany, Japan and the United States.

Here in America up to this century the farming country has been an ample reservoir from which to draw almost inexhaustible supplies of fresh, healthy labor power. But now the reservoir is *drying up*. The census of 1910 shows that scores of rural counties in Ohio and Pennsylvania have less people in them than they had in 1900.

The capitalists could ignore this so long as they could draw on southern and southeastern Europe and the Orient for fresh stores of healthy humanity whose vitality had not been sapped by the modern factory system. But the recent strikes at Lawrence, McKees' Rocks, Paterson, Jersey City and Middletown have shown them that the "scum o' the earth" have an even greater capacity for organized solidarity and resistance than the native-born Americans.

Reforms Will Pay the Capitalists

The capitalists are intelligent enough to see the significance of these things. They are learning the lesson very rapidly. They have no desire to slay the goose that lays the golden egg. Very soon there will cease to be any real opposition to reforms that aim at preserving your health and efficiency. The capitalists are good enough business men and book-keepers to see that old age pensions and insurance against sickness, accident and unemployment are cheaper, are better business than jails, poor houses, asylums, hospitals, Ward's and Blackwell's islands to care for the unemployable. They are daily coming to see that it is better business to prevent men and women from becoming unemployable than it is to care for them after they are down and out. They are even learning that too widespread joblessness and a wage too far below a decent subsistence level leads to



agitations that threaten the whole fabric of capitalism.

In the near future any party that hopes to retain power, that hopes to keep the good will of the capitalist class, must carry out reforms that will materially benefit the workers.

But the Republican and Democratic parties will never knowingly enact a reform in the interest of the workers that will not benefit the capitalist class more than it does the working class. This does not mean they are moved by brute selfishness alone. They are not. They are kindly *when they can afford it* just as you are. As Kipling said somebody "O'Grady and the Colonel's lady are just the same beneath their skins." The workers have no monopoly of the elementary social virtues. The upper class, cream or scum, knows more about the lower strata of society today than it ever did before. It knows those upon whom it rides better, far better than any other ruling class in history ever knew the burden-bearers. And this increased knowledge begets increased sympathy. The rich, altogether apart from self-in-

terest, want to help the poor. And this kindly desire is a factor in all modern social legislation. But the rich are so placed that they can afford to help the poor only when by so doing they help themselves still more.

Please think closely about this. Unless you do think and think hard, you cannot understand the new politics, the politics of 1912.

Old Party Reforms Increase Profits Faster Than Wages

Every party in the field honestly wants to do something to help you. Any party that wins will. But any party except the party of the workers, the Socialist party, will, while it is helping you, help your employers and their class still more. This means the changes that they will make will make no change. They are trying to change the system without changing the system. Their reforms will not narrow by a hair's breadth the gulf between the workers and the shirkers.

Let us try to see just how this is. Let us take a very simple example. Suppose you work for a boss; that the total of wages and profits is ten dollars a day; that you get two dollars and he gets eight dollars. Then, the gap between you and him will be six dollars, will it not? Now, suppose he introduces a reform that increases your wages to four dollars a day. You will now be able to buy better food, you will see your wife and children better fed, housed and garbed, you will find you are saving something and life will begin to be cheered by hope for the future. You will be a better and more efficient slave. The boss can now put in better machinery and speed you up more scientifically by the Taylor system, so that the total of wages and profits can now rise to sixteen dollars. You, getting four in wages, leaves the boss twelve dollars for his profits. The gap between you and the boss is now eight dollars, is it not? Before it was six. The reform has improved your condition absolutely, but relatively you are worse off than ever. You have more comfort, but the gulf between your condition and the master's condition has actually been broadened!

Do you see now, what a reform is? A reform is a change that improves your

condition as an envelope containing labor power, while it at the same time broadens the gulf that separates you from a true human existence, and thus makes your position more deplorable and hopeless than ever. That is true of any reform that is possible or practicable while the capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic parties, control political power. Such reforms we may call reformist reforms.

But if you and your fellows united in your own party, the Socialist party, held control of the political power, another kind of reform would be possible and practicable. This second species of reforms we may call revolutionary reforms. What is a revolutionary reform?

A revolutionary reform is a change that, while it may, and very often in the early days of your power will, help the boss, will always help you *more* than it helps the boss, and thus make narrower and narrower the gulf that yawns between your condition and his.

Let us go back to our old example. Suppose you are working for an employer; that your wages are two dollars, and his profits eight. There you have the gap of six between you. A revolutionary reform in raising your wages to four dollars might increase the total of wages and profits to only thirteen dollars. The profits would now be nine instead of eight. The employer would be making more money. But the gap between you and him would now be five instead of six. The chasm would have been partly closed.

There we have our definition—a reform is revolutionary whether it increases profits or not, if it narrows the economic gulf yawning between the workers and the shirkers.

Most revolutionary reforms would reduce profits instead of raising them. But even those revolutionary reforms that would leave profits undiminished or even raise them slightly are absolutely impossible until the workers have complete control of the powers of government.

Because revolutionary reforms are today impossible, the man who holds that they are the only reforms worth fighting for is correctly called an Impossibleist. Does this mean that you and I ought to

oppose the reformist reforms that may help you and me even a trifle? Not at all. To use the slang of the day, we simply "Let George do it!" The Progressives, whether Democrats or Republicans, are more expert reformist reformers than we are or can be. Reformist reform is their historic mission, just as the achievement of the Social Revolution is ours. The Socialist in a legislative body will always vote for a reformist reform, but if he does his duty he will not fail to shout upon the house-tops that the "reform" widens instead of bridging the chasm between the classes.

Every Logical Socialist is An Impossibilist

Those who want to end instead of mending the present system of the martyrdom of man cannot afford to waste their energy clamoring for reformist reforms. That is the business of the Progressives. Your business and mine is to be insistent Impossibilists, ever demanding revolutionary reforms that we know will not be passed, for the louder and more attention-compelling our demand becomes, the faster will the reformist reforms multiply upon our statute books, and not only will they increase in number but their quality will improve in direct ratio with the growth of the Impossibilist vote. By Impossibilist I mean Socialist, for every logical Socialist is an Impossibilist.

Now, we begin to see where we stand. You have a vote. To what party will you give it? The Republican party offers you many and real reforms. The Democratic party offers you many and real reforms. Do these reforms look good to you? No doubt; they ought to. They will do you some good. You ought to want them. But to get them there is no need for you to vote for either the Republican or the Democratic parties. The Republican and Democratic parties are going to give the people "progressive" reforms in any case. But the velocity, number, magnitude and quality of these reforms depends absolutely upon the growth of the Socialist vote.

If you want possible reforms *now* the way to get them is for you to become a Socialist and demand impossible reforms *tomorrow*.

It is these "progressive" reforms that you are going to hear the most about during this campaign, so that the most important thing for you politically is to learn to think clearly about these things.

But you need something more than reformist reforms. If you had all the reformist reforms ever dreamt of you would still be a wage-slave with an ever-growing chasm separating you from the life to which human beings should aspire at this stage of industrial development. For, the greater grows our mastery over Nature the greater should become our demands upon Life.

What you need is to increase your share of the social product faster than the employers' share increases. This is a difficult proposition, but nothing less than this will bring you a single step nearer the life of Free Fellowship. Your ballot can help you in this. It can help you now. The larger the Socialist vote grows, the better will become the *quality* of the progressive reforms. What do I mean by quality? Why, just this. A progressive reform always gives the boss more than it gives the slave, than it gives you. To improve the quality of the reform is simply to reduce the employer's share and increase your share of the benefits of the reform. This process of improving the quality of the reform can never under the Republican and Democratic parties go far enough to turn the reform into a revolutionary reform. But it can go far enough to keep the worker's share of the benefit from being a mere empty pretense, and the only way to make it go that far is to pile ever higher and higher the Socialist vote.

Socialists in Office Make Class Unions Possible

But your ballot alone will never enable you to narrow the gap between your condition and the condition of the master class. To do that you need your Socialist ballot, the political organization of the working class, and together with your ballot you need the ever-growing labor-union of your class, the economic organization of the working-class.

It is upon the latter that you must rely to increase your share of the total social product, but you can never organize your unions effectively while you leave the

capitalists in full and unimpeded control of the police, judiciary and all the powers of political government. To give your labor unions an atmosphere in which they can develop a healthy and vigorous life, you must put just as many Socialists as possible in political office. You must have your Seidels and your Duncans in the mayors' offices to use the power of the police on the side of the workers in time of strike and conflict. You must have your Charlie Morrills and your Herbert Merrills and your Jim Maurers in the State legislatures to fight the growth of the state police and constabulary. You must have your Victor Bergers in Washington to rivet the gaze of the Nation upon the atrocities perpetrated by the puppets of the capitalist class in such Titanic struggles as the memorable Lawrence strike. Only thus can you hope to develop a vigorous and effective labor unionism.

Your unions have done so little for you that doubtless you were surprised and incredulous when I told you it was upon your unions you must rely to increase your relative share of the social product. Your incredulity is justified. Your unions have done very little for you of late years. During the 25 years from 1881 to 1905 the total time that the employers lost by strikes was two-thirds of one per cent of normal working time. This troubled them so little that when it was demonstrated to the National Association of Manufacturers that Strike Insurance could be written for less than 1 per cent per annum, the members would have none of it, saying that strikes hurt them so little it was not worth even one per cent to insure themselves against loss of profits and waste of fixed charges during idleness caused by strikes. I think it safe to say that a unionism the employers can afford to ignore is not powerful enough to help the employes materially.

Why are your unions so weak? Because they are not true class unions. Because the vast bulk of the workers are not inside but outside the unions. "Today, after fifty years of organization," a writer in the June *Atlantic Monthly* tells us, "we may say roughly that 70 per cent of the industrial workers and

90 per cent of all wage-earners remain non-union." How can you expect organizations containing only ten per cent of the workers to prove effective? The same writer, himself a manufacturer, tells us, "All an employer needs to win any ordinary strike is the ability merely to shut down, and wait until starvation does its work." This is quite true with 90 per cent of the workers unorganized. But the tables would be turned were 90 per cent of the workers organized. And were their organizations so amalgamated together into unity that *all* could act as *one*, so that they would always treat an injury to *one* as an injury to *all*.

Such an inclusive, unified class labor unionism as this is what is meant by the word "Syndicalism" you see so often in the papers nowadays. And it is upon this Syndicalism that you will have hereafter to rely more and more in your struggles to obtain decent conditions of livelihood.

But a powerful Syndicalism has never yet developed save in countries where the working class had many representatives in the national parliament or congress. Your votes can help you to develop a unionism that is worth while. If you want to make your vote help you in this way you must vote the Socialist ticket. To cast your vote for any other party is to throw your vote away. Nay, it is worse than throwing it away; for to vote for the Republican or Democratic party is to turn your vote into a policeman's club or a militia man's bullet to be used against yourself the next time you go on strike.

The larger and more powerful your unions become, the shorter will be your strikes, and the less the sufferings of your wives and little ones. We are only now learning gropingly the full powers and capacities of the new unionism, Syndicalism. But we already know it has almost miraculous powers as a wage raiser and hour shortener. We are just beginning to realize that it is also a mighty political weapon. Just the other day the Hungarian comrades conquered universal suffrage by a General Strike. And a few days later the Belgian Comrades failed in their attempt to reach the same goal by a political deal with the capitalist liberals. It is thus seen that for purely

political objects Syndicalism is a more effective weapon than political trading.

There has been a political agitation for a minimum wage law in England for years. It produced no tangible results. Lord Morley of the Liberal Cabinet declared the recognition of the principle of the minimum wage would be tantamount to striking a death-blow at civilization. 2,000,000 human moles of coal miners crawled out of their holes and stayed out on vacation for three weeks and Lord Morley's Cabinet brought in and passed a law recognizing the principle of the minimum wage—the only law ever passed in England that was ostensibly intended to increase the workers' share of the social product.

But this law was not passed while the Liberal party controlled the government. It was passed while the striking coal-miners controlled all England including the government.

It was true it was a pretty poor law. How much better it might have been had the coal-miners and the transport workers struck at one and the same time, and thus forced the almost unconditional surrender of the capitalist class of Great Britain!

The New Unionism

Syndicalism is the power of the future. It is upon it you must rely to improve your working conditions from day to day, and it is upon it you will learn to rely to win your decisive political victories of the future. It will not only prove your great weapon in the struggle to overthrow the wage-system of slavery and degradation; it will also provide you with the organization to carry on production and distribution after your decisive victory.

The development of Syndicalism, that is of a truly all-embracing class-unionism containing in one great federal organization the least skilled as well as the most highly skilled workers, is the supreme need and duty of the hour. But it is a task that can only be accomplished with the aid and co-operation of a politically powerful Socialist party. Without such aid and support, the better and more effective your unionism the more quickly will it be ruthlessly crushed by uncurbed capitalism. To elect a Socialist to office is

to pull one of the teeth of the capitalist wolf.

That the Socialist party fully understands the imperative necessity of developing a vigorous class unionism (Syndicalism) and is prepared to do its utmost to aid this great work is shown by the following resolution passed at our recent National Convention in Indianapolis:

"That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field *and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.*"

The old unionism was purely defensive. The Socialist party has now officially recognized that unionism *must attack the enemy*. In other words the Socialist party now stands officially committed to the aggressive, revolutionary tactics of insatiable Syndicalism.

With a sufficiently powerful syndicalism strikes when they come will be short, as the tie-up of industry will be so complete that whether the strike be won or lost it cannot last long. But in most cases strikes will be unnecessary. The power of the organization will be so obvious that it will not need a strike to convince the employers of the policy of yielding with a good grace.

It is quite true that a series of such stoppages to industry as England has experienced during the past year will prob-

ably lead to legislation aimed at making strikes impossible or criminal. This legislation may take the form of compulsory arbitration. It is scarcely likely to prove effective whatever form it takes; for it is difficult to frame legislation that will induce a jury to convict a man of crime for merely folding his arms.

But, even should such legislation prove effective, the power of Syndicalism would be unimpaired, for an organization that is perfect enough to conduct such struggles as the London Dock Strike or the recent British Coal Strike would also be perfect enough seriously to impede the progress of industry while the men still remained on the pay-roll.

Syndicalism is the spectre that dying and greedy capitalism has conjured from the social deeps. It will prove the Ogre that will devour the Magician that called it forth. But the Ogre will be bound helpless hand and foot by the cords of capitalist legislation unless we have an effective corps of revolutionary Socialists in every legislative body in the capitalist world.

Use Your Vote in the Fight

That is where you and your vote come in. Use your vote to put Socialist watchmen in every legislative tower. Use your vote to put Socialists in command of

every policeman and militiaman. Use your vote to put a Socialist on every judicial bench.

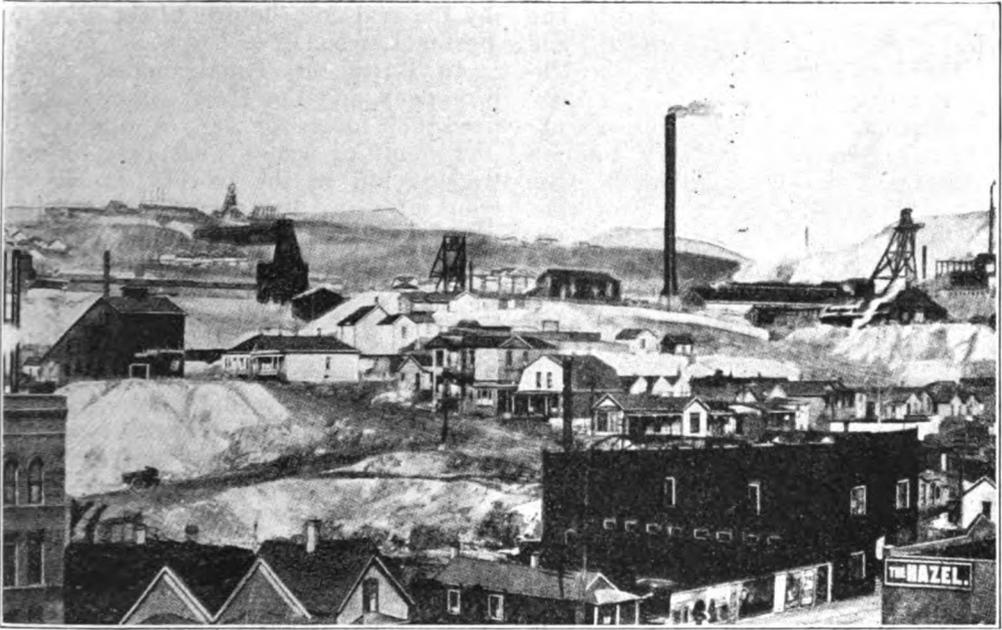
Use your vote to strengthen and in-trench the party of your class, and thus make possible the growth and development of that Syndicalism at whose growing power the whole world of capitalism is trembling today.

It is easier and cheaper to vote than to strike. Less devotion and self-sacrifice is demanded. If you do not show the stamina to vote the Socialist ticket, dare we trust you to show the courage required to bear your part in the Syndicalist strikes that are coming?

We are now in the critical days of the Social Revolution. Every blow that is struck now brings measurably closer the glorious days when we shall have Comfort for All, Luxury for All, Culture for All, Art for All, Freedom for All, the Fullness of Joy for All. Seeing what the task is and the reward is, will you help us now? May we today take you by the hand and call you *comrade*?

"Come, then, join in the only battle wherein no man can fail
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail."
New Canaan, Conn., June 11, 1912.





BUTTE

BY

FRANK BOHN

BUTTE, Montana, has a hill. It is not a very big hill. In fact it rises to an elevation of only a few hundred feet, yet it is distinguished in a way which makes the average American citizen speedily forget Olympus, Mt. Sinai and Bunker Hill. Any member of the Butte Real Estate Dealers' Association will "point with pride" and say, "That is the richest hill in the world." And so it is.

In the bowels of that hill, up and down and in every direction of the compass, an army of six thousand men has toiled through many thousands of miles of diggings. Three thousand feet below the surface the earth rumbles and roars as though rent by a volcano. Up comes the ore which the mills and smelters speedily turn into \$30,000,000 worth of copper annually. Of this sum \$10,000,000 goes to the workers who perform all the labor of production below and above

ground. \$20,000,000 goes to the stockholders in the East and in Europe. Last year forty-seven miners went down into this hill and came out dead. In far away Boston, which owns most of the copper stock, at the end of the year a number of dear kind-hearted old ladies and gentlemen went down town, called on their bankers and learned that they were several million dollars richer than the year previously. Then they went to church and thanked God for the number and excellent quality of his blessings. Now the six thousand one hundred and twelve who compose the Butte Miners' Union say they do not like this arrangement. They are saying so with considerable vigor and effect. What they are saying and how constitutes our story.

The Crimes of Amalgamated.

Do you remember the great story of Tom Lawson's which shook the land way back in 1904 and which gave birth

to the whole tribe of muck-rakers? The whole nation read through reams and reams of Tom's curious jargon, breathlessly awaiting exposure of the "crime" and at the end of it all the culprits appear to have performed the very common Wall Street trick of selling more stock than was originally advertised for sale. Only those versed in the ethical standards of the street ever comprehended why Lawson was led to call this a "crime." Whatever it was it happened in far away New York and when it was over some middle-class parasites had been separated from their dollars. I can remember throwing the copy of Everybody's Magazine which contained Tom's last chapter through the window. I was keyed up for a real big blood-curdling crime, with detectives finding dead bodies buried in the cellar wall and all that. And then to come upon this at last—Tom Lawson and some of the other small fry had lost their little all to the Standard Oil gang.

The Real Crimes of Amalgamated.

And our disappointment was so unnecessary. Butte had a story to tell which had we gotten it then would have satisfied the most morbid hunger aroused

by the zeal and rhetoric of the crime exposing Lawson.

In Butte the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Heinze crowd organized their forces for war. And what were the spoils of war? That very hill—the richest hill in the world. It was the working class dupes who were used for the fighting. Agents of the two robber bands organized a reign of terror the like of which the industrial life of the modern world has probably never approached elsewhere. There were pitched battles in the streets and men were shot dead. In the depths of the mine two gangs of workers would find themselves face to face and fight like hyenas for their masters. The Amalgamated agents armed their men with hoses and pumps to squirt lime-water upon the enemy, horribly burning and blinding them. Heinze gave his men guns and told them to defend themselves. Where were the police? Why did not the prosecuting attorneys and the judges get busy? What about the priests and the parsons? Bless you, this whole crowd were in clover. It was honey-making time. One judge got a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a single decision. Thirty thousand dollars were offered for the vote of a single

member of the legislature. And no priest or parson preached sermons so poor that he could not during those times have builded for him a magnificent temple of worship.

These were the real crimes of Amalgamated—bribery, thievery, social war, murder raised to a profession and paid for by the piece, blinding men's eyes with lime-water. To one unfamiliar with present day capitalism in America this may seem extraordinary. Tell the story to the old ladies at Boston who draw such huge slices of the Amalgamated profits and they will, no doubt, say that it was all very naughty. As a matter of fact there never was a day when working class con-



MINERS AT LUNCH, 3,000-FT. LEVEL.

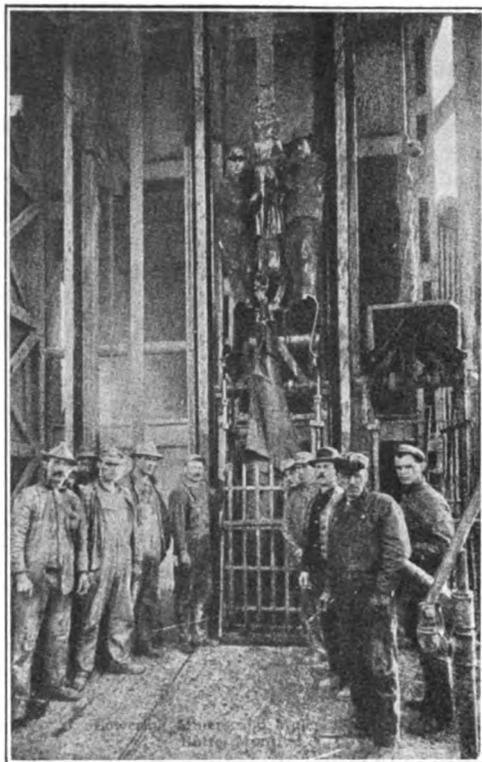
ditions in Butte were not preferable to those in Boston. It was during this stormy period just described, that the workers forced the eight hour day and the minimum wage of three dollars a day. Since then Butte has gone on in comparative quiet. And the miners' union has been strong enough to hold what was then gained.

The Town.

Butte is entirely a mining camp—the largest in the Western hemisphere and second only to Johannesburg, South Africa. In a town of 40,000 people Local No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners has 6,112 members. The Butte Engineers, also affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, has five hundred members and there are probably more than five hundred people directly at work for the Amalgamated Copper Company in its offices and stores. The great camp has the appearance of a modern city. Its stores and office buildings compare favorably with those of a Middle Western or New England city of 100,000 people. Only the shacks in which the miners live are less substantial than those of their fellow workers in the East. The town is located in the center of a basin, walled about by high mountains. In the middle of this basin rises the wonderful hill. Coming into Butte at night one sees it far below at a distance of ten or fifteen miles—its myriad of electric lights making a scene strangely in contrast to the wretched scenes by day.

The Work.

The Butte one sees above ground is only an incident. The real Butte is under ground. Work never ceases, except for an occasional general holiday. The 6,000 miners are divided into three shifts. They go down in the cages which are used to bring up the ore. A drop of let us say 2,000 feet, sometimes even 3,000 feet, is said to brace a man's nerve for the day's work. No time is lost on that trip. I have no accurate information but I surmise that the speed of one of those cages is at least three times as great as that of the most rapid service in a New York or Chicago skyscraper. All that



the cable and cage seem to do is to break the fall at the bottom. Inside the mine there are four general divisions of the workers—first, the miners or machine runners who drill for blasting, second, the muckers or shovel men who load the ore, the carmen and finally the timbermen who set the solid timbers which keep the roof of this great workhouse in its proper place. Above ground are laborers, mill and smeltermen, engineers, blacksmiths and machinists and ropemen. These last make and keep in repair the great cables which raise and lower the cages. It is really impossible for a normal man to do mine work more than eight hours a day and live. When the shift lasted twelve hours the miners necessarily loafed some on the job. Even eight hours a day every day in the year uses up human material in a frightful way. A miner who had lately visited the graveyard told me how early the faithful in Butte go to their reward. Few miners he said live to be over fifty unless they stop work. Great numbers die before they reach forty. By

far the greater portion are men between twenty and forty years of age. Working conditions depend much however upon the mine. In some mines the air is easily replenished and the temperature within comfort. Others are veritable hells for heat, bad air and life destroying vapors. The pest of Butte is miner's consumption. This disease afflicts great numbers of the women and children who catch it from the men. Last year two hundred men were killed or dangerously injured while at work in the mines. The worst accidents are falls of rock, and premature explosions of dynamite.

The Men.

On miners day I saw this army of 6,000 men march through the streets. Certain characteristics stand out very clearly. The metal miners of this country are probably as sturdy a class of men physically as the world has. Weaklings do not apply for jobs at the end of a piece of hickory in a quartz mine. The conditions of labor develop a fearlessness of danger. Men who are drawn from other occupations quickly respond to these conditions. The members of the working class generally are broken in spirit and saddened by the environment of their labor and life. Not so with the Western miner. While life lasts he is as merry as can be. The constant danger develops in him the philosophy of fatalism. Each day will take care of itself and in every glass of beer there are smiles and heart throbs. The younger men are in the habit of joking about their work. Even the most unclassconscious realize what a "tough graft" is a job in the mines. A slave will come out of a New England textile mill and stop moving and living until he goes in the next morning. Perhaps the happy-go-lucky atmosphere of Butte is caused largely by the fact that so large a portion of its population is of Irish extraction.

The average western miner is therefore a strong man physically. He eats the best food which his relatively high wages permit. If he is unmarried the chances are that he takes a vacation at every possible opportunity and goes fishing or hunting. He spends his money

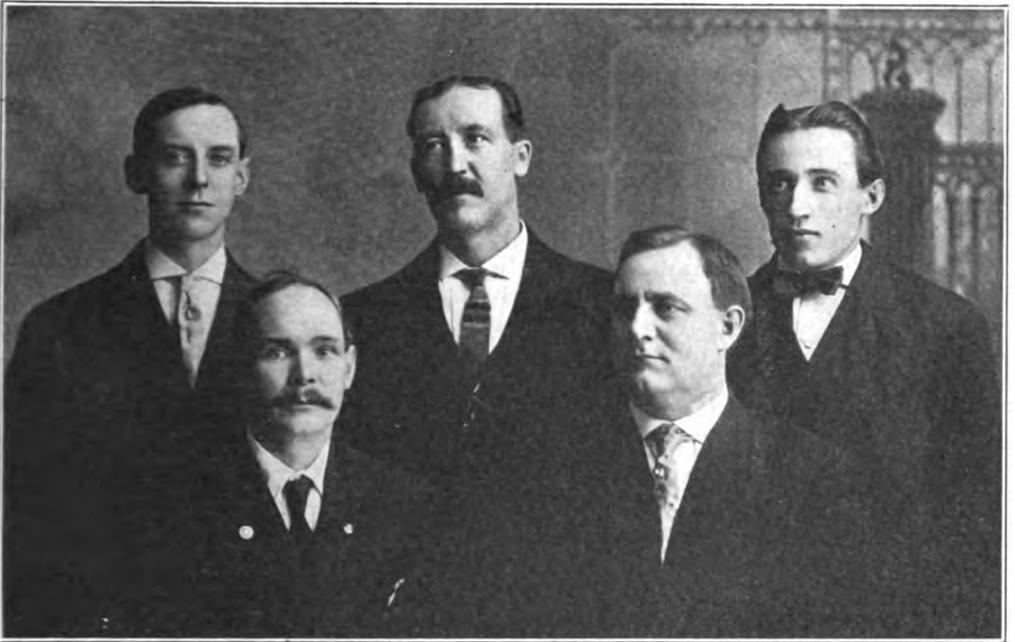
more freely than any other wage worker in the world. He never whines or grumbles. When as a union man or a socialist he goes out to fight, joy is in his heart. His method of fighting may not always suit the aforementioned old ladies of Boston but it is quite likely to succeed and that is all he cares about. These are the conditions and qualities which have placed the Western miners in the front rank of the labor movement.

The Union.

In accounting for the Western Federation of Miners another distinction should be made between the metal mining industry and other industries. A railroad worker who has not read socialist literature is usually unaware of the amount of wealth produced by his labor. He works and gets wages. The stockholders get profit. In a vague way he realizes that other people are rich and that he is poor. But that this wealth is a product of his labor—that he is not so readily aware of. How different is the metal mine. Here the whole process of production is right before the eyes of the men. Let us say that a hundred men working in a mine produce \$1,000 worth of gold, silver or copper a day. They know their product is ten dollars a piece. If their wages are three dollars each it does not take a professor of mathematics to calculate how much goes to the profit taker. They say to themselves, "Why not take four dollars of the product, or five?" To them the mine manager cannot reply that the eight hour day would abolish profits and close down the mine. Right here we come smack upon the greatest and most far reaching idea that has come to humanity in the modern world. Of that more later.

Local No. 1, W. F. of M.

Local No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners was organized in 1874. In numbers it is the greatest local labor organization which ever developed in the American labor movement. It is not composed of angels and its majorities have not always been clear as to the purpose of the organization and the interest of their class. In it have developed



G. H. CURRY, President. JOHN DRISCOLL, Vice-President.
 JOE LITTLE, Rec.-Secty. M. J. CLEARY, Secty.-Treas. MAX MARVIN, Asst. Treas.
 Officers of Butte Local, No. 1, W. F. M., 1911-12.

conflicting views and divers purposes. But the work of this union has nevertheless been significant. It was among the first to secure the minimum wage and the eight hour day. The "mucker" in Butte mines now gets \$3.75 a day. Judging roughly I would say that \$3.75 in Butte is equal to \$2.50 in a town of equal size in the New England or the Middle West. If there has never been a really great strike in Butte this is largely because the forces of the enemy have feared a test of strength with this strongly organized body of men. The mine owners have tried to control the union through diplomacy and compromise. The managers of the Amalgamated have developed a skill in labor politics which, so far as I know, is nowhere else equaled. Butte is infested by capitalist spies. These are the bete noir of both the socialist party and the miners' union. Of course, they are not without influence, otherwise they could not draw their salaries. In Butte One Big Union with the socialist party as its political expression faces one big trust. The tactics employed on both sides are a prophecy of what is to take place in the whole

country as both capitalists and workers continue to organize. It is a warfare characterized on the side of the capitalists by intimidation and bribery, and on the side of the workers by ever greater efforts to organize more thoroughly and educate more intensely. The Butte Miners' Union subscribes regularly for 1,000 copies of the Appeal to Reason and 250 copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. It has been working in perfect harmony with the socialist party administration of the city. By skilful maneuvering Amalgamated laid off six hundred socialist workers on the eve of the spring election. But there is never a let up in the work of preparation. "We have a great host of new members," the union officials told me, "who are not yet revolutionists. Give us time."

In some sections of the West the Western Federation of Miners seems to have lost its old time spirit. Not so in Butte. What has been lost elsewhere has been gained here. And in seven years what a change! A personal experience wil suffice to indicate this development.

Seven years ago upon the request of the general officers of the Western Fed-

eration of Miners, I attended a meeting of the Butte miners. I was to address them on industrial unionism. Out of a membership of five thousand at that time twenty or thirty were said to have been in attendance. But I never even saw them. At a quarter of nine the doors were locked and the hall was dark. The little clique who operated the union for the Amalgamated Copper Company had quickly called the "meeting" to order and adjourned. In June of this year I went again to Montana, this time as the guest of that very local union and at the request of its officials I spoke to them on Socialism and industrial unionism.

The opinions of these officials squared exactly with the position I had intended to advocate in 1905. In 1905 I spoke to the Socialist local of Butte. It contained about forty members and was not considered seriously by the powers that were. In 1912 I had the pleasure of meeting the Socialist mayor, councilmen and other municipal officials. May we dare to conclude that the progress of working class in Butte is an indication of its general development throughout the country?

The Socialist Party administration of Butte and its most successful work I shall discuss next month.

To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or came to be only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure on modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the days of its expected triumph.

It is precisely this policy and the alluring promise it holds out to new members with more zeal than knowledge of working class economics, that constitutes the danger we should guard against in preparing for the next campaign. The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what methods the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the Socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us and do injustice to our party as well as to those who cast them.—Eugene V. Debs.



Farmer Jones on PARTY PROBLEMS

by Bert Willard

“I SEE by the papers that the Comrades at Indianapolis have placed the official taboo on Sabotage; hereinafter, same is not to be given kindly mention in consecrated circles on penalty of excommunication,” said Farmer John, as he laid the Daily upon the kitchen table, and spat in the general direction of the wood box.

“Well, I declare,” exclaimed Mary Jane. “There ain’t no tellin’ what them Comrades will be doin’ next. Like as not we’ll be electin’ a President. But what on earth is that Sabotage?”

“I ain’t a knowin’ just exactly what it is, Mary Jane, tho’ I’ll admit I’ve been tryin’ mighty hard to find out.”

“Land sakes, is it that bad? Somethin’ that’s agin’ the law and the gospels and common decency?”

“I couldn’t exactly say. As near as I can make out from readin’ the party papers, it all depends on whether you’re for it, or whether you’re agin’ it.”

“Is that so?”

“Yes. If you’re for it, it ain’t half bad; and if you’re agin’ it, it’s simply horrible.”

“Well, now that sounds plumb ridiculous to me, and me bein’ a Comrade, too. I reckon some of them high-brow Comrades fixed it that way so’s they

could have something to argy about. But are we for it, or are we agin’ it?”

“I ain’t a’sayin’ nothin’, replied John. “If we violate the party creed, we will have to take the consequences; and I’ve been payin’ dues too long to be courtin’ excommunication. I was just thinkin’ tho’, that it’s a mighty long way between theory and practice; and when you’re theorisin’ you may think one thing is right and proper, but you’d think entirely different when you came to practicin’.

“For instance: Fifteen, twenty years ago a lot of us one-gallus squirrel turners from Missouri, Arkansaw, Texas, and ‘joinin’ ranges, was settlin’ up the Cheyenne country of Oklahoma. Settlers had been slow about comin’ into that country, owin’ to the fact that the report had been circulated that them parts was the national habitat and rendezvous of the coyote, prairie dog, rattlesnake, horse thief, cut-throat, etcetra and soforth, and not what might be called a salubrious climate for nesters with wimmen and kids.

“Howsumever, the cowmen were soon loose-herding their cattle over them prairies and when us nesters arrived on the scene, we found that the cattlemen had apportioned the range among themselves, and had it all fenced. All gov-

er'ment land, too, and strictly agin' the law to fence gover'ment land; but shucks, what's the law between friends?

"The cattlemen naturally resented the presence of us settlers on their domains—nesters have a way of plowin' the ground and ruinin' the grass, you know. The cowmen would tell us we couldn't raise nothin' in them parts; no use tryin'. We'd have droughts and floods and hailstorms and hot winds and frosts and sand storms and grasshoppers and cyclones and chinch bugs; besides nothin' would'nt grow, and it was no healthy place for nesters nohow. Which same wasn't exactly what you might call encouragin'.

"Notwithstandin' all these calamities, natural and imported, us nesters would stay, and we'd live—somehow; mostly on cornbread, sow-bellie and bean soup. We'd go barefooted through cactus, prickly-pear, and rattlesnakes; and we'd wear our old overalls as long as they

would hang together. In some bachelor establishments I knowed of, a ragged shirt and a red bandaner was full dress.

"But we lived—somehow. Come fall, we would have little patches of corn, all cut and shocked as pretty as you please. Then some bright night we would be sleepin peacefully, pleasantly dreamin' we were floatin' gently on a sea of bean soup, in which huge slabs of sow-bellie was disportin' themselves gaily, when we'd hear the rustle of cattle in the corn, and would wake up all standin'. We'd take to corn field just as we stood, and it would be 'Whoop!' 'Hi-ye-ii!' 'Git out a here you durned critters!' until broad daylight. On examinin' the fence we would find that the wires had been cut in a dozen different places.

"Well, we'd repair the fence and mozey off down to the store and post office, where we'd meet Sid Smith just drivin' in, and we'd orate as follows:

"'Mornin', Sid.'



STRICTLY AGIN THE LAW TO FENCE GOVERNMENT LAND.

“‘Mornin, John.’
 “‘Fairish day.’
 “‘Yep, needin’ rain.’
 “‘How’s things over your way?’

“‘O, so so. How’s every-
 thing with you?’

“‘O, I ain’t complainin’
 none. Whatcha been doin’
 this mornin’?’

“‘Fixin’ fence.’

“‘Fence down?’

“‘Yep. Sumpin’ tore it
 down last night.’

“Other nesters would
 come in with the same story,
 and it would be whispered
 around that about half a
 dozen of Wilkin’s cowboys
 had been seen hangin’
 around on the creek, at just
 about dusk the evenin’ be-
 fore.

“Well, everything would
 be quiet for about a week.
 We wouldn’t be gittin’ no
 rest, sleepin’ with one ear
 open, until we’d hear the
 cattle in the corn again.
 We’d chase ’em out, then
 we’d get the old shotgun
 and as soon as one of them
 steers got back inside the fence we’d ker-
 bang! and Mr. Steer would tear out of that
 corn field like all possessed. It wouldn’t take
 more than four or five shots until that
 bunch of cattle would up-tail and across
 country. We’d go back to bed then,
 cause we knowed *them* steers wouldn’t
 be back *that* night.

“We wouldn’t much more than get in
 bed when we would hear boom! boom!
 over at one of the neighbors. In a few
 minutes it would be boom! boom! in
 another direction. We would then go
 to sleep, peaceful and quiet like, and
 wouldn’t wake until the sun was an hour
 high. Looking out over the prairie, we
 would see five or six steers lyin’ all
 stretched out as tho’ they wasn’t carin’
 for nothin’ or nobody.

“We just couldn’t stop to fix the fence
 that morning, but would mozey down to
 the store the first thing, to get the news;
 and, as usual, would arrive just as Sid
 Smith was drivin’ in. After some and



MIGHTY UNHEALTHY FOR RANGE STEERS.

sundry discoursin’ on the past, present,
 and possible future condition of the
 weather, I’d remark, casual like:

“‘Thought we heard some shootin’
 over your way last night, Sid.’

“‘So,’ Sid’d say. ‘Wife ’lowed as how
 she heard some shootin’ over your way
 last night, too. And do you know, when
 I got out this mornin’ I noticed five or
 six steers layin’ around over there, as
 tho’ somepin’ was a-ailin’ of ’em.’

“‘Well, the neighbors would keep
 comin’ in until there wouldn’t be whittlin’
 material to go ’round, when old Wilkins’d
 ride up, lookin’ as pleasant as a grizzly
 bear, and we’d say.

“‘Mornin’, Mr. Wilkins.’

“‘Mornin’,’ he’d growl.

“‘Fairish day,’ we’d say, real caam
 like.

“‘Wilkins’d grunt.

“‘Needin’ rain,’ we’d remark next,
 tryin’ to be agreeable.

“‘Wilkins’d grunt again.

"'What's them over there?' he'd growl, pointin' at them steers.

"'Mr. Wilkins,' we'd say, 'we reckons them's steers. They's been layin' there for sometime. We ain't never been over to em.'

"'Umph!' he'd growl, beginning to shake. 'Six of 'em there! And five here! And eight yonder! And my riders tell me there's more of 'em over there!'

"'Yes, six, Mr. Wilkins,' we'd say, 'it shore 'peers like it was gettin' mighty onhealthy for range steers in these parts.'

"'Wilkins'd look like he was about ready to explode.

"'Yes, sir, Mr. Wilkins,' we'd continue, 'we notices the coyotes are gittin' that fat they're too triffin' lazy to get out of a feller's way!'

"'Wilkins'd shore enough explode at that, and he'd ride off in a 'lope, bellerin' sumpin' that sounded like 'Damn!' with all the trimmings.

"'Us nesters would start home then, feelin' so good we'd be whistlin' 'Beautiful Land,' to beat the band. In four or five days the news would be circulatin' in the air, that old Wilkins had sold out slick and clean, and was going to Old Mexico.

"'Now, I ain't a-sayin' that us nesters was practisin' Sabotage—that depends on whither you're for it, or whither you're agin it, I reckon—and if we'd been settin' around in easy chairs, blowin' smoke-wreaths at the chandelier, and theorisin', I reckon we'd agreed that killin' them steers was wrong, and showed disrespect for capitalist property laws. But us farmers didn't theorise none. We didn't

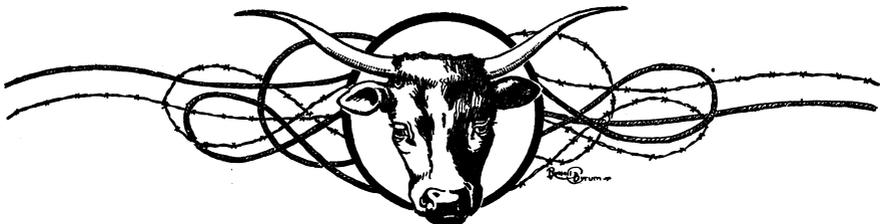
think about it; besides we didn't have time. We was too busy tryin' to make a living. All that we thought of was: them steers were destroying our corn, there seemed but one way of stopping 'em, we took that way AND SAVED OUR CROPS!

"'And we didn't call it Sabotage, nor 'other methods of violence,' nor destruction of property—WE CALLED IT JUSTICE!

"'Now the moral of this here yarn is this: It's a mighty long way between theory and practice; and when you're theorisin' on a full stomach, you hain't the least idea what you'd do if you was practicin' on an empty one.

"'But as I said 'afore, I ain't a sayin' nothin'. I've been payin' dues too long to be courtin' excommunication. Then we names the ante and you will have to put up if you want to set in the game. However, there are some things I don't understand, and one of them is, 'Why should workmen be penalized for participatin' in the class conflict?'

"'The road to the co-operative commonwealth ain't mapped, and we will have to blaze our own trail. Some will think we ought to go this way, some will say we should turn that way, others will declare the correct route lies straight ahead; at times, a few will think we are off the road entirely, but we will find the way through. For we'll get there, Mary Jane, you can bet your boots on that; and once there, law-zee! what a time we will have tellin' of the adventures we had a-comin'!'





YARD MEN AT ALLEN TANNERY.

THE WOPS OF KENOSHA

BY CARL SANDBURG

WHENEVER I went to a vaudeville performance in Chicago, I always heard Kenosha referred to in terms of jest and disparagement. All Chicago people laugh when Kenosha is mentioned at a slapstick show. I beg, therefore, that such Chicago vaudeville fans as may read this will forbear from laughter while the matters herein get started on their pathway of narration.

I believe it can be demonstrated that Kenosha, for all that it has become the butt of Chicago jokesters, can reveal contrasts of poverty and luxury, frugality and waste, "righteousness oppressed and wickedness uplifted." And these contrasts will stand out like vivid lights and brutal shadows as peculiar and amazing as any in our so-called civilization.

Kenosha, taking its out-of-town visitors by the elbow, can show them the world's largest tannery in the production of sole and harness leather. This shop, the tannery of N. R. Allen and Son, has a record of revolts among the workmen that is remarkable.

On June 18, at two o'clock in the afternoon, 100 workmen in all the various departments walked out. The foremen did not know where the men were going. That night there were hall meetings and house meetings.

The next morning, at 7 o'clock, just as the whistle blew a committee of thirty men, three from each of ten departments, walked into the office of the superintendent. They told that official, "We want a raise in wages. We want \$1 a week more for every man in the whole



SLAVE TAKING A NOON REST.

works. Out in all the departments are 400 men ready to take their tools. But they won't work a tap today unless you raise our pay."

The superintendent stepped to the telephone and called Chester Allen, the young millionaire who spends his time when he feels like it, as a manager of the works. Allen came by automobile, full power on. He looked at the faces of the Poles, Slavs and Germans on the committee. He did a little thinking and figuring. Then he granted an increase of fifty cents per week to apply throughout the entire plant. The men went back to work.

Understand, these workmen have no union, as we ordinarily understand a labor union. They have no elected officers, no dues, no oaths of membership, no office.

They have, however, developed a certain system of shop practices. And they do maintain a certain crude, spontaneous kind of organization which has been learned instead of taught.

The reason young Chester Allen offered the men an increase without anger or expostulation was because he remembered a lesson of three years ago. In July, 1909, some 1,500 workers, every employe of the tannery, went on strike. About

300 tried to stick to their jobs but were pulled and driven out into the streets. The demand for a raise of \$1 a week had been refused and there was no offer of compromise.

That night showers of stones broke against the walls of the shops. Every window pane accessible from outside the works was shattered. The mayor and the police chief in an automobile patrolled the strike district. The next day men who tried to go back to work were beaten. The governor of the state sent Gen. Otto Falk with the Milwaukee Light Horse Squadron to the scene.

Another day and the workers were taken back, with the increase of pay granted. The managers had thought of a scheme. From that time on, every worker handling hides has been required to put across a certain number per day or he gets the cheery axe of dismissal.

Note, nevertheless, that twice since that day, a large squad of men have walked out on an afternoon, organized a revolt during the night and the next morning demanded and obtained increases of wages. It is getting to be somewhat of a habit.

Whenever this kind of a game has been tried in one lone department, it has failed.



RAW CUCUMBERS FOR DESERT.

Thirty Italians in the bark mill walked out and made a demand one day. They were ordered off the premises and their places filled the next day. The only fear in the hearts of the managers is that the whole works may be tied up.

About 75 per cent of these workers are Poles and Slavs, the remainder being Germans, Italians and Americans. Their wages range between \$7 and \$10 a week. As prices rise from year to year and the pinch of want becomes keener, they strike.

Desperately, almost blindly, with only a bare shadow of an organization, they have massed their strength and forced their masters to raise wages. If they can achieve even as little as they have with so slight an organization, what couldn't

they do if organizers speaking their own language came to them with tried methods and principles?

The Allen tannery is part of the leather trust. Among its stockholders are millionaires. Nathan Allen was a big newspaper topic last year when he was fined for having smuggled diamonds into the port of New York, the affair connecting him with "fast" women and debaucheries that reveal the fraud back of the morals taught by the capitalist organs.

The "wops," the "hunyaks," and the "guineas," sense the injustice of these things. That's why they form a loose organization, take chances, and send a committee with demands on the managers—in Kenosha, the target of the Chicago jokesters.

TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM

By H. SCOTT BENNETT

THERE are two kinds of Unionism appealing to the working class of the world today. One belongs to the past. The other belongs to the present—and the future! One stands for disintegration, for weakness, just where strength is most required. The other is based upon principles that make for the organizing of the working class might. One is conservative, inasmuch as it conserves the blunders that the toilers have made in the past—the tragic past! It likewise conserves a system of society that makes possible the ghastly tragedy of toil. The other is scientific, because it is based upon a recognition of economic facts; revolutionary, because it recognizes that nothing short of a complete social transformation can bring permanent relief to those who toil and moil!

The different view-points entertained by these opposite forms of unionism are reflected in their actions. One seeks relief in arbitration, stone blind to the fact that this is one of the many pieces of mechanism under the control of the Master Class, and is used by them to subjugate the workers. The other form of unionism faces the Master Class upon the industrial field with

courageous mien! It declines to condone the moral wrong of exploitation by attitudinizing before a tool of the Capitalist Class, arrayed in the vestments of "identity of interests." One believes that the Working Class, when not engaged in "Arbitration," should fight in sections for a little more of the wealth that labor produces; the other believes in united action, and by such action wring all that can be obtained from the full fruits of its toil tomorrow! One is the old-time Craft Unionism; the other is a manifestation of class-conscious Industrial Unionism.

Craft Unionism grants a liecnse to its membership to scab. Industrial Unionism declares, in language unmistakable that "An injury to one is an injury to all." Craft Unionism believes it can see a harmonious relationship existing between the leech and its victim. Industrial Unionism is out to abolish the conditions that make leeches possible. Craft Unionism cries Peace! In the midst of a hot-as-hell war! Industrial Unionism cries: Fight. Up and at an infamous system of legalized theft.

* * *

Freakish political parties are born of the

old time muddled and mixed unionism. Political parties that betray, mislead and dishearten the workers; political parties that with open arms receive the riff-raff, the dregs of bourgeois society!—"parsons without pulpits, storekeepers without customers, lawyers without clients," all alike are embraced!

* * *

The Unionism that is stamped with the hall-mark of science, declares that the political army of Labor must be the reflex of Class-conscious revolutionary industrial organization. Revolutionary? Yes! REVOLUTIONARY! How the Socialism-by-the-back door folks love to frighten the half-baked with a word. Revolutionary! Could the Capitalist Class own and control the tools of production today if they had not Revolutionized Feudal Society? Start thinking!

* * *

With muddled brain and palsied hands, Craft Unionism faces the gigantic crime of Wage slavery. Its idea of Working Class economics is worthy of an old felt hat! When it attempts to fight, it only succeeds

in making itself appear ridiculous. It is simply a back number in Working Class methods of organization. Scientific Militant Economic Organization is the great need of the hour; without it, the Ballot Box is as useless as a Throne. "Without economic organization, the day of Labor's political triumph would be the day of its defeat." We need industrialism in our skirmishes with Capitalism today: It will be indispensable in the work of transformation that awaits us upon the morrow. All Hail the United Hosts of the Proletariat! Long live Industrialism!

* * *

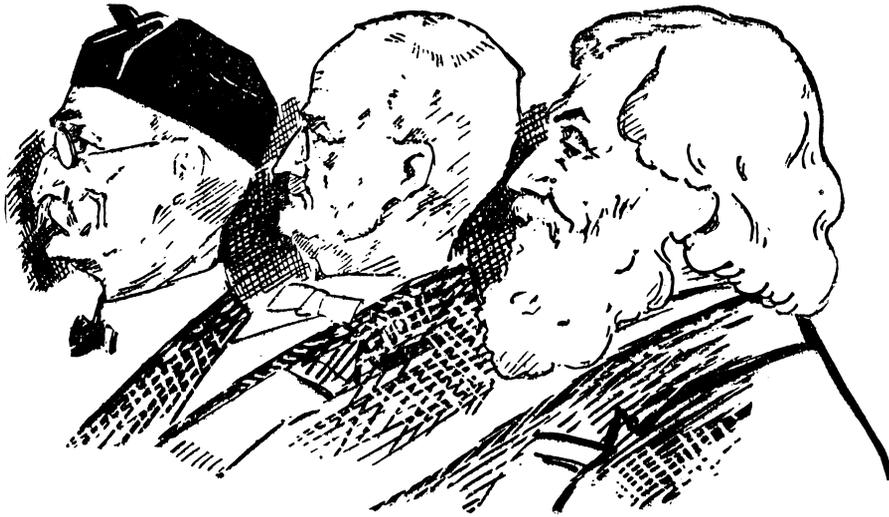
See! With majestic steps the workers who have locked might to right march to the Socialist Republic! Their Organization demonstrates their preparedness for the Social Change! Their organic solidarity is indicative of the Coming Triumph.

* * *

Behind! Aye, far behind! stands Craft Unionism, immersed in the muck and mire of Capitalist Society.

Voice of Labor, Johannesburg, South Africa.





Three grand old men of the New York Socialist movement. Read from left to right: Matchett, one-time Presidential candidate of the party; Fero, 80 years young, rural philosopher and humorist; Lucien Sanial, too well known to need description.

THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION

Cartoons from New York Call

WHAT was declared to be the most successful meeting of the Socialist party of New York was held in Auburn, N. Y., the first week in June, more than 300 delegates being in attendance. However, no particularly advanced stand was taken by the convention, a resolution by Morgenstern of Schenectady declaring for the principle of industrial unionism being voted down by 110 to 46, and the platform simply calling for "public ownership of all public utilities, to be operated for the convenience of the public and the welfare of the employees."

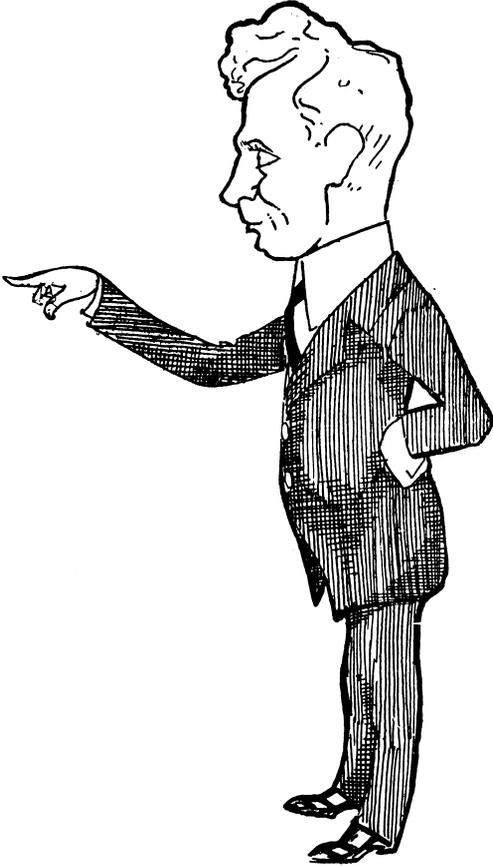
One of the warmest discussions centered around a clause in the platform calling for the abolition of all laws exempting church property from taxation. Delegate Wood, of Schenectady, moved

to strike out this paragraph, claiming that such action would hurt the party.

Hubert H. Harrison opposed the motion, saying that the church was attacking the Socialist party, it being a mighty financial factor, and urged that it be voted down.

Mayor Lunn, of Schenectady, opposed the insertion of this paragraph and proposed a paragraph calling for the abolition of laws exempting all property from taxation, excepting property owned by the nation, State and municipality. Algernon Crapsey, of Rochester, also urged the convention against passing the resolution calling for the taxation of church property.

Henry L. Slobodin said that the fact that church property is exempt from taxation shows that it is working in the



HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

interest of the capitalist class against the working class, and urged that the clause stand in the platform. Frank Cassidy, of Buffalo, urged the delegates not to mix the church question in the platform, and stated that the Socialists were fighting against the capitalist class and not religion, and asked the clause to be voted down.

William Mailly said that it was about time for the Socialist party to come out and fight the church. The church has been fighting Socialism for years and has now come out openly and attacks it every time it gets a chance, and before the campaign is over the church and especially the Catholic church, will be out attacking Socialism.

John Mullen said that church property is just as good as any other property, and said he did not see any reason why it should be exempt from taxation.

William E. Duffy, of Syracuse, spoke against the clause and said it was not the business of the Socialist party to mix in religious questions. U. Solomon and Delegate Sheehan, of Albany, also spoke against the Socialist party mixing in religious questions. The offending clause was finally stricken out and the Lunn amendment was adopted.

Among the most active delegates were those from King County, which comprises the city of Brooklyn. The Brooklyn "reds" were strong advocates of revolutionary politics and unionism.

State Secretary Solomon's report showed that the cause is going rapidly ahead in New York State, every county except six being now organized and the people everywhere giving a friendly reception to the message of Socialism. The average membership for the first six



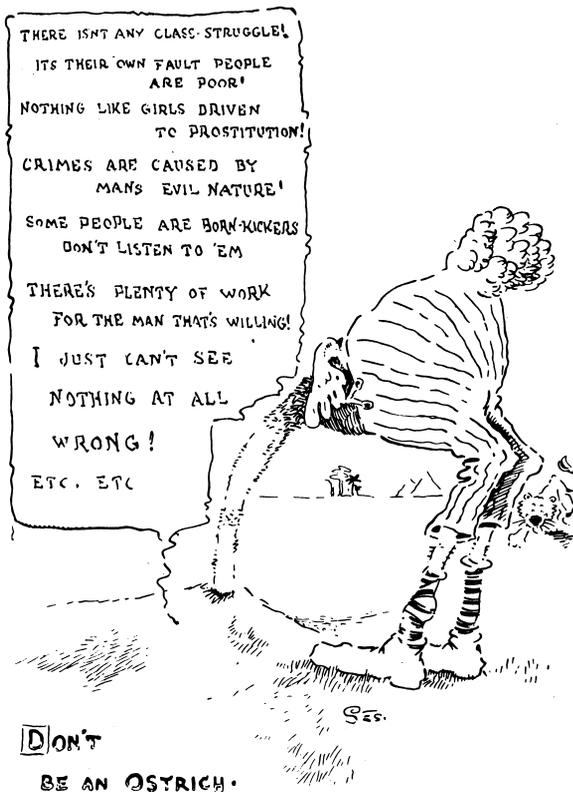
TIMOTHY WALSH (JOHN D.)

Well-Known Agitator and Writer. Tim Works on Wall Street. Note Figure in Background.

months of this year was shown to be 12,700, a decided increase from the 2,900 of 1906.

A strong ticket was named, headed by Charles Edward Russell for governor and Gustave Strebel for lieutenant gov-

ernor, Carrie W. Allen, secretary of State, O. Hoxie, State Controller, Henry L. Slobodin, Attorney General, Frank Ehrenfried, State Treasurer, and Dr. Charles Furman for State Engineer and Surveyor.



How Capitalist Parties Are Financed

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS

BY ascertaining who supplies the funds of political parties you at once are able to know who controls those parties. "You pays your money, and you takes your choice" runs a popular saying, and one strictly to the point. The millions of dollars spent in capitalist political campaigns certainly do not come from the working class; that is self-evident. At least the workers do not consciously or directly contribute. They have a difficult enough time managing to pay their bills. From whom, then, do the campaign funds come?

They come from individual capitalists, corporations and trusts, and a certain part is extorted in the form of "voluntary contributions" from office holders. But by far the greatest share, running into millions of dollars, is supplied by capitalists. It is not necessary to go back very far for specific examples. Nor need it be said that despite laws which require publicity of campaign contributions, the capitalist political organizations cover up the facts as to where their big campaign contributions come from. They could not well afford to reveal these secrets to the mass of voters. If they let out the truth the workers would clearly see that the capitalists, corporations and trusts of all kinds who have been bitterly fighting labor, disrupting and smashing unions, and calling out the militia to shoot down workers in strikes, were the very parties who financed the old political parties.

But now and then in some investigation some significant facts are brought out, and although these facts are but a few of the whole, they give a lucid indication of what the entire truth must be. If a survey were taken of the last thirty

or forty years, not to mention the previous decades, a long and startling list of capitalist campaign funds could be presented. In giving corruption funds to both Republican and Democratic organizations, Jay Gould was simply following a rule long since established by other capitalists. But it is not necessary to delve into the past for examples. Recent disclosures supply enough of them for the present purpose of elucidation.

In the great investigation of the New York, Equitable and Mutual life insurance companies, in 1905, certain definite facts were disclosed. It appeared that the New York Life Insurance Company had contributed nearly \$50,000 in 1892 to the Republican National Committee and that it gave similar amounts in 1896 and 1900 for the same purpose. The Equitable gave \$50,000 in 1904 to the Republican National Committee, and had also for many years been giving \$30,000 annually to the New York State Republican Committee. The Mutual Life Insurance Company also made large and continuous contributions. But let it not be supposed that these companies were so prejudiced and partial as to single out only the Republican organization for especial favor. No, indeed. With superb impartiality they gave as much to the Democratic organizations. "The insurance companies," reported the New York legislative investigating committee (the "Armstrong Committee") "regularly contributed large sums to the campaign funds of both the Republican and Democratic parties." (See Report of the Legislative Insurance Committee, 1906, Vol. X, pages 62, 398, etc.) In fact, all of the large insurance companies regularly gave contributions not only for national

political campaigns, but also for state campaigns.

If the insurance companies did this, what of all the other corporations—railroad, mining, manufacturing, water-power, street railway, gas, electricity, banking and the aggregation of other corporations? What of the big magnates and the multitude of trusts that they controlled? If one investigation disclosed these details regarding a few insurance companies, what would have been the total disclosures had it been possible to examine the records of the thousands of other corporations? Now, you can get a glimpse of where the capitalist parties get their immense campaign funds. If a municipal campaign alone in a city like New York costs about \$2,000,000, what must a national campaign cost? Many times that sum.

But before considering other specific facts it is well to bear in mind those contributions made by the insurance companies. Who controlled those companies? The biggest capitalists in the country. J. Pierpont Morgan controlled the New York Life Insurance Company—Morgan the organizer of the Steel Trust, the Steamship Trust and a number of other vast trusts—Morgan who ruled more than 55,000 miles of railroad—Morgan who is now a director of sixty-one huge corporations—Morgan in whose private banking company the stupendous sum of \$500,000,000 in cash is deposited largely by the corporations that he controls.

And who controlled the Mutual Life Insurance Company? Some of the most powerful capitalists in the world—magnates such as William Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers of the Standard Oil Company, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George F. Baker, James Speyer and similar others. Rockefeller was an officer or director of thirty-one large corporations including railroads, mines, industries, gas plants, etc. Rogers was an officer or director of twenty-five large and varied corporations; Cornelius Vanderbilt of twenty; Speyer of seventeen; Baker of more than thirty. Likewise their associates on the Mutual's board of trustees, were all officers or directors of a multitude of corporations. J. Pierpont Morgan, too, was represented on that board.

Screened behind figureheads Morgan was also active in the affairs of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, but hardly less so was that memorable freebooter E. H. Harriman in league with the bankers Kuhn, Loeb and Company. Beginning his career as an errand boy, Harriman "accumulated" a fortune of at least \$149,000,000; and after a campaign of vast fraud, bribery, stockjobbing and theft controlled the Union, the Central and the Southern Pacific Railroads, the Illinois Central and other roads.

How Harriman turned a campaign for the verbose paragon of all the virtues—Theodore Roosevelt—is a matter tolerably fresh in memory. While Roosevelt was posing as a "dear friend of labor" and incessantly giving out gratuitous and wordy—oh! such wordy! advice on "honesty in politics," "decent citizenship" and the like, he was endearing himself to Harriman, but not, however, by his fine preachings. Harriman was not the man who cared about phrases; the solid coin was what he was in quest of and tools to help him.

When Roosevelt was governor of New York he had proved very accommodating to Harriman. Harriman had consummated the first steps of a gigantic job in his capture of the Chicago and Alton Railroad, and his issue of a vast output of bonds and stock representing nothing but the cost of printing them. But where were these spurious bonds to be sold? Upon whom could they be saddled? Harriman had it all planned out; they would be unloaded upon the savings banks. But a special law was required in order to allow the savings banks to exchange money for these bonds. Harriman lobbied a bill through the New York legislature authorizing the savings banks to do so, and Governor Theodore Roosevelt signed the bill, making it a law. By that fraudulent bond operation Harriman and associates "made" fully \$32,000,000 in profits.

But much later, when Roosevelt was president, he and Harriman had a falling out over something or other. Then appeared that memorable letter of Harriman to Sidney Webster in which Harriman related how he had been summoned to the White House by President Roose-

velt in the closing days of the 1904 campaign when Roosevelt was a candidate for election. Harriman, in that letter, went on to tell how he (Harriman) returned to New York to raise a campaign fund of \$260,000 by which "at least 50,000 votes were turned in the City of New York, making a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result." Harriman said his personal contribution to this fund was \$50,000.

So long as Harriman was alive, Roosevelt did not dare categorically deny the specifications. Everybody knows, of course, that Roosevelt has a genial way of calling anyone who questions his word a liar. But Harriman was an astute man. No doubt he had documents, and was prepared to produce them. In this case Roosevelt considered it wise not to provoke Harriman too far. But after Harriman and Webster were dead, and when Roosevelt, backed by George W. Perkins of the Steel Trust, was moving heaven and earth to get a renomination, a different version of the affair suddenly appeared in the form of a letter written on December 15, 1911, by George W. Sheldon, treasurer of the Republican National Committee. Sheldon averred that it was Odell, chairman of the New York State Republican Committee, who appealed for aid to Harriman through Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican National Committee, and that Harriman then raised \$160,000 which in addition to \$80,000 raised by Bliss was given directly to Odell. As for Odell he declined to make any statement, and Bliss was dead when Sheldon's assertion appeared.

These political worthies differed as to details but not as to the essential fact, namely that a large fund was hurriedly raised at a critical time in the campaign, and that it was used in Roosevelt's behalf. We have Harriman's written word for it that it made a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result. For what purposes it was employed we can easily and unerringly conjecture.

While this corruption fund was being hastily gathered—and it was but a part of the great total of campaign funds used that year—Roosevelt was, of course, indulging in his usual declamations for

public effect. How he lashed the "malefactors of great wealth!" With what strings of windy words did he denounce "both lawless wealth and lawless labor leader," and demand that all, high and low, rich and poor, respect the law. That the big capitalists smiled in secret at this actor's antics, well knowing that they had him in complete tow, is a fact. We do not have to suspect it; we know it, thanks to the disclosures made by Wharton Barker, a Philadelphia banker and at one time a middle-of-the-road (People's party) candidate for president. Testifying before the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, on November 29, 1911, Barker swore that he had been told by a Wall street banking magnate that in the campaign of 1904 when Roosevelt was a candidate for the presidency, Wall street interests had made a bargain with Roosevelt. "He is to 'holler' all he wants to," the magnate was quoted as saying, "and by and by—not immediately, but in due time"—certain legislation demanded by the big railroad magnates was to be passed.

That Roosevelt is a past master, graduated and confirmed, in the great art of "hollering" no one will deny; it was a very satisfactory performance to the magnates who wanted precisely a man of that caliber—a charlatan who could delude people by his big talk while in act giving the capitalists everything they wanted. You will notice, furthermore, that although Roosevelt was thundering against the "malefactors of wealth," not one of those trust magnates was seriously disturbed; they kept both wealth and liberty.

"Respect the law" was another of Roosevelt's grand slogans, but how he respected it was again conspicuously shown in the panic of 1907 when he allowed Morgan's Steel Trust, in violation of all law, to gobble the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and make a profit of \$670,000,000 on the deal.

On the political field the capitalists make a blustering show of violently differing with one another. But this is an integral part of the farce. Some magnates call themselves Republicans, others Democrats, but they are all on the look-

out for big capitalism and their own interests every day in the year. Examine the lists of directors of big corporations, and you will find that there is no political line drawn. There they are, both Republicans and Democrats, not to speak of "Reformers" also.

Thomas F. Ryan, for example, labels himself a Democrat. He started his career with nothing; he is now said to own at least \$225,000,000 of wealth, not including his vast African possessions which he obtained in partnership with the late King Leopold of Belgium and which are said to be worth as much more. He and William C. Whitney were associated in the looting of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company in New York City. By fraudulent manipulation of construction charges and accounts and in various other ways the treasury of this road was robbed of at least \$90,000,000. Whitney was President Cleveland's campaign manager, and he married a daughter of Henry B. Payne, treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, who bribed his way into the United States senate. When Cleveland ran a third time for the presidency, in 1892, Whitney was his campaign fund accumulator and general manager. It will be recalled by the way that one of the scandals later developing was that of James J. Van Alen, one of the Newport "smart set" who, in return for a campaign contribution of \$50,000, was promised an ambassadorship abroad.

With the wealth plundered in different directions both Whitney and Ryan became great lights in the Democratic party, and Ryan became a trust magnate of the first order. Ryan and others organized the Gas Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Rubber Trust and other combinations, and he seized control of the Seaboard Air Line and other railroads. He also became a very devout member of the Roman Catholic church, even carrying his piety so far as to pay for a cathedral in Richmond, Va. Meanwhile Ryan was not omitting his duties as a leading Democrat. He, or the corporations controlled by him, contributed large sums regularly to Tammany Hall and the Democratic party in general. It is said that Ryan contributed \$500,000 to the Democratic National Campaign Fund in

1900, when he, August Belmont and other notable Democrats caused Parker to be nominated for president. Assuredly, Ryan is actuated by "pure patriotism"; who would be so cruel as to suspect him of working for his own pocket? The thought is unbelievable.

Now, pray, who was Ryan's chief attorney in all of his devious financial transactions? We will let Harriman speak—Harriman who knew his facts quite well. "Ryan's success in all of his manipulations," wrote Harriman in that famous letter to Sydney Webster, "traction deals, tobacco combination, manipulation of the State Trust Company into the Morton Trust Company, the Shoe and Leather Bank into the Western National Bank, and then again into the Bank of Commerce, thus covering up his tracks, has been done by the adroit mind of Elihu Root."

Who is there that needs an introduction to Elihu Root? Who needs to be reminded that Root is one of the great and brilliant lights in the Republican party? Who does not know his career—how when a young attorney he defended the great thief, Boss Tweed of Tammany Hall, and received from Tweed certain real estate which Tweed had got by his plunderings; how during his long life he did the deft legal work for capitalists and corporations and at the same time was an active leader in the Republican organization, manipulating conventions and legislatures, and how he became Roosevelt's chief aide and Secretary of State. Yes, this is the same Elihu Root who is now a United States Senator from New York.

How broad minded these capitalists are! Republicans have no prejudices against Democrats nor Democrats against Republicans. What nobility of soul and spirit they display in acting with such superb unity! When a demand arose that Ryan and associates be criminally prosecuted for their gigantic lootings of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, and when because of these plunderings that railway was on the verge of bankruptcy, this harmonious spirit between the capitalist brethren was again rapturously shown. The attorney-general of New York was on the point of

asking the court to appoint receivers. Ryan was on his way home from Europe when he heard the news. Such a move would never do; if hostile receivers were appointed there was no telling what might happen. Ryan got busy, and so did his lawyers. A petition was hurriedly drawn up, presented to the accommodating Judge Lacombe and signed by him, appointing Douglas Robinson and Adrian Joline as receivers. Who was Robinson? Why, he is Roosevelt's brother-in-law, and Roosevelt was president at the time. To be sure, Robinson was selected because of his "eminent qualities"; the thought could never have entered the head of so pure a patriot, so conscientious a Democrat as Ryan that the mighty power of Robinson's brother-in-law, Roosevelt, could be thus enlisted in Ryan's behalf.

Early this year—1912—more illuminative incidents took place. The original promoter of the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson for the presidential nomination was "Colonel" George Harvey, editor of "Harper's Weekly." Wilson joyfully accepted the booming of that publication until the sinister news got abroad that the real, practical owner of the Harper establishment was J. Pierpont Morgan. Wilson had known this fact all along, and so had the initiated. The trouble started when Wilson realized that the public were "getting on to it." The eminent educator saw that it would never do to have Morgan's tag too conspicuously on his coat front. Gentlemen may have their private understandings, but the voting public must not have a look in. With a fine ostentatious outburst of virtuous indignation Wilson requested Harvey to cease his eulogies. It may be added that in his "historical" works, Wilson has poured adulation upon the career of Grover Cleveland, who, among other acts, presented the J. Pierpont Morgan syndicate with \$18,000,000 profit in the scandalous Government bond deal in 1894.

The second incident was the rupture between that industrious Democrat, Henry Watterson, and Woodrow Wilson. Watterson stated that he had been authorized to solicit funds for the movement to nominate Wilson for the presidency, and that the illustrious Thomas

F. Ryan was one of the contributors. Wilson virtually called this statement a lie, and there was a fine sequel of challenges and recriminations. If credulity can be stretched far enough to believe Wilson's repudiation this occasion was the first in decades that Ryan's stealthy hand was not to be traced. But no one who knows capitalist politics and Ryan's methods would feel justified in terming Watterson a fabricator.

The third incident was Roosevelt's defense of the Steel Trust in one of his published articles late in 1911. The fact came out that before its publication he had submitted the manuscript of this article for revision to George W. Perkins, Morgan's right-hand man in the Steel Trust and other trusts. It had been given out that Perkins had retired from the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, but he was phenomenally busy for a retired magnate. Reports were later freely published in the leading newspapers that Perkins was engineering and financing Roosevelt's campaign for re-election. These reports became so insistent that Perkins, early in 1912, found it necessary to deny them. He was, he said, acting purely in his capacity of a private citizen.

Assuredly. Who would be so base as to accuse Perkins and the interests represented by him of using sordid money? Such high-minded patriots are concerned only with the welfare of their country; pity it is that Diogenes is not around; he would only have to take a trip to Wall street and there he would find not merely one honest man, but hundreds of honest, conscientious, pure-souled men like Morgan and Perkins. Perkins is so very conscientious that when he was vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company he pocketed a commission on an insurance policy issued on his own life, and as for Morgan's sterling patriotism, the present writer has shown in his "History of the Great American Fortunes" only to read Gustavus Meyers' "History of the Great American Fortunes" to learn how at the beginning of the Civil War, Morgan, through a dummy, bought up 5,000 condemned rifles at \$3.50 each, and unloaded them upon the Union army at \$22 apiece. Morgan and Ryan may be

“opposed” politically, but they work together when it comes to business; it will be remembered that it was to Morgan that Ryan recently sold the Equitable Life Assurance Company.

The facts given here give only a glimpse, but a sufficient glimpse, of how the capitalist parties are financed. Those parties are an investment, and are part of the business of capitalism. The capitalists buy legislators, municipal officials, congressmen, senators, judges and presidents more easily than a worker buys a mechanical tool. Whether these officials are labeled Republican, Democratic or Reform is immaterial; all stand for capitalism, and all unite in enforcing the exploitation and repression of the working class. The capitalists who financed Taft’s campaign are the same who have financed campaigns of both Republicans

and Democrats. To use their own classic and expressive phrase they are in business for business, and not for sentiment or health. And in supporting these parties, the mass of the working class in finding the police, militia, regular troops and injunctions used against workers, have got precisely what they were deluded into voting for.

Turn, however, to the Socialist party. You will find that this party is financed wholly by monthly dues paid by the members of its organizations. No contributions from outside sources are allowed or received. It is supported and maintained by the working class, and the working class absolutely controls its principles and policy. And any member who may happen to depart from the strict lines of working class action is instantly expelled.

NO LABOR PARTY REPRESENTATIVES

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

AT the recent joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee at which no quorum of the former was present, it was decided to bring J. Kier Hardie to this country for a lecture tour during the campaign. This can be done only at great expense, but aside from the question of the expense involved, Mr. J. Kier Hardie is not a member of the British Socialist Party. Whatever his past record may have been, he is now identified with the Independent Labor Party and as a member of Parliament was elected on the Labor Party ticket, which is generally recognized by the Socialists of Great Britain as the tail of the Liberal Party. Mr. Hardie’s position on the Conciliation Bill, a compromise measure, supported by him, is intended to give votes to women in Great Britain, but only to those who are property holders. He

thus places himself in opposition to the general Socialist movement for unrestricted woman’s suffrage.

Mr. Hardie is the close associate of such men as J. Ramsey McDonald and Willie Anderson, who in a measure are responsible for the unfavorable result of the general strike of the coal miners, all of them having given their influence to the establishment of the Minimum Wage Bill, which acted as a mean of stampeding the miners who were standing as a unit for an increase of wages.

The Socialist party of the United States cannot afford to stand sponsor for anyone, especially any speaker, whose efforts and influence and very personality would tend toward the thought of establishing a Labor party in this country. If speakers are to be imported let it be those whose position on the class struggle is clear.

Behind the Prison Bars

BY

Grace V. Silver



SAN QUENTIN, present abode of the McNamaras and prospective residence of Clarence Darrow, is no better and no worse than ninety-five per cent of our prisons. It is just a fair sample of society's brutality toward the underdog. It boasts, however, one peculiar instrument of torture invented years ago by Martin Aquierre, then warden. Every "good" warden invents a new instrument for "disciplining" prisoners. That is the way he proves his fitness for the office. Flogging had been forbidden by the legislature. The straight jacket invented by Warden Aquierre took its place at San Quentin, the "derrick" at Folsom. Donald Lowrie estimates that at least fifteen hundred men have been tortured by these two instruments in California.

The case of Edward Morrell is typical. He served nearly seventeen years in San Quentin for his connection with the Sontag-Evans band of outlaws. Sontag and Evans, it may be remarked in passing, were originally peaceable homesteaders. Their lands were "legally" stolen from them and in revenge they turned against society and became bandits. Twenty years ago they were the terror of all California. Some time after Morrell was imprisoned an attempted mutiny occurred. Responsibility for it was thrown by the guilty persons upon him and although asleep at the time of the outbreak, he

was dragged forth, accused of having firearms concealed in the prison, and ordered to produce them. Being innocent, he could not do so, and since he could not—or would not—he was ordered into solitary confinement until he did. He remained there for five years—in a cell about four feet wide by eight feet long. No light entered. Bathing was out of the question. Bread and water—especially water—was his only food. The five years of solitary confinement were enlivened however by the occasional use of the straight jacket, derrick, and other instruments of torture. He is now touring California, lecturing to crowded houses everywhere, telling the people what goes on behind the walls of San Quentin—a place where a reporter is still looked upon askance and a camera is considered more dangerous than dynamite.

Jack Oppenheimer was the first man to experience the straight jacket. Morrell heard his groans and shrieks for a day and a night, in his solitary cell. Then he deliberately brought the torture upon himself as a relief from hopeless seclusion and monotony.

The jacket as known to prison officials is not the mild instrument of the same name used in asylums. It is a kind of half-coat of heavy canvas, reaching from the collar-bone nearly to the knees. San Quentin has jackets of eight sizes to "fit" any victim. There are two pockets

into which the prisoner places his hands. His arms are pressed against his body, shoulders are pressed forward and the jacket slipped over them from the front. Then the victim is laid on the floor, face down, and the jacket is laced up the back. But that is only the beginning. The edges of the jacket, when it is laced as tight as a man can breathe in—as tight as he *thinks* he can stand—are nearly a foot apart. But it has merely been “fitted on.” Torture has not commenced. In a few minutes the guard will tighten the ropes. Every few hours he will come in and tighten them again. He will use a stake to aid in twisting the rope tighter, much as a man tightens a fence wire. Three days and nights of this torture leaves the victim unable to move. His flesh is parboiled and dead. Ribs are often broken, internal organs permanently displaced. Morrell was given 105 hours as his first dose—the first of many. He has spent six weeks in the straight jacket. He says the first pain is about the heart; there is a rush of blood to the head, followed by suffocation. He

felt like one being drowned. Mercifully delirium sets in early.

The State Senate was investigating San Quentin once upon a time. Morrell was one of the witnesses examined. He told the truth. Result! That very night the straight jacket was put on him in the usual way. He laid in it for days. It was tightened till the canvas seemed about to break. Then the officials got another jacket, put it on from behind and laced it up in front. They intended to kill him. He heard a guard ask another if it was desirable to let him die in the jacket? But that seldom happens. The victims are taken out, put in bed, and left to die “naturally,” so the prison physician can report it as a case of heart failure.

The writer once saw the use of the jacket demonstrated by Mr. Morrell. A workingman from the audience had volunteered his services and the jacket was “fitted” on as I have described. About ninety seconds of even that “fitting” sufficed to make that strong and husky worker beg to be released. He thought he was already in for the real thing.

They tried the “derrick” on Morrell, borrowing the idea from the other state prison at Folsom. This is a simple arrangement of cords and pulleys. The victim’s hands are handcuffed behind his back. The handcuffs are then hooked on to the “derrick” and he is pulled up by the wrists till his toes barely touch the floor. A great many have died as the result of this torture. It inflicts permanent injuries and death may result months or even years later.

Morrell was once sentenced to fifty hours in the derrick. At the end of thirty hours they had to let him down to save life. When strung up again he hung limp like a dead beef or pig. They had to let him down frequently after that, as he suffered from bleeding at the kidneys. It required thirteen days to complete the fifty hour sentence. But he was only *one victim out of fifteen hundred.*

The California legislature has refused to forbid the use of these instruments of torture. They are not used in presence of visitors, of course. The present warden of San Quentin is reported to be, compared with his predecessors, a hu-



THE STRAIGHT JACKET.

A Favorite Method of Punishing Convicts for Trivial Offenses. The Victim, if Laced Too Tightly, May Be Crippled for Life.



THE BULL RINGS.

This Form of Torture—Otherwise Known as the "Hook" and "Strappado"—is in Widespread Use. It Causes Excruciating Agony.

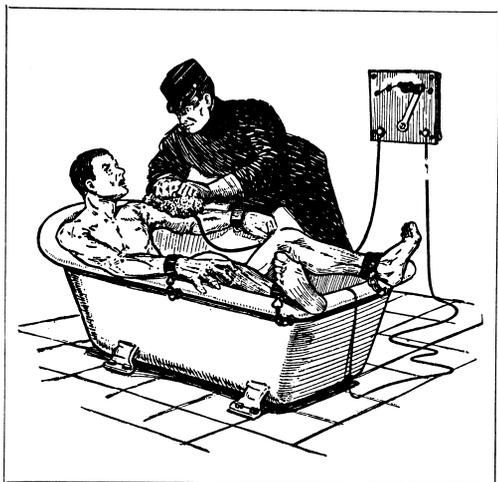
man. Thanks to a state-wide agitation the straight jacket is seldom used—at least the public believes so. But the lives of 1,700 men at San Quentin are absolutely at the mercy of the warden and board of directors and their good intentions, if they have any, are often frustrated by "trusties" and others under them.

San Quentin is still a field for graft. Within its walls, as outside in the business world, the successful crook has an easy time. Money smooths over the entrance examination and enables him to smuggle in certain forbidden luxuries. Money is just as essential toward securing a good cell as in hiring a good room at a hotel. Money insures him more liberties and enables him to shirk his share of toil.

For instance, the principal industry at

San Quentin is the manufacture of jute. Every convict assigned to the jute mill is required to do a certain amount of work a day. Individual ability and skill are not considered. The skilled, experienced workers can do the required work in six hours. The green man cannot possibly complete his task in the given time. For his failure to do so he must be "disciplined." For errors in his work, such as a green man cannot help making, he must also be "disciplined." Repeated mistakes mean more severe discipline, ranging all the way from twenty-four hours on bread and water through a dozen forms of torture. Apparently, the officials think that starvation torture and solitary confinement tend to make a man a skilled jute worker. The green man, the slow and dull worker, gets plenty of "discipline." And there are many, many workers who after years of labor in the mill are still unable to do their work sufficiently well to escape punishment. But the wealthy convict does not have to become skilled. Some of the fast workers, after completing their own tasks, will do the rich man's share also. A small piece of tobacco will buy an hour's labor.

But San Quentin is not the only barbarous institution in California. A few days ago a boy attempted to run away from the State Reformatory at Tone. Society would not have been seriously undermined if he had escaped. But a guard shot and killed him as he ran. Some newspapers gave the news an inch of space. Many ignored it. The instance is typical of California's efforts at reforming her boys. Tone has one of the leading schools for crime in the country. Some years ago that Reformatory sent a boy down to San Quentin, branded as an incorrigible. A record of his offenses against discipline covered many pages. The Tone officials hoped that the more rigorous discipline of San Quentin would bring him to time. The boy's shoulders were bent. He looked like a scared rabbit. But he did *not* look vicious or bad. Every sound, every footstep, caused him to turn. If any one approached him from behind he would duck his head, dodging as from an impending blow. When they stripped him in the office they



THE "HUMMING BIRD."

Chained in a Metal Tank the Victim is Tortured with Electricity Until His Muscles Cord and He Faints from Pain.

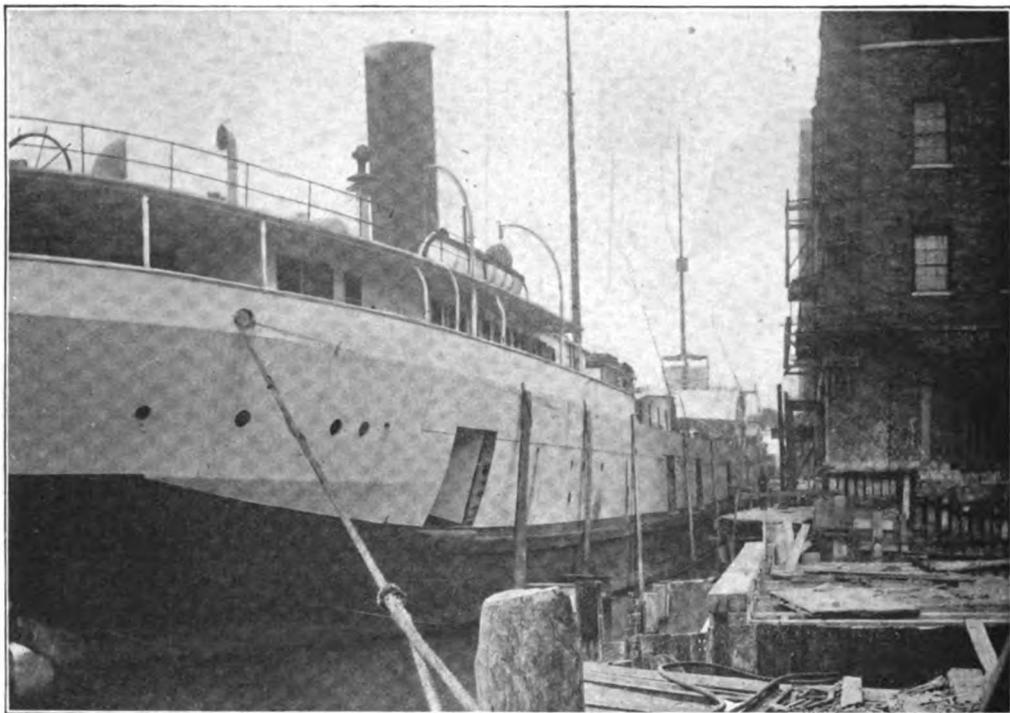


THE WATER CURE.

The Prisoner Endures All the Agonies of Strangulation, and Frequently Succumbs.

found his back to be one mass of welts. He will carry those scars to his grave. His wrists and ankles were calloused from the chains he had worn. Luckily, he fell under the care of Morrell, then head trusty. He was put to work in the machine shop. He developed a talent for mechanical drawing and studied at night. From the first he was trusted. He was never "disciplined" at San Quentin. Today he is a successful inventor, worth \$60,000 or \$75,000, has a family and is a respected citizen of his city. It is not necessary to give his name. But the Tone Reformatory is still manufacturing criminals. And Society as a whole is busily engaged in making crime necessary. The average worker is about thirty days ahead of the bread line—or prison. If he is of the rabbit class of humans he goes to the bread-line. If he has brains, courage and skill he tries—though vainly—to beat Society at its own game

and goes to prison. More than three thousand prosecuting attorneys earn their salaries by sending men to jail. As many judges divide their time between imposing sentences on one class of criminals and devising means for keeping the makers of criminals out of jail. Three hundred thousand men and women, guilty and innocent, but ALL victims of capitalism, are wearing away their lives behind prison walls. They have brains and energy. They are no better and no worse than ninety-five per cent of the men and women on the outside. Not as bad, perhaps, as those who uphold the system which makes criminals. They are merely more unfortunate. They might be useful, constructive members of society. Most of them want to be. But society in its wisdom has made them as useless and dangerous—but no more so—than the banker, soldier, preacher and detective.



TIED UP.

THE ATLANTIC TRANSPORT WORKERS STRIKE

BY

FREDERICK SUMNER BOYD

OUT of misery and degradation grown unbearable has come another proletarian revolt — the strike of the Atlantic coast transport workers, the strike being called and organized by the comparatively newly-formed National Transport Workers' Federation, which is industrial in spirit and method, having for one of its moving spirits Jaime Vidal, industrialist and labor organizer.

Upwards of 30,000 workers are already involved in practically every port on the Atlantic coast from Maine to Texas and Cuba. Vidal declares that it is not only for a wage raise that the strike is called, but to organize and protect the transport

worker, whether he be sailor, longshoreman, fireman, coal passer, hoisting engineer, waiter, oiler, watertender or checker.

The strike is to some extent a continuation of the general strike last year of the British seamen and transport workers. The British strikers urged their fellows the world over to strike with them, and in response to the appeal the workers this side of the Atlantic quit work. Their own conditions were as bad as those in Britain, and they would have won last year but for the cowardice or treachery of certain "labor leaders." But conditions remained the same and the fight was merely delayed for a year.

No better accounts of the working conditions can be given than the following from *Labor Culture*, the official organ of the Federation:

"You, sailors, slaving away for a ridiculous wage under the contemptuous commands of a captain who though himself exploited has no consideration for you, except perhaps when the ship's in trouble. You, who in cold or wet weather have to be on deck or shin up a mast and often become the plaything of the waves and winds.

"You, cooks, who pass sleepless nights preparing the delicious dishes to be tasted and nibbled at by the over-fed passengers while you are sweating your lives away before the kitchen ovens merely to please those who reap a profit off your work! Your fellow workers aboard the same ship go to bed hungry—or take what they can get out of the "black pan," warmed over for them, as though they were animals to be fed bones already gnawed at!

"You, stokers, slaving away in those floating hells face to face with red hot furnaces and becoming incapacitated in the prime of your youth because you have chosen to exhaust your health for a petty wage. You, who crawl over heaps of coal in search of fresh air to breathe, often fainting from a lack of it after you had worked overtime under the gibes of your bosses.

"You, stewards, who have to smile and put up with the insults of the chief! You who have to endure the ill temper of the men you serve, having to lower yourself to the doing of things which no steward nor any man should be called upon to do.

"You, longshoremen, who slave away in the darkness of the warehouses at the risk of being crushed to death under barrels and cases of massive weight. You, whose work is so uncertain and so poorly paid. You who are divided by race prejudice and exploited by your own fellows as well as by your bosses. You who most of all need organization.

"Comrades, unite; for the hour of battle is approaching. Think of the long years of oppression which we have already suffered. It's about time we were putting an end to it. Let's burst asunder the chains that bind us! Let's take advantage of

this golden opportunity! Remember, to be respected these days, we must be united. Then, let us unite! Workers of the World, Unite and Fight!"

Again, M. H. Woolman, in "A Word to You, Longshoreman!" says on June 15: "Over there in Brooklyn the Warehouse Freight Handlers get a miserable wage of 20c an hour. If a ship comes in and he gets through in a couple days, he has earned a dollar or two. And that measley dollar is to last him until there is more work to be done, until another ship comes in! Isn't that a shame? But who's to blame. Are not the men themselves? Haven't they the collective power in their hands to put an end to such capitalist contempt? Five or six hundred men are sometimes at work on one dock, unloading six freight steamers, three on each side and all at once. Then comes the day when they havn't a thing to do—but ORGANIZE!"

The issue of June 1 under the heading "A Burning Shame," tells of the abuses heaped upon the marine:

"If the life of the seaman (about which we have had to complain so often) is bad, worse yet is the life of the marine—the man who has to slave away on a collier of the war fleet for a pretty 35 dollars a month.

"Besides that they fine a man ten dollars or more for the merest trifle, as if they were soldiers. In order to get a job on a collier a fellow has to pay a certain amount, and WHOEVER LATER BALKS AT KEEPING UP THIS GIVING OF PRESENTS IS FIRED."

To remedy to some extent their vile conditions of work the Longshoremen presented the following demands:

Day work, 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., 35 cents an hour.
Night work, 7 p. m. to 12 m., 50 cents an hour.
Night work, 1 a. m. to 6 a. m., 60 cents an hour.
Sunday, 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., 70 cents an hour.
Sunday night, double Sunday rate.
Meal hours (12-1 noon, 6-7 p. m., 12-1 m., 6-7 a. m.), 70 cents an hour.

Men working over twenty hours to a finish, to receive last overtime rate.

Fifteen minutes before or after an hour, to call for a half hour.

Men to be hired or knocked off on even time, hour or half hour.

Five minutes to be allowed for putting hatches on.

No bonus or extra pay is to be allowed to gangway men or headers.



NOTHING DOING ON THE DOCKS.

No timekeeper is to have the power to hire men or blackball them.

No dockmen are to be used to load or discharge lighters for outside contractors, excepting over the side.

No bag stuffs weighing over 100 lbs. to be carried on the docks. Trucks to be used inside when possible.

No case goods to be carried on docks.

The following, taken from the official circular of the Strike Committee, constitute the demands of the maritime unions:

"Shipment of crews by the union.

"Four hours on and eight off.

"Sanitary improvements in the sleeping quarters.

"A new bill of fare.

"Also other justified and necessary demands, such as the abolition of the medical examination, and the payment of salaries per trip, etc."

These demands were presented by the Union of Firemen, the demands presented by the Union of Sailors being analogous, yet adapted to their trade.

The demands were refused by the companies, which include the big Morgan combine, against which the biggest fight

is necessarily conducted, and a general strike was ordered, to go into effect at 10 a. m., on June 29.

Saturday morning there were to be seen stretched along the waterfront of New York a long line of policemen, on foot and mounted, which served to awaken the interest of the passersby. Even before 10 o'clock the crews of certain ships began to pour forth from the docks of the various companies, among them sailors, firemen and waiters. Everywhere were to be seen the seamen, grips in hand, making for the headquarters of the union. The enthusiasm was great. At 10 o'clock there were no crews left on the American ships in the port of New York. Some English ships were also struck.

At 12 o'clock noon (sailing time for the majority of the ships) some were towed to the Statue of Liberty! Think of that; And there they were stuck, like a stationary fleet of merchant marine, while the companies went everywhere during the afternoon in search of strikebreakers to take the places of the strikers. The purpose of the shipping companies was plain.

They towed their vessels out to the Statue of Liberty *because in last year's strike many of the passengers came back ashore, tired of waiting for the sailing of the ships.*

Thus the companies held their passengers prisoners for more than eight hours in front of the Statue of Liberty!

Within a few hours the Strike Committee received telegrams from practically every port on the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Texas and Cuba, stating that ships were tied up and Longshoremen on strike.

The companies, meantime, had been preparing, and had housed scabs in boats along the river, and with these men, incompetent, drunken and vicious, and with the help of the authorities in winking at flagrant acts of peonage, some ships managed to clear New York, many hours late and with a fair chance of never been seen again save as derelicts.

But the most significant thing in connection with the strike is the use by the government of naval seamen to man the ships of the Panama line, which is government owned. In any considerable battle between the capitalist and the proletariat, such as a general strike of transport workers, the whole of society is affected, and class interests as distinct group interests are at stake. Under these conditions the capitalist class calls to its aid all its forces to crush the revolt of its slaves, and then is seen the true character of the State. The State then proclaims itself by its acts as the representative, not of society, but of a class, the dominant class, today—the capitalist class.

This has been demonstrated in Italy, France, Germany, England, and is now again demonstrated in these United States by the action of the State in compelling United States naval seamen, working men themselves, to scab on their fellows and thus to aid in breaking a strike for better living and working conditions.

The National Transport Workers Federation was formed after the A. F. of L. Atlanta, Ga., convention, when the Waterfront Federation asked that a Transport Workers Department be organized on the lines of the Building Trades Department. Andrew Furuseth of the International

Seamen's Union, moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, which is the A. F. of L. morgue, to which is transferred undesirable motions that it is not polite openly to oppose. The Waterfront Federation then gave way to the Transport Workers Federation, composed, until a little time before the strike, of the following affiliated unions:

Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders of the Atlantic and Gulf.

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.

Marine Coast Seamen's Union.

Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Atlantic and Gulf.

Harbor Boatsmen's Union of New York and vicinity.

National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

General Longshoremen of the Port of New York.

International Longshoremen's Association.

International Union of Steam Engineers.

The Marine Cooks and Stewards are—or, rather, have been—manipulated by one Henry P. Griffin. When the time arrived to take a ballot of the union membership on the question of a general strike, this A. F. of L. labor leader managed to obstruct so well that no ballot was taken. Continuing to obstruct the taking of a ballot the Transport Workers Federation was obliged to throw out this union a week before the strike was declared, and, although it is probably just what Griffin was playing for, the Federation had no alternative, since it obviously could not continue to be associated with a union that submitted to what it calls "gentlemen's agreements" between its own and the capitalist bosses.

However, the union members were each sent a circular by the strike committee, urging them to strike with their fellow workers, and at this writing a ballot, initiated by the men themselves, in defiance of their gentlemanly officials, is being taken. It is likely to result in the downfall of another labor leader.

T. V. O'Conner, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, has also been compelled to display his yellow streak. His "association," in addition to

six locals in New York City, has six locals in Brooklyn, three in Hoboken, one in Jersey City and one in South Amboy. As the strike propaganda grew in enthusiasm and July 1 drew near, when the agreements expired, the locals in Brooklyn, Hoboken, Jersey City and South Amboy withdrew from the Federation and are now scabbing under the protection of the American Federation of Labor.

Despite this weakening of the ranks

of the workers the strike is spreading daily, and upwards of thirty thousand workers are on the fighting line. The watchword of the Transport Workers Federation is "Workers of the World, Unite and Fight!" and its officials believe with Karl Kautsky that "today the worst enemies of the working class are the pretended friends who encourage craft unions and thus attempt to cut off the skilled trades from the rest of their class."

YOU ARE UP AGAINST IT

BY

J. O. BENTALL

YOU found out that Bill was a Socialist, did you?

And you fired him and black-listed him?

Well, we just want to tell you that his name is no longer Bill. He is Jim now. He was smooth shaven when you fired him. He has a moustache now.

Your black-list card hasn't been revised yet, but Bill has.

And you have not moved. You are still at the same old stand. But Bill has moved. He went to a town where there wasn't a single Socialist.

He is making Socialists as fast as he is making fork handles.

Of course it put our local on the bum for a few weeks after you fired Bill, because it was he who kept the fires of revolt burning within our breasts. We got discouraged and thought we would go all to pieces.

But the fellow you took in to fill Bill's place was a Socialist. He was blacklisted by the boss that fired him. He came from another town.

But, like Bill, he revised himself. He has a new name and a new location, but the same old spirit of revolt. He is firing us up now. We are glad he came. You didn't know that, did you?

You will discharge him, too? And you will black-list him?

Very well, he will grow chin whiskers and sideburns and call himself Bob or John or Ed or some other common name.

He will go to a place also where there are no Socialists and, like Bill, he will make Socialists as fast as a convict makes broomsticks.

So you are firing all the Socialists in your shop? You say there are ten of them.

I see. And you are going to scatter them into ten other communities. They will get into fresh territory, eh?

All right.

Each one of the ten will make ten new Socialists. That adds one hundred Socialists to the crowd that you have to choose from to work for you.

And these hundred will each make ten more new Socialists. That gives you one thousand that you have got to try to dodge.

The fact is that you have done this fool thing of firing and black-listing Socialists so long that now we have over a million of them in this country and close to fifty millions throughout the world.

Just keep going. We don't mind. We will just move and revise our face and our name and our location so fast that your black-list card will be several years behind.

We have no home. You have made us homeless by exploiting us to death.

We rent. It is always easy for tenants to move. You got our rent in advance, so you need not worry.

You get to see that you are making us more eager for Socialism every time you fire us?

Exactly.

You are pushing us clear out into the sea of revolt. You are making us work harder for Socialism, for that is our only hope.

No, no. Don't try to change your tactics and treat us nice. Don't leave Bob and Jim and John at their jobs and think that you can soothe them. They will get

the organization so strong in their town, in their city, in their county, state and nation that your whole working force will be Socialists and will elect Mayor, Governor, Legislature, President and Congress—all Socialists—and will turn your factories, your mills, your mines, your railroads over to the people for use by all and deprive you of the opportunity to exploit and black-list.

It won't work, boss.

If you fire us we scatter the fire of revolt, and if you leave us alone we organize and capture the industries for the people.

You are up against it and we'd like to know what you are going to do about it.

WAGE MINIMUMMERY

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

SOcial reformers and some of the newspapers are now making a great fuss over the fact that the Massachusetts legislature has established a Minimum Wage Commission which is supposed to see to it that women workers are paid enough to keep them alive and in health.

It is just as well to keep an eye on this Legal Minimum Wage proposition. A wolf can wear a lambskin and look harmless and seductive if only it can manage to keep its ears and bristles hidden. The Legal Minimum Wage may look pretty good on the outside but if observed closely the hair and teeth of Capitalism are apt to be seen showing through the hide.

However, as finally passed the Massachusetts minimum wage bill isn't even a fair imitation of the real thing. It merely creates a commission which is to recommend wage scales and to publish in at least four newspapers in each county the names of employers who fail to comply with their recommendations. However, any employer may procure exemption by declaring before the supreme,

judicial or superior court that compliance with the proposed schedule would endanger the prosperity of his business. The absence of objection on the part of capitalists of Massachusetts showed that they regard the act as quite harmless. It is very likely to be shown later that the law redounds to their interest.

The farcial weakness of this new law doesn't need extensive comment. The point that requires attention is that this is the first step toward the idea of a legal minimum wage taken in this country and is likely to be followed by others. The next big strike in an industry of national importance will probably give rise to a demand for a legal minimum wage in that industry, and right there is where American labor had better be on the lookout, else it will be tricked just as the British miners were tricked following their great strike in the early part of this year.

If the government has power to establish wage boards it also has the power to enforce their decisions, if necessary at the point of the bayonet, and whether the workers involved like such decisions

or not. And workmen who accept a minimum wage at the hands of the government are likely to find that employers will not be slow in making it the maximum. Charles Edward Russell, who has had an opportunity to see a minimum wage law in actual operation in New Zealand, declares that it has been of most benefit to the capitalists because it assures them "an exact and unvarying labor cost, backed by the strong arm of the government."

It is quite possible that in the next few years we shall see a good deal of minimum wage legislation passed, not because the capitalists are making any "concessions" but because they realize that such reforms as the fixing of a minimum wage eventually play into their own hands.

Some of the capitalist newspapers have already discovered that there is nothing harmful to the interests of their masters in social reforms of this character. For example, the *Chicago Record-Herald* describes how a certain company found it was actually profitable to increase the wages of their workers, as follows:

"The company, at the suggestion of social workers, increased the wages of its employes about 30 per cent on the average. The result surprised and delighted it. Better wages enabled the employes to buy better food, and that made for efficiency. The spirit of the factory distinctly improved; cheerfulness and appreciation in turn 'boosted' efficiency. Again, there was less shifting, and permanency increased skill and reduced waste and cost. The net result has been an actual decrease in manufacturing cost of 30 per cent. Instead of losing anything, the company gained much through the very material advance in wages. Benevolence paid, it became 'business.'"

Note, also, the following masterly summing up by the Boston *Transcript* from the high capitalist viewpoint, of the benefits to be derived from the legal minimum wage. The points particularly worthy of attention are emphasized:

"Every consideration of public policy seems to dictate the expediency of 'doing something for' the lowest paid among the workers, since, if the state does not intervene in their behalf at the beginning, it almost surely will have to do so, in the form of charity, at the end. It may be that the establishment of a minimum wage will meet the demands of justice. In two ways it would tend directly to benefit the employer, since it would enable him to rid himself of the competition of sweaters, and would encourage him to study the economic possibilities of his force and to develop the underpaid to a profitable point of efficiency. Possibly it is along this general line of 'getting together' that the projected measure would reveal its chief usefulness. It would insure against strikes, by convincing workers they were paid as much as others in their grade; it would lessen the objection to seasonal industries by making it worth an employer's while to keep his trained help, and it would abolish or change the character of the 'parasitic industries' that tend to lower the wages in all others."

The *Transcript* here discloses the milk in the cocoanut: Far-sighted capitalists have found that underpaid labor is unprofitable and the main purpose of the legal minimum wage is to develop the labor power of these underpaid workers to a point where it will afford profitable exploitation.

Let labor beware of the law-made minimum wage. The sort of minimum wage that it needs most to concentrate its attention upon is the minimum wage that it is able to maintain and enforce through its organized economic power.

Why the Socialist Party Is Different

BY

MARY E. MARCY

WHY is the Socialist party different from the Republican and Democratic parties? And why should workingmen and women join the Socialist party and support its candidates? These are questions that intelligent workers are asking everywhere and that socialists will have to answer more often than usual during the coming presidential campaign.

We are going to give you a few plain facts and we want you to think them over and talk them over. We want you to find out the aims of Socialism and decide whether the Socialist party will be of benefit to you or whether the old parties will serve you best.

Read the Socialist Party Platform. Compare it with the platform of the Republican and Democratic parties. Read our magazines and buy a few Socialist pamphlets and find out what Socialism means and stands for.

We all know how fertile the old parties have been with PROMISES to the working class, in the past, and how effective in making laws for the benefit of the employing or capitalist class. They have failed you upon every possible occasion. We want you to consider the Socialist program for a while.

1. The aims of Socialism are always in the interest of the working class.

2. Workingmen and women contribute to and conduct our year-long campaign of education. The campaign funds of the Republican and Democratic parties are contributed by such men as E. H. Harriman, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Jim Hill, the Swifts and the Armours.

3. You will find that the Socialists are working men and women fighting the battles of the WORKING class, while the Republican and Democratic parties are serving the MEN WHO EMPLOY AND ROB YOU.

The factory owners, the mill bosses, the mine operators, have had old party officials serving them long enough. If you

workingmen unite in the Socialist party you can elect men from your own ranks to SERVE YOUR INTERESTS.

The working class has nothing in common with other classes in society. We know that any newspaper, any magazine, or any movement that is financed by the employing class is going to serve those who grow rich on our labor.

Sometimes you may see Socialists in office who are trying to lighten the burdens of the workers by reform legislation, such as shortening the hours of labor—giving you an eight hour, instead of a ten or twelve hour day.

But these reform measures are not the essentials of Socialism. The Republican party might make legal the Eight Hour Day. The Democratic party, or a reform party, might pass laws to prevent very young children working in factories. It may be that when the old parties see the workers joining a party of their own, they will give us a few sops to keep us from the REAL BUSINESS OF SOCIALISM.

The real business of Socialism is to abolish a society that is based on the wages system. It proposes that the working class shall take over all the great industries, the mines, mills, the factories, the land and the railroads; it means that these industries shall be owned and managed by the workers who use them and that every working man and woman shall receive the full value of his product, without handing over any profits to any boss.

The man who owns a cotton factory today employs men and women and children to work FOR HIM. He pays them starvation wages while he makes millions of dollars profits on the cloth THEY WEAVE.

It is ownership of the factory that makes one man a rich and idle employer and the man, who has no property, a wage slave.

Socialism stands for the ownership of the factory by the factory workers. It means the overthrow of the wage system. This is the real essence of Socialism.

BUZZARDS OF THE RAILROAD TRACK

A RAILROAD FOREMAN'S STORY

BY

JOHN MURPHY

MY first job was as water-boy to a foreman who was bossing a track-laying job for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in Iowa. I had gotten in wrong with the capitalist hirelings of my home town and had to "beat it," though I was only a boy.

Sometimes I listened to the conversation of the men at work, which was carried on in an assortment of foreign languages, and from time to time would catch phrases that sounded like "two dollars," "five dollars," and so on. One day I asked one of these foreigners, who could speak fair English, what this talk was about. He told me his countrymen were talking about the amounts they had to give up to employment agencies in order to get a chance to work. I asked him where this money went. He answered: "You follow up this kind of job and before you are as old as I am you will know."

Shortly afterward I quit this job and got another one, holding the level for a surfacing or track-raising gang, composed mostly of Italians. Before long I overheard the same refrain from them—"two dollar," "three dollar," "five dollar," and so on. They were also discussing the graft they had to give up to employment sharks. Again I changed jobs and this time I landed with a gang of 25 Austrians. One day I saw them counting out some money behind a sand house which, one of them told me, was to be handed over to the interpreter.

"Can't you take care of your own money?" I said.

"It for the boss," he replied, and then explained that for this purse the boss allowed them to remain in the bunk cars on bad winter days.

Later on I learned that this graft found its way into the hands of the chief engineer. His salary was about \$200 a

month, but he lived in a home that was fit for a king, owned a big farm, and entertained his friends on a lavish scale.

Soon after I went to work in a packing house but finding graft even thicker there, I went back to the railroad. I was successively trucker, caller, yard checker and delivery clerk and was then made foreman of an extra-gang doing heavy work around the round house and machine shops of Council Bluffs, Iowa. My job was to break in the "green-horn" Greeks and teach them to swing heavy machinery.

No sooner would I have a gang broken in and trained to do the work that all would suddenly be laid off and I would be given another green gang; and the breaking in would have to be done all over again. After this had gone on a while it was communicated to me that these harassing tactics were likely to be kept up by the head foreman until I "gave up" to the graft fund. I also learned that my gangs were laid off because they wouldn't come across with \$6 for the interpreter, who divided up with the head foreman.

Graft and blackmail were thick everywhere. An especially hard-working gang that worked in the same yards, was composed of Italians. The interpreter's wife was an American woman who told me one day that they would soon "get theirs," as they wouldn't "give up" enough. Sure enough, in a short time these Italians were laid off and a gang of Greeks got their jobs. Some of these afterwards told me that it had cost them \$6 apiece for a jackpot to go to the "higher-ups."

Graft is part of the system reaching from the head officials of the company on down. The smaller bosses learn it from the chiefs over them.

The padding of pay-rolls by foremen



AFTER THE DAY'S WORK IS DONE.
Home, Sweet Home Scene in a Typical Railroad Construction Camp.

and interpreters became so bad a few years ago that the railroad finally adopted a new system and forced laborers who wanted jobs to go to "employment kings" in the cities and secure a button or badge before they were allowed to work or to draw their pay. One of these sharks, who did a big business in Omaha, forced foreign laborers to give up from \$7 to \$10 apiece for jobs. He then gave them a letter to the section boss instructing him to work them two weeks or a month and then let them go.

The best comment I ever heard on this system came from a young Greek interpreter who was unusually well educated and informed. He said: "There's no use trying to be square on a job like this. Graft is a part of the system. Our bosses force us to produce so much more than we can consume that there are always more men than there are jobs. Where men must fight each other for a chance to work, graft and trickery is bound to spring up. You see your protection laws bar the products of our country, so your capitalists can go over there and undersell our capitalists. The result is that foreign workers are forced upon your labor market. I notice your capitalists talk a lot about 'patriotism' and 'protecting American labor,' but it strikes me as queer that we are better treated than you are in the way of free box cars to live in, free coal, free wood, and no taxes, and we can violate your sanitary laws as we please. We Greeks came over here for the same reason that your forefathers did. The problem was the same—something to eat."

His words set me thinking and my observations soon led me to become a Socialist and an Industrial Unionist. I believe in political action but I saw that it was useless to preach that to the poor devils who toiled around me. Most of them were not citizens and could not become naturalized for years, even if they were able to pay the necessary fees. The only way these workers can secure relief is through their own power, industrially organized. In other words, by direct action.

The petty bosses of the railroad world would learn their crooked practices from

their superiors. For instance, the Kansas City Railroad was once offered a bonus by a certain town if they entered it on a certain day. When they found they were going to be short of material and determined not to lose that bonus, they laid the steel on three-cornered or V-shaped ties which were made of cottonwood. Much they cared about the lives of passengers.

I wish I could tell all I know about the way the railroads stand in with officials of city and state governments. Any railroad worker can tell you things that you wouldn't believe unless you were already on the inside. One little story will do. Four years ago I was storing freight for the C. & N. W. Railroad at Council Bluffs, when a case of whisky was stolen. A checker named Head and myself were called into the railroad agent's office by a detective of the Council Bluffs' force and another detective belonging to the railroad. We told them we knew nothing about the loss of the goods. Previous to this a man named Negus had been arrested for the theft but was released on bail. He went to work in a candy factory, the engineer of which told me that these detectives had visited this man and had induced him to swear that we were implicated. Head and myself were brought before a justice of the peace, a Civil War veteran. Our lawyer asked for the dismissal of the case, because of the fact that the Iowa Supreme Court had held that the evidence of a self convicted thief was not to be believed in a case of this character unless substantiated by witnesses not charged with crime. The Justice said:

"My mind is already made up. I fine one \$10 and the other \$20."

We appealed to the district court. Before our trial was called I got a position in the Illinois Central shops as blacksmith's helper, but they made me get out when it was found that I had attended the trial of my friend. On the pay-day following, the boss informed me he had sent my pay-check back to Chicago and there was nothing for me. Soon after, on our way from work, we were held up by three detectives and searched, but they found nothing on us.

Then the prosecuting attorney offered

to let us off on payment of \$5 each, providing that we could consent to let the records show that we had pleaded guilty. This is often done, and many an ignorant and scared railroad worker has found himself blacklisted and branded for life because he has once been frightened into pleading guilty of some offence that he never committed. Needless to say, we declined this offer.

When our case finally came to trial we found that the general freight agent of the railroad was on the jury panel. Our lawyer was smart enough to see what chance this would leave for us and got our case continued until the next term of court, when we were acquitted without a dissenting vote of the jury. Head then filed suit for damages against the railroad. The railroad won with the help of the city detective, and there was nothing to do but put up with the loss of time and wages we had suffered because of a false charge. I know now, of course, that

courts are for the classes and not for the masses.

The judge who presided at my friend's trial wherein the case was taken from the jury and a verdict rendered for the railroad is now congressman from the Ninth Iowa District.

But Head and I are now marked men. We cannot hold a job after it has been discovered that we were once in a capitalist Court. I have a wife and family to support but no sooner do I land a place than I am fired off it.

An acquaintance of mine, a foreman, came to me the other day with a little friendly advice. He counselled me to go back to the Catholic Church and cease being so active for Socialism and industrial organization. Do that, he said, and he was in a position to assure me that I would be given a job at not less than \$75 a month. Also, he explained, there would be a little easy money on the side—but I did not wait to listen to him any further.

GOBBLE-UNS

BY

GEORGIA KOTSCH

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY knew his state when he wrote "The gobble-uns'll git you," and if the Socialist convention had been held anywhere but in the middle of Hoosierdom we might have been spared all this. It was tempting fate, i. e., gobble-uns.

Now, I will confess I was scared after I read the convention report—but not so very much. No, honest. The real reason I have been so long speaking about it is that I have been cleaning house and it is the sum of all unwisdom to expect a woman, even a Socialist woman, to give her attention to any other subject when the carpets are on the clothesline and the family is eating off the piano and sleeping in the coal bin.

O, well, if you *didn't* expect it, never mind.

But I couldn't keep still permanently. If there is anything in this world that makes me hanker to do a thing it is to be

told I musn't. That's why I ate the poison vine berries in my gladsome childhood and came near robbing the world of my invaluable personality.

I'm very much like ordinary humanity in this contrariness of spirit, and I do hate to be ordinary, too. It's so common, you know, and we Socialists are getting too far from overalls and blue calico to relish it.

Well, I went out behind the chicken coop the first time and said it softly to the cat. Nothing happened. He didn't even yowl, which was marked self-control for him. Then when I spilled an arm-load of books into the scrubbing pail and needed an emphatic word to express myself I said it right out loud—"Sabotage!"—just like that. (It had already happened that time.) So now I have become careless of danger and if the editor is game we'll have it in print—s-a-b-o-t-a-g-e. See that? The g has a little horn

and a curled-up tail and the hoof is in the sabot.

I'm truly sorry the gobble-uns was exposed. Children have too few illusions now-a-days. Comrade Bentall snatching the pumpkin face off and exposing the real features was enough to spoil any Hallowe'en spook party ever held and bringing up those merry quips about Our Congressman's arms and ammunition and our legal lights mounting barricades was in shocking taste and calculated to rob any carefully planned coup of dignity and eclat.

Such a propitious place and occasion seldom present themselves for covering the reds with confusion, getting them on the run with the gobble-un at their heels, and leaving the yellow kids in command to do the constructive work of constructing Something out of a vote-getting campaign. So far as I have ever heard none of them expect to get Socialism by their methods, but they are set in the notion that they will get Something.

They are like Pat when his comrade on strike got shot in the stomach.

"Poor divil," he said, "a bullet's better than nothing. He's had nothing in his stomach these three days."

Illustrating this cheerful vagary are the many excuses one hears for the Los Angeles Plan, that dear little buff primrose that burst so suddenly into bloom, outvying all the golden flowers in the country and demonstrating the superior virtues as a fertilizer of Owens River alkali over Revolutionary Dope.

There are so many excuses for it that I am sure it must be all right. The last

time it was "explained" to me a devotee quoted one of its leading proponents thus:

"The labor unions are not ready for industrialism and we (the Socialist party) must keep the good will of the unions."

Now, take the screws out of that and examine its works. It is assuming that the Socialist party is an entity valuable in itself aside from its mission to advance the interests of the working class, which some of us thought was the only excuse for its existence. Indeed it is assuming that it should be preserved at the expense of the interest of the working class. It is saying the unions do not know what is vital to the lives and liberties of their members and we must not hurt their feelings by telling them lest we estrange them from a name. *We* have superior brains and can do Something and it is rather risky, this cultivating power and thought in the economic mass. Where will *We* come in? But if the business of the Socialist party is not to educate the workers along the lines of most efficient revolt against their economic masters, then— —

"But," exclaims my unsophisticated comrade, "surely you cannot think these men are insincere—these men who have been in the party so long and managed its affairs."

Perish the thought, but that's just it. They have managed the affairs of the party so long.

But I started out to talk about gobble-uns and here I have drifted to treason to the working class.

It is all very fine to talk about tramps and morality. Six hours of police surveillance (such as I have had), or one brutal rejection from an inn-door, change your views upon the subject like a course of lectures. As long as you keep in the upper regions, with all the world bowing to you as you go, social arrangements have a very handsome air; but once get under the wheels, and you wish society were at the devil. I will give most respectable men a fortnight of such a life, and then I will offer them twopence for what remains of their morality.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

IN SELF-DEFENSE

BY

MORRIS HILLQUIT

In the report of Comrade Morris Hillquit as International Secretary to the last International Congress at Copenhagen he named all of the Socialist publications of the United States with the single exception of the International Socialist Review. Comrade Hillquit has now discovered the Review and has submitted the following article for publication in its columns, which we print exactly as written. The article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, under the caption "Statement of Presidential Candidate," is a full and complete answer.—*Ed. Note.*

TWENTY-FOUR years of active and uninterrupted service in the Socialist movement have taught me to take personal attacks philosophically. Whether such attacks come from opponents of our cause or from "comrades" in the movement, it is humiliating and unprofitable to respond to them. There are, however, certain exceptional occasions when silence ceases to be a virtue, and when any Socialist who hopes to retain his usefulness in the movement owes it to himself and to the cause to speak up in unmistakable terms.

I feel that such an occasion has now arisen for me, and I propose to face it squarely.

Ever since the recent Indianapolis convention I have been made the object of flattering attention by certain persons within and around the Socialist movement, and the brunt of their attack has been the charge that I induced the convention to elect J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager by unfair means.

The specific accusation against me in this connection is that I falsely represented to the convention that the nomination of Barnes had the endorsement of the National Executive Committee.

The indictment was first framed by the Reverend Edward Ellis Carr in the "Christian Socialist." It was then repeated and amplified in an anonymous circular emanating from the office of Charles H. Kerr & Co., and it now appears with all the solemnity and authority of an "Editorial Statement" in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

The entire charge hinges on one disjointed sentence of fourteen words taken from the stenographic records of the convention. For the benefit of the comrades who did not attend the convention, I will reproduce here the entire record on the subject, including the "incriminating" statement.

As chairman of the Committee on Constitution I had recommended the election of a special campaign committee and a campaign manager. The reason for the motion was very obvious. Our present National Executive Committee consists of two members living on the Atlantic Coast, two on the Pacific, one in the Middle West, one in the Middle South and one of somewhat uncertain residence. It is quite evident that a committee thus composed could not meet with sufficient frequency to manage an active and aggressive national campaign. The National Secretary and his office staff, on the other hand, are so absorbed by the large and growing routine business of the party that they could not give adequate attention to the daily demands of a strenuous campaign. The motion was presented by the Committee on Constitution, and I stated that it also had the approval of the National Executive Committee. It was adopted, and the convention proceeded to the nomination of a campaign manager. I will now let the stenographic report of the convention tell the rest of the story.

The Chairman: Nominations are in order.

"Del. Slayton (Pa.): I move that the election of the Campaign Chairman be left

in the hands of the National Executive Committee.

"Del. Hillquit: The National Executive Committee had the matter under consideration, and prefers that for this important position, this convention make the choice.
* * *

"The Chairman: We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand it, for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

"Del. Hillquit: I desire to place in nomination for this position Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded.) In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several preceding committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also, speaking now personally for myself, and I am very frank in this matter, I think this convention and this party owe a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and their publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

"Del. Merrick (Pa.): A point of information. Do I understand that this recommendation is the action of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: *It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.*

"Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes; that is what I refer to. *Is it the*

recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?

"Del. Hillquit: *This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.*

"Del. Merrick: With the indorsement of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: *A general recommendation, yes.*

"The Chairman: *I believe Comrade Hillquit was trying to make the point that his nomination was as an individual.*"

It will thus be seen that my report as chairman of the Committee on Constitution had been fully disposed of, when nominations were called for. When I rose to put Barnes in nomination I did so as an individual delegate, and spoke as such. When delegate Merrick first asked me whether the nomination came from the National Executive Committee, I answered definitely and distinctly: "It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York." It is true that the record shows a reiterated question from delegate Merrick, and a somewhat indefinite answer on my part, but those who have attended national conventions of the Socialist Party and are familiar with the tensivity of debate and confusion of the proceedings attending the more exciting episodes, will realize how readily a question from the floor may be misunderstood by a speaker, or how the stenographer may make a mistake in his minutes on such occasions, particularly when the proceedings are taken down by two stenographers at the same time and are then pieced together, as was the case in our convention.

I do not pretend to remember the exact sequence of the colloquy between delegate Merrick and myself, but I am reasonably certain that the stenographers who took the notes have unwittingly mixed up the order of the questions and answers.

In the sequence presented by the official minutes, the questions and answers fail to meet and make but little sense. The reader will readily see that what appears here as my first answer does not respond to Merrick's first question, but *does directly respond to his second question*, in the sequence as given. The report becomes intelligible only if we suppose

that Merrick's question about "the nomination of Barnes" and my answer, "It is the nomination of delegate Hillquit of New York," came after the other two questions and answers.

But whether my surmise is correct or not, the official minutes of the convention show several distinct statements on my part that I nominated Barnes in an individual capacity as against one ambiguous statement, and to make the point perfectly clear the chairman officially announced before further discussion and before the vote was taken that the nomination was my individual act. All this appears in the same minutes from which the editor of the REVIEW quotes. The entire passage reproduced above was accessible to him, why did he satisfy himself with quoting one sentence in a misleading connection? And yet the honest soul charges me with "trickery and evasion."

When I put Barnes in nomination every member of the National Executive Committee was present in the convention hall. Does it stand to reason that I would assume without authority to speak in their name under these circumstances? And to what end? To lend greater force to the nomination of Barnes? I must confess I never noticed that the convention stood in great awe of the prestige of the National Executive Committee, and furthermore no pressure was needed. The great majority of the delegates accepted Barnes' nomination with spontaneous approval, and this to my mind was one of the sublimest acts of the convention. The Socialist Party through its representatives rejected with scorn the petty intrigues and persecutions of a handful of meddling mischief-makers and self-constituted moral guardians of the movement. The convention elected Barnes because it had a well-founded faith in his ability and integrity, and because it had a healthy contempt for the unholy combination of preachers, soreheads and impossibilists which had hounded him out of office.

The significant part about the agitation against Barnes is that not one of his accusers denies his exceptional fitness for the position of campaign manager. Since the first day that he took office, the cam-

paign was alive. He had not been a week at his desk before he had mapped out a broad and comprehensive plan of action, aroused every local in the country to the great possibilities before us, infused general enthusiasm into our movement and laid the foundation for a brilliant and memorable campaign.

No bona fide Socialist Party paper has expressed disapproval of Barnes' election or work. The opposition to him, so far as I could observe, is confined to three magazines. *The Christian Socialist*, edited by an individual who insists on saving the Socialist soul, although he has long been expelled from the party; *The Common Cause*, the only magazine in the world to my knowledge which is exclusively devoted to the task of combatting Socialism, and which in its last issue ranges itself squarely with the *Christian Socialist* as against Barnes, and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, a private enterprise of Charles H. Kerr, published for the propaganda of a little Socialism, and a little anarchism and for the sale of books.

And it is no less a personage than the editor of the REVIEW, who now issues the thrilling warning to the membership of the Socialist Party: "There is no room in the Socialist Party for the bossism of Hillquit or any other 'leader.'"

Calm yourself, Mr. Editor. There is no imminent danger in my "bossism." I have no powerful financial backing behind me. I have no offices or rewards to bestow on the "faithful." I have no machine to carry out my diabolical plots. What little influence I may have gained in the Socialist movement, I have gained through service. Whenever a measure proposed by me in party councils happened to be adopted, it was adopted because it represented the views of the majority. Whenever my proposals did not appeal to my comrades, they have always voted me down without the slightest compunction, and I have always submitted and always will submit when I am overruled.

The talk about my "bossism" is cheap demagoguery, and I repeat the party is in no danger from it. But there is a very real danger menacing our movement right now—the danger that comes from the

meddling and intriguing of self-appointed leaders, who have built up powerful machines within the party, but not in its control; persons commissioned by none, responsible to none, but assuming to direct the policies and practical management of the organized Socialist movement; gentlemen who have on their payroll a host of traveling agitators disseminating their particular vagaries throughout the movement, and who by secret circulars and similar honorable means seek to foment discord and confusion in the Socialist Party on the eve of its most

important campaign; a gentleman, for instance, who has the distinction of having published in the pages of an alleged Socialist magazine a more scurrilous and contemptible account of the National Socialist Convention than any capitalist scribe dared to print, and who still has the brazen affrontery to pose as a guardian of the party—I mean you, your magazine and organization, Mr. Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and similar volunteer saviors of the party and freelance organizations preying upon the Socialist movement.

THE WORKING CLASS CANDIDATES



For President.
EUGENE V. DEBS.



For Vice-President.
EMIL SEIDEL.

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

BY
EUGENE V. DEBS

To the Members of the Socialist Party.

Comrades: This statement is issued with great reluctance and only after long and serious deliberation. It relates to the selection of Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. The protests which have come to me from every section of the country and which continue by every mail cannot be ignored without giving rise to serious complications in the impending campaign and threatening grave results to the party.

These protests do not involve the incompetency of Comrade Barnes to serve as campaign manager, but grow entirely out of the charges, with which party members are familiar, which resulted in his retirement as National Secretary.

Concerning the merits of that unfortunate affair I have nothing to say. It is not for me to review the record and pronounce judgment. The proceedings were given wide publicity at the time and members of the party had ample opportunity to hear both sides and form their own conclusions.

But since the selection of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager has revived the whole unpleasant issue with all its attending animosity, setting comrades against each other in bitter strife at the time above all others when they should be working together in union and concord, there is but one safe course to pursue and that is to face the issue calmly and dispose of it, so far as the party is concerned, with the least possible delay.

It is to the rank and file of the party that I issue this statement and make this appeal. They have always had my unqualified confidence and I go before them now with implicit faith that they will appreciate my position and understand my purpose in claiming their attention at this time.

Since my nomination the time which I

should have given to the campaign has been largely occupied with this affair. Some well-meaning comrades have advised me not to attempt to answer all these protesting communications, but I cannot agree with them. I have always made it a rule to answer every communication that comes to me, unless there is good reason for not doing so. When a comrade, or anyone, addresses a proper letter to me it is my duty to answer it.

But it is not possible to settle this matter by personal communication, and the longer it is permitted to continue the more serious and complicated it will become for all concerned.

Some of the protesting comrades and locals are very angry and threatening, declaring that they will contribute no funds to the campaign; others that they will not vote the ticket; still others that they will work and vote against the ticket. There are yet others who demand my withdrawal as a candidate. To all of these communications I have made a reply, but I realize how inadequate these replies have been. My time has been consumed, but practically nothing has been done to meet the demands of the campaign, while through it all the cries of protest have steadily increased.

The questions which have been most frequently and insistently pressed upon me and my answers thereto are now given here for the information of the party members and to avoid their endless repetition by personal communication:

First. Did you know that Barnes was to be made campaign manager?

I did not.

Second. Were you consulted about his selection?

I was not.

Third. Do you approve of it?

I do not. I frankly told Barnes so and I stated the reason for my disapproval

before the joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee, at which meeting Comrades Hillquit and Spargo declared that all those who protested against Barnes were not socialists at all and the quicker the party was rid of them the better for the party.

I did not question the capability of Comrade Barnes—no one has—I objected to him solely on the ground that the affair which resulted in his official retirement and which provoked the bitterest feeling at the time would be revived and divide the membership into angry and warring elements at the very time the party needed most of all a united and harmonious membership; I objected on account of the party as a whole and because I clearly foresaw the state of angry protest and agitation which has now forced upon me the necessity for issuing this statement.

Fourth. Did the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution recommend Barnes' election as campaign manager?

They did not. The matter was never before either committee. The committee on constitution recommended the election of a campaign manager, but the name of Barnes in that connection was not mentioned.

I have the information from members of the National Executive Committee and the Committee on Constitution that not only was Barnes not recommended by these committees, but that his name was not at any time mentioned in any meeting of those committees.

Fifth. Did Hillquit in placing Barnes in nomination for campaign manager state that Barnes was unanimously recommended for that position by the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution?

This question being in controversy, will have to be answered by the official record of the convention proceedings which is here quoted as follows:

"The Chairman: We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand it, for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

"Del. Hillquit: I desire to place in nomination for this position Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded). In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and, on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also, speaking now personally for myself, and I am very frank in this matter, I think this convention and this party owes a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and their publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned—I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

"Del. Merrick (Pa.): A point of information. Do I understand that this recommendation is the action of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.

"Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes; that is what I refer to. Is it the recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?

"Del. Hillquit: "This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.

"Del. Merrick: With the indorsement of the National Executive Committee?

"Del. Hillquit: A general recommendation, yes."

After reading this report copied from the official record members will be able to answer this question for themselves.

Now, comrades, there is but one way to remove this obstruction from the track and that is by a national referendum of the party. The resignation of Barnes would not overcome the difficulty. He has his partisans as well as his opponents.

Let the party decide the issue and let us all abide by that decision, at least until the close of the campaign. The party is not to blame for this affair, but the party alone can settle it, and the sooner the better. We may indulge in vain regrets but we cannot escape the issue. It will not down and its demoralizing effect is already but too apparent upon the national campaign.

This is a different statement than the one I first intended. Calm reflection and the counsel of comrades have modified what I have had to say. I am not seeking to fix responsibility. That is for the party and not for me. I am endeavoring to keep conscious of the position I occupy as one of the presidential candidates and of the trust that for the time has been committed to me by the confidence of my comrades. It is not for me to take sides and provoke resentment at this time. I shall be drawn into no controversy. Rather it is for me to use such influence as I may have to clear the way for an understanding and minimize the harm that may be done.

I appeal to the members of the party. Let angry passions subside and calm reason have sway. We have encountered many difficulties and overcome them, and we shall overcome this.

We stand upon the threshold of the greatest campaign in American history. The Socialist party's entrance upon the political stage is the event of the epoch. The supreme opportunity has come for the master stroke. Shall we now permit

ourselves to be diverted by a minor issue of personal concern, or shall we rise triumphant to the occasion and vindicate the character and capacity of the Socialist party as the champion of the working class and the hope and promise of the better day?

There is nothing else in the way of unity and success. The campaign committee and the candidates are united and working together as one. Let this matter be adjusted and the road is clear to victory.

I believe that all are agreed; the campaign committee, the campaign manager, and the candidates, that the matter should be settled by a national referendum of the party, and the sooner the better. Several motions are pending at the national office and I am informed that from three to a dozen seconds are being received to these motions by the national secretary every day. As soon as the required number of seconds is received the matter will go to the party membership for settlement. I venture to suggest that all locals favoring a national referendum promptly second the motions now pending at the national office so that the matter may be determined and over with the least possible delay. In sending in their seconds local secretaries should not fail to state the number of members in good standing. If the necessary number of seconds is not received within the prescribed time the matter goes by default and will drag through and demoralize the entire campaign.

Prompt and decisive action by the party membership will dispose of the matter. silence protest, reunite the comrades, inspire enthusiasm, and insure victory.

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

As we go to press, word reaches us from the National office that the motion of Local Branon, Texas, has received the requisite number of seconds from locals, and is being sent out as Referendum C, reaching the State Secretaries on July 22. The substance of this motion is that J. Mahlon Barnes be at once removed as

Secretary of the National Campaign Committee, and that the Campaign Committee and presidential and vice-presidential candidates name his successor. A decisive majority for Referendum C will end an unpleasant situation and leave the Socialist Party free to attend to the real work of the campaign.

EDITORIAL

The Case of Morris Hillquit. We take pleasure in printing verbatim an angry and insulting letter from Morris Hillquit. He has been a dictator so long, and loves power so well, that a general revolt against his methods naturally excites him. We merely wish to point out that in his excitement he has made two or three slanderous statements which he will need to prove or be still further discredited. THE REVIEW, he says, is published for the propaganda of a little Socialism a little anarchism and for the sale of books." We plead guilty to the Socialism, also to the fact that we publish most of the standard Socialist books, but where is Hillquit's evidence for the anarchism? He made a similar charge at a meeting of Branch 5, New York, against Comrade Gustavus Myers, which did not pass unchallenged. Is it anarchism to advocate the abolition of capitalism, and does Socialism mean nothing but office-seeking? If not, when and on what page did the REVIEW ever advocate anarchism? Again, he charges that we have on our pay-roll a host of traveling agitators, whom he charges with various crimes and misdemeanors. Our pay-roll is open to the examination of any stockholder, and our books were lately examined by Comrades Reynolds and Berry, elected for the purpose by the National Committee of the Socialist Party. These books will prove that the "host of traveling agitators" exists only in Hillquit's frightened imagination. Once more, he charges us with sending out "secret circulars." A similar charge was made months ago by Spargo. We demanded proof and he could furnish none. All we had to say about Hillquit's methods was published for all to read. The flimsy foundation for the charge is that eight personal letters were sent out by a member of the REVIEW staff (without the editor's knowledge) calling attention in advance to the article on page 77 of the July REVIEW, and the substance of one of these letters was sent out as a circular by Comrade M. E. Costello, 130 Sprague street, Wilkinsburg, Pa. This circular letter has been sent out to the Socialist press by Comrade Barnes, and it contains

nothing that the editor of the REVIEW would not have endorsed, though as it happened he had nothing to do with its circulation.

In conclusion, the REVIEW is not the personal organ of any individual. If it were merely this, its influence would not be such as to infuriate Morris Hillquit. THE REVIEW is the voice of that large and growing portion of the Socialist Party which cares more for the overthrow of capitalism than for office-seeking and office-holding. These comrades are united in protest against the methods of Morris Hillquit, and they are supporting the demand for the recall of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. The reasons for this recall are given with irresistible logic by Comrade Debs on another page of the Review.

Praise from the Enemy. *The Century* and the *World's Work*, two of the ablest popular magazines published in America in the interest of the capitalist class, have lately published two notable editorials, which we reprint entire:

THE SOCIALIST PARTY ON RECORD AGAINST LAWLESSNESS.

Although from time to time there has been a natural, and in many respects wholesome, drift of public opinion toward an extension of the functions of government in the direction of paternalism, we can see no basis for thinking either wise or practicable the main tenet of Socialism,—the wholesale substitution of governmental proprietorship and co-operation in productive effort for individual ownership and initiative. It will not suffice to stir up discontent with wrong conditions; a political party or candidate should propose definite policies of a constructive nature. But the economic field offers much debatable ground and it would be folly to affix a stigma to any class of men who simply differ in opinion as to the best way of curing public evils. It is when discontent leaves the fields of discussion and political action for that of violence that it arouses the protest of all who believe in the supremacy of freedom through law.

It is a pleasure to make record of the fact that in the national convention of the Socialist Party, held at Indianapolis, May 17, counsels of violence were emphatically rejected, despite the opposition of the ideas of the Industrial Workers of the World (known in England as the "I Won't Works"), whose apparent purpose is to possess themselves by violence of the control of one industry after another. The convention adopted a new section of its constitution to read thus:

"Any member of the party who opposes politi-

cal action, or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform."

The only fact that would seem to discredit the sincerity of this action lies in the convention's nomination for the Presidency of Eugene V. Debs, who in the past has not "roared you as gently as any sucking dove," and who, were he to repeat the offense of resistance to authority for which he was imprisoned, might now incur the additional penalty of disavowal and dismissal by his party. Nevertheless, accepting the Socialist statement at its face value, it is a great gain for true conservatism. At a time of vague and widespread industrial unrest the forces of law and order should welcome this downright and patriotic action from the Socialists, who have much to gain by strict adherence to this declaration and everything to lose by failure to adhere to it. At last they have given us a statement both definite and admirable.—From the *Century*.

CONSERVATIVE SOCIALISM.

First in the field the Socialist Party did this much to commend itself to the patriotic: it repudiated what has come to be known as "Syndicalism"—the policy of violence by working men—in unequivocal terms. The platform declares that any member of the Socialist Party "who advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party."

It is only within a few months that America has heard the open proclamation of the doctrine that industrial establishments belong by right to the men who work in them and that they are perfectly justified in destroying them by fire or dynamite, or in taking possession of them by force, but the astonishingly swift acceptance which the new gospel has won at the hands of large bodies of workingmen is one of the most disquieting signs of the times.

This is not Socialism, nor has it any sort of connection with Socialism, and it is at least cheering that the Socialist Party disavows it promptly and positively. It may turn out that the Socialists, whom we have been brought up to regard as dangerous radicals, will be classifiable as one of the strong and conservative bulwarks of the country.—From *World's Work*.

We believe that these editorials, full of clever misrepresentations, will convince every clear-headed Socialist who reads them that our delegates at Indianapolis made a serious mistake, which is being skillfully used by our enemies to divide the working class. Syndicalism does not mean "the policy of violence by workingmen." Syndicalism means the union of wage-workers on the economic field to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

The weapon of syndicalism is not "crime," unless capitalist law makes it a crime to strike. The weapon of syndicalism is a strike at one and the same time by all workers in a given industry, with a view to forcing higher wages, shorter hours, and an ever greater degree of control by the workers over shop management. Syndicalists do not propose to destroy factories by dynamite, but to operate them for the benefit of the working class. Syndicalism, or as we call it in the United States, Industrial Unionism, is "Socialism with its working clothes on," to use Haywood's phrase. The Socialist Party, in its recently adopted platform, "urges the wage earners to organize for economic and political action." If the Socialist Party ever becomes a "conservative bulwark" of the country, in other words of the capitalist system, its usefulness to the working class will be ended, and some other organization will take its place. For revolutions do not go backward, and the working class is awakening to its real strength. But the rank and file of the Socialist Party have no love for the capitalist system. If they ratify "Section 6" in the referendum now in progress, it will mean nothing worse than a misunderstanding which time will correct. We only regret that this "praise of parasites" will reach the membership too late to have its logical effect.

A Campaign on Class Lines.—The nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President is a good thing, for it clears the issue, whereas the nomination of some cheap politician or notorious tool of the "interests" would have befogged it. Wilson is a "good man," a reformer; we even suspect him of being a sincere reformer. Nevertheless his election will be perfectly satisfactory to the trust magnates. For the magnates are intelligent enough to understand what many of their critics, and even some Socialist critics, overlook, namely, that special "corrupt" legislation is not needed to maintain and increase their power. No doubt most of them have in the past increased their individual wealth by such means more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible. But their security for the future depends on the stability of the system of private property which is triply entrenched be-

hind the laws and constitution of the United States, the laws and constitutions of the several states, and the inherited ideas of a majority of the working people of America. The flagrant decisions of the courts nullifying certain laws intended to benefit wage workers are not at all essential to the maintenance and increase of profits. Taft is clearly destined to fall ingloriously in defense of these decisions, while the magnates smile to think how easy it is to fool the people. And yet, and yet, when the returns come in they may not smile after all. Acceptable as Wilson is to the capitalist reformer, there is nothing in his record to appeal to any wage worker with red blood in

his veins. We Socialists have the chance of our lives this year. The capitalist politicians have unwittingly done their best for us. We can not if we would talk about reforms, for the Democrats can promise reforms with much probability of making their promises good. We can and must simply denounce the whole system of production for private profit, and demand the overthrow of the capitalists as a ruling class. The one real issue of the campaign is Capitalist Class Rule versus Working Class Rule. Let the reformers vote for Wilson, let the "Progressives" vote for Roosevelt, and let us roll up a vote of two million revolutionists for Debs.

STUDY SOCIALISM

Every day people write us asking "What books must I read in order to understand Socialism?" To meet this demand we have assembled our Beginners' Combination. Don't imagine that you know all about Socialism because you have heard a Socialist speaker and have read a book or two. Socialism is no high-brow science, but it rests on certain fundamental principles which must be thoroughly grasped. These books are not only educative but of absorbing interest. We suggest that you read them in about the order named:

Revolution, Jack London.....	\$0.05
Introduction to Socialism, Richardson.....	.05
Industrial Socialism, Haywood and Bohn.....	.10
Science and Socialism, LaMonte.....	.05
Revolutionary Unionism, Debs.....	.05
Shop Talks on Economics, Mary E. Marcy.....	.10
Value, Price and Profit, Marx.....	.10
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx.....	.05
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.....	.10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.....	.10
The Class Struggle, Kautsky.....	.25
Socialism, Growth and Outcome, Morris and Bax..	.50
International Socialist Review (one year).....	1.00

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Belgium Liberals learn about the Class Struggle. The elections to the Belgian parliament, which occurred on June 2, brought defeat to the Socialist-Liberal combination, but not to the Socialists. The fight was between the Clericals on the one side and Socialist-Liberal combination on the other. The chief matter at issue was the national school system. The Clericals have been in control of the government ever since the present electoral and parliamentary system was introduced, but their majority has been declining. In the last parliament it amounted to only six seats. In order to fortify themselves in power they devised a new method of administering the educational system. Instead of continuing the present system of national schools the clerical ministers propose to distribute the money devoted to educational purposes to the parents of children of school age and then to allow these parents to turn the money over to any private or parochial school to which they elect to send their children. Since the church has in operation an extensive system of schools taught by monks, nuns, and priests, who demand almost no salaries, this new system of administering school funds would give them the benefit of government support. They could take the pupils much cheaper than could anyone else, and thus all children except those whose parents have very strong anti-clerical convictions would fall into their hands. Before the election the ruling party passed a new electoral law increasing the number of parliamentary seats by twenty and allotting these seats in such a way as to make tolerably sure that it could control a majority of them. All this in addition to the fact that the plural voting system of Belgium gives the propertied, conservative classes two or three votes for one which goes to the working class.

The situation faced by the Socialists justified a coalition if ever one did. The issue was a vital one, and without a coalition of Socialists and Liberals the victory seemed certain to go to the

clericals. On the other hand it was mathematically demonstrable that the Socialists and Liberals together would obtain a majority. The arrangement between the two anti-clerical parties did not destroy their identity. They merely refrained from running candidates in opposition to each other. In districts where the Socialists might be supposed to predominate both were to support the Socialist candidate and vice versa.

Now comes the instructive part of the story. The mathematically demonstrable did not happen. In the last parliament there were 166 seats; of these the Clericals held 86, the new parliament contains 186 seats, and the Clericals obtained 101 of them in the election of June 2. That is to say, they raised their majority from six to sixteen. But this is not all. The Clericals received, it is reported, 1,344,623 votes, the united opposition 1,271,919. The popular majority in favor of the ruling party amounted, then, to more than 60,000.

Of course there are numerous deductions to be made before this result appears in a true light. It is to be taken into account, for example, that the Clericals conducted a campaign abounding in vilification and falsehood. In one district municipal officials pretended to survey the land of citizens on the pretext that they had been ordered to take it over in case of an anti-clerical victory. Everywhere the religious instincts of the people were appealed to. Prayers were said against Socialists and Liberals. Processions of children were sent through the streets singing hymns and bearing Clerical banners. More than this, there was wholesale ballot-box stuffing and falsification of election returns. It is to be borne in mind, also, that an electoral system permitting just representation of the votes cast would give the Clerical a majority of no more than five or six instead of sixteen.

But all this does not do away with the fact that the Clericals won. They won, however, not as clericals, but as conservatives. For, and this is the im-

portant point, the Liberal leaders could not hold their voters in line in favor of a democratic movement. This is proved by the fact that though the coalition lost, the Socialists gained both in popular vote and in the number of seats captured. They increased their group in parliament from 35 to 39. It was, then, the Liberals who lost the fight for the coalition. They lost because their bourgeois followers fear the Socialists more than they do the Clericals. They deserted in large numbers to the enemy's camp.

This result gives us a new angle from which to view the advisability of combining forces with capitalist parties. In this case the combination was defeated, therefore the evil results commonly predicted for Socialists in cases of this kind did not follow. But the sword cut in the opposite direction. If the Socialists did not suffer from an attempt to disregard the class-struggle, the Liberals did. The Liberal leaders found that they are permitted to follow liberal ideas only so far as their bourgeois supporters permit. So the moment they combined with the Socialists for a genuinely liberal purpose they lost the support which is necessary to their very existence.

For the Socialists of Belgium the "defeat" means nothing. They are stronger in every way than they ever were before. They will continue to organize for victory. Incidentally it is safe to say that they will enter no unholy alliances for some time to come. In conjunction with the labor unions they are now discussing the advisability of calling a general strike as a demonstration in favor of electoral reform. General working-class opinion seems to be in favor of such a strike. The plan which seems to meet with most support, however, is to postpone it until careful preparations can be made and the move will be irresistible.

Germany. The Democracy of the Social Democrats. For some years past the executive committee (Parteiverstand) of the German Social Democratic party has been under fire. The criticism directed against it culminated at the time of the movement of the government against Morocco. The critics, notably Comrade Rosa Luxemburg, maintained

that the members of the committee acted at that time with an eye to the approaching election rather than for the purpose of really rousing the working-class against the policy of foreign aggression. At the party congress which met at Jena the committee received the support of a majority. It was decided, however, to appoint a commission of twenty-two members, who, acting conjointly with the executive committee, were to present to the next party congress proposals for the amendment of the party constitution. From the form in which the original resolution with regard to this matter was submitted it is clear that the purpose of its authors was to introduce into the party machinery a greater degree of democracy.

The commission has now completed its report, which is to be submitted to the approaching party congress, to be held on Sept. 15 at Chemnitz. There are two important proposals involved in the amendments drawn up in this report. The first is to constitute a committee of thirty-two members corresponding roughly to our National Committee. The members of this committee are to be nominated by the agitation districts into which the empire is divided and elected by the party congress. All except the most populous districts are to have one representative apiece. The committee is to meet regularly with the executive committee every three months. On these occasions the two bodies are to sit jointly. Together they are, subject to the party congress, to have under their control "such important political questions as involve the entire party, the establishment of central institutions which depend permanently on the party for funds, as well as the drawing up of the agenda of the party congresses." Since the executive committee contains only about a fourth as many members as the proposed new body, it is evident that the amendment gives to the new committee the predominant position. In fact in most respects it is to be a close counterpart of our own National Committee as it has been reconstituted in the amendments adopted at the Indianapolis convention.

The other proposal of importance is to cut down the representation of the parliamentary fraction in the party congresses. At present every Socialist member of the imperial parliament has a seat in any party congress held during his term of office. It is now proposed to give seats to only one third of the members of the Socialist group.

Most of the arguments advanced for and against these proposals are very familiar to every American reader. We have heard them at least a thousand times in this country. They represent the old opposition between efficiency and democracy. The advocates of the new national committee maintain that its members, living in the various districts which they represent, can keep in touch with the party membership and really represent it in decisions upon party affairs. Representatives of the present form of organization argue that the executive committee, made up of few members all living in Berlin, can deal much more quickly and efficiently with any emergency which may arise. In favor of cutting down the representation of the parliamentary fraction there are two arguments: it would decrease the size of the congresses, which now number between three hundred and four hundred members; it would decrease, more especially, the number of delegates who have a natural tendency to overemphasize the importance of parliamentary work. In favor of allowing all members of the fraction to retain their seats it is said that it is useful both to the party and to the members of parliament to have the latter seated in the body to which they are responsible and from which they must receive their instructions.

The discussion aroused by this proposal to amend the constitution of the Social Democracy draws attention to the quiet, orderly, bureaucratic manner in which the regular propaganda work of our German comrades is done. This work is carried on under the auspices of the party executive committee for the entire empire, an agitation committee for each nation, a similar committee for each of the twenty-nine agitation districts. These committees route speakers, author-

ize and distribute literature, etc. If one is to judge from the Socialist press their work is subjected to little criticism. There are, of course, occasional disagreements, but hardly ever are there such extended controversies as those to which we are accustomed in this country.

This discussion emphasizes, too, the importance which German Socialists place upon the proper and adequate use of political and social events for purposes of propaganda. In comparison with the Germans others know hardly anything of demonstrations. The denial of a suffrage law, an international complication, a rise in prices—almost any event which interests the working-class—is made the occasion for the publication of protests and the gathering of hundreds of thousands of comrades and sympathizers. One hardly knows whether to call this direct or indirect action, but it has become a mighty power. It is noteworthy that in all the discussions of the constitution of a new national committee it is the ability of such a committee to arrange for such demonstrations that the comrades have chiefly in mind.

One cannot help observing that the referendum vote plays practically no part in the thinking of our German comrades. They are evidently attempting at the present time to bring the rank and file of the membership into action. But all they think of is some method of making reasonably sure that the leaders will have opportunity to keep in touch with the members.

England. Progress of Transport Worker's Strike. The English Transport Workers are making a heroic struggle under the most terrible conditions and against the most brutal opposition. After their strike last autumn they and the representatives of the employers as well as members of the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, and the British Cabinet signed a contract. This contract, thus solemnly and abundantly signed, the employers have absolutely refused to keep. Since last August they have deducted from the wages of the men, contrary to the contract, a sum amounting to more than 500,000 pounds. Since most of the Transport workers re-

ceive less than a pound a week, this robbery is to them a matter of life and death. But the employers have refused to meet their committees, or in fact to do anything at all with regard to the grievances. Even when the government submitted propositions looking toward a settlement of the strike the employers remained obdurate. Then the men called a general strike. The response to this call has not been general. Most of the English unions are not now in what they consider a financial condition which justifies the calling of a strike. In London and the provinces together, it is estimated, there are 50,000 men out.

The struggle has resolved itself into a brute fight against starvation. The men have issued an appeal for help, and are receiving magnificent financial support from their fellow workers throughout England. The Socialists of London and vicinity are giving a fine example of solidarity by taking the children of strikers into their homes.

France. The Struggle of the Seamen. On June 10 there began at Havre what promises to be the beginning of the final struggle of French seamen against the inhuman conditions under which they work. The seamen of the French republic are subject to a maritime code which became law as a decree of Napoleon III. in 1852. This law delivers sailors absolutely to the mercy of their officers. A captain at sea can have his men beaten, imprisoned, or starved. On land seamen are subject to courts made up chiefly of their employers or officers subject to their employers. The question of wages enters also into the strike, but the inhuman discipline carried on under the law of 1852 is the chief matter at issue.

In the beginning 2,000 men went out at Havre. These were soon joined by some hundreds at Brest, Marseilles, and other ports. Ten days later the national officers of the seamen called for a nation strike. For twenty-four hours vessels were tied up in all the ports of France, and after the period for which the strike was called had passed many men remained out. Some of the largest vessels in the French mercantile service have been unable to sail. As a tie-up the strike has been extremely effective.

The government has brought marines from its men-of-war to Havre with a view to setting them to do strike-breaking, but the employers, apparently, fear to allow this step to be taken. The latest news received as the REVIEW goes to press is that the men have been strengthened by the adhesion of some of their officers and that troops have been sent to shoot them into submission.

Austria-Hungary. Persecutions in Croatia.—The International Socialist Bureau has sent out to the affiliated parties and to the Socialist press an appeal on behalf of the comrades in Croatia. In this province all legal guarantees have been suspended, working-class periodicals have been suppressed, the right of meeting or distributing literature has been denied. The Socialists of Croatia have fought long and desperately against oppression. Now they find themselves at the end of their resources. They ask the Socialists of the world to give them financial support. If they do not receive this support it is probable that their organization will be crushed. The address of their party is Slobodna Rijec, Ilica 55, Zagreb, Croatia.



NEWS AND VIEWS

The Barnes Case.—Comes to me a pair of circular letters, one from Comrade Debs, our Presidential candidate, and the other from Comrade Barnes, our campaign manager. Nine full pages of closely typewritten matter, charging and refuting, but by their very existence proving that "the selection of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager has revived the whole unpleasant issue, with all its attending animosity, setting comrades against each other in bitter strife at the time above all others when they should be working together in unison and concord."

Having served as one of the delegates at the last convention, the writer is in a position to know at first hand just what happened, and after reading the two statements above mentioned it becomes necessary to "nail" several statements made by Comrade Barnes as false. First, he states: "The election of the campaign manager was not rushed through. The delegates were not weary or woozy, nor tricked out of their senses." Comrade Barnes knows as well as anyone else who attended the convention that his nomination was effected in the very last hours of the convention, when the delegates were wearied with a full week of close confinement and tedious and patient attention to the many details coming before the delegates. He also knows that many of the delegates were compelled to fulfill early arrangements to leave for their homes and were consequently restless and nervous, not to mention the further fact that the nomination immediately followed the tiresome reading and consideration of a proposed constitution entirely different from the present document, and therefore requiring extra application and many amendments, all requiring settlement without discussion, and therefore straining and exhausting our every atom of energy and vitality. The ordeal was terrible! The delegates were worn out and their nervous systems taut, and at the breaking point! And at such a time appears the master hand of the boss Hillquit and plays its trump card, timed to a nicety and working to perfection. He won, and the few who were alert enough to understand the significance of the move were insignificant in numbers. And now comes the beneficiary of this little game and informs us that we were not tired or weary. For nerve exhibition, this is the limit.

Again, Comrade Barnes states that "A protest was made by one of the delegates," but the undersigned, who made the protest, cites the records to show that twenty delegates from Ohio (the remaining one being absent) and several delegates from elsewhere went on record, the Ohio delegates going so far as to sign a written protest against the injection and uncovering of the whole stinking, filthy Barnes mess, and these twenty odd delegates are quite a different proposition from the one so kindly mentioned by Barnes.

Barnes also states, on page two of his let-

ter, that his "election as campaign manager was the most surprising and unexpected event of" his experience, and in the very next paragraph we find this statement: "One of the delegates, but a few hours before the nomination, while endeavoring to induce me to accept, stated that there were one hundred and ninety-three delegates who had expressed preference for me." Some surprise, that! Like a regular birthday surprise party, where the recipient of the honors is compelled to pretend ignorance concerning the affair!

But the terrible phase of the whole matter is not the above false statements of Comrade Barnes, but the wrangle and mix-up in which we find ourselves immediately preceding the heat of a most important campaign, "setting comrades against each other in bitter strife," as Comrade Debs so lucidly states it, and putting an effectual estoppage to real campaign effort. How Comrade Barnes was induced to play the clown for and by the self-appointed boss Hillquit is impossible of comprehension, but since he did so, it is up to the membership to correct this deplorable state of things as quickly as possible by recalling Comrade Barnes as campaign manager.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Cincinnati, O.

Not Another Like It. I must tell you the truth—there is not another magazine like the REVIEW in the world. I read Socialist publications in five languages, and none of them are so good, so filled with revolutionary spirit as the REVIEW. Put some more written dynamite in the REVIEW, comrades.—Comrade Auerbach, Nebraska.

Certainly Not Bad. Sold all last month's REVIEW—45 in all. Nuff sed. Sold them—did not give them away. I want 50 this month. It is not bad—from 5 to 50 copies in six months.—Comrade McQuoid, Alberta, Canada.

FROM A LABOR ORGANIZATION: Enclosed find draft for the sum of \$30.00 for which place the name of Bisbee Miners Union on your books as subscribers for 100 Reviews per month for the term of six months. The boys here are of the opinion that the Review is the best propaganda magazine in the country for the upbuilding of a class conscious union.

E. J. MacCOSHAM,
Secretary No. 106,
Western Federation of Miners,
Bisbee, Ariz.



COMRADE IRVIN H. CADY.
La Porte, Ind.

Action in La Porte. Comrade E. R. Esler, who spoke for some of the best locals in Indiana during the last month, reports enthusiastically of the splendid work being done by the local of the Socialist Party at that point. He said that his meeting there was one of the best, and that Comrades Deford, Frankinberger, Hunt, Halberg, Kepplin, Messer, Rohn, Collar, Keuhne, as well as Secretary Cady, make a team that he has not seen equalled anywhere in the Hoosier State. The local has stirred things up until everybody in La Porte is studying Socialism. The comrades are not going to give them a chance to say, "I don't know." When La Porte opens her street meetings the boys set off a big red fire fuse to attract the crowd. They have a classy "soap box" with an illuminating torch light and they only invite speakers who have something to say. As a consequence every inhabitant in La Porte is soaking up more and more of the principles of Socialism. Comrade Secretary Cady, a proletarian, and candidate for Congress, is a great worker, as well as a student, and he knows how to reach the crowd from the soap box. The local flying squadron has its wards so well organized that they can cover some of them distributing literature in twenty minutes. In fact, the La Porte friends have kept things stirring so long that the Knights of Columbus have appealed to David Goldstein to come to La Porte to speak against Socialism. From all we know of La Porte comrades, we believe they can be trusted to have a speaker on hand that will nail every lie Goldstein tries to spring.

FROM A PARTY LOCAL:
Enclosed find express order of \$2.00 for 40 Reviews. The local at the last meeting passed a motion that we get 40 copies each month until we require an increase. The opinion of this local is that it is just the thing needed to make sound Socialists.

J. H. MEARNS, Secretary,
Norwalk, Ohio.

Starve Poor to Make 'Em Good. Sandusky, O., July 3.—(Special.)—That the common people must be starved to make them good; that men, women and children—gaunt, shriveled and wan—must stand in a bread line all over the country to "quiet the unrest" manifested in the progressive political movement, was the remedy proposed by President W. P. Sharer of Zanesville in his opening address at the annual convention of the Ohio Bankers' Association, now in session at Cedar Point.

"We need a period of hard times and misery," declared Sharer. "The bread line is the only thing that halts a certain class of voters."
—Toledo News-Bee.



COMRADES ELKNER, St. Joseph, Mo.

The cause has lost one of its most faithful workers in the death of Comrade J. F. Elkner.

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SOAP BOXING EVERY OTHER DAY AT HAMILTON, OHIO.
COMRADE HARRY SPEARS IS THE SPEAKER.

Results in Hamilton. The Socialist local at Hamilton, Ohio, is doing wonderful work. Their campaign plans have already been formulated, and they are holding meetings every other day. The photo is one taken of a Harry Spears meeting, held in Hamilton June 8. Comrades assure us they have an excellent chance to capture the whole county next fall. They give the *Review* credit for helping in the work of real Socialist education. The photograph was sent us with the compliments of Comrades Jacob Halperin and son, two of the best workers in the State. Keep your eyes on Hamilton. She will probably be on the elected-revolutionists-to-office map next fall.

Not Coming. Scott Bennett, the well known orator of New Zealand, has had to abandon his lecture tour through the United States to straighten out the tangle of compromise wrought by Walter Thomas Mills in that country during his stay there. Comrade Bennett's meetings are attended every week by from 1,000 to 1,500 working men and women and we are proud to report that he writes us sending "hearty congratulations on the continued excellence of the *Review*. It is the publication in the English speaking movement."

Socialist Literature in Kansas City. Comrade W. S. Crater of Kansas City, is conducting the only establishment there where Socialist literature is publicly exposed for sale. The small exploiters of labor are trying to run him out of business by boycotting him on account of his politics, and we hope the Socialists in his city will rally around and help him do a bigger business. Sales of working class literature are bound to grow if the salesman handles the right stuff, so dig in and give our friend a lift until he works up a steady trade. Look for his news cart at Twelfth and Oak streets.

A Hot One from Brazil. June 16, 1912—Re-

solved: Whereas, the Socialist party in national convention assembled at Indianapolis, in May, 1912, and in report of the constitution committee of Section 6, Art. 2, of the proposed constitution, voted to insert the word "Sabotage," which makes said section read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action, or advocates 'Sabotage' or other forms of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from the party."

Believing that the Socialist party has never, at any time, as a party measure, advocated violence, then it follows that adoption of above section in the party constitution admits our guilt in time past. Also, the Socialist party has, as a rule, rendered material aid to workers in their struggles for better conditions, and the Socialist party, being a political organization for political purposes; and, as the adoption of said section into the party constitution will place the political party in the position as dictator of methods and a usurper of rights on industrial fields; and, whereas, the Indiana delegation voted solid for the adoption of said Section 6, Art. 2, of National Constitution, we, Local Brazil, Socialist Party of Indiana, do hereby go on record as opposing the action of the Indiana delegation, and of the other delegates who voted to place said section in the party constitution, which will establish a dangerous precedent, and lay the foundation for factions, disruptions and eventually disunion of the party, by becoming dictator of tactics and methods of the workers in their industrial battles against the master class; and we further wish to go on record as favoring the striking out of the entire section above named, and in favor of political action by the political party, and leave the methods of bat-

tle upon the industrial field to those directly engaged in the fight for life and liberty. And, further, we call upon the rank and file of the Socialist party of Indiana to vote down this part of the constitution when referendum is taken, and release the State party from the reflection cast upon it by our nine delegates, and call upon each delegate to give reasons for thus voting.

Signed, after unanimous vote. Local Brazil, S. P. of Indiana. Wm. Lynch, Wm. Tumsdon, Ed. Harper, committee.

A Correction. To John M. Work: In the June issue of the REVIEW I notice a denial of my statement in the May issue that you are an ex-preacher. I made the statement there referred to because I understood you to say in a lecture delivered at Walker Theater, Los Angeles, about two years ago, that you had come into the Socialist movement as a result of conclusions reached while studying social conditions as a minister. My memory may have served me wrongly, and, since you say you were never a preacher, I gladly accept your statement as fact and congratulate you on being a member in good standing of the stenographers' and typists' union.

My personal opinion is that Comrade John M. Work has proven to be the most efficient national secretary the party has had since its organization, and I am delighted to know that his mind has never been stunted by studying theology.—Lindsay Lewis.

From State Secretary of West Va. Comrade Houston orders 1,000 "Breaking Up the Home," "The Shrinking Dollar" and "What to Read on Socialism," and says: "The American movement owes a debt to the Kerr Co. for giving us a literature that tends to clarity. The three pamphlets above named are an evidence of this."

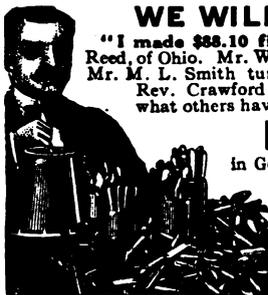
Wanted Some More. Hope I am not too late for my bundle of REVIEWS. I asked some of the comrades at the local last night who had been getting them of me if they wished me to order again, and their reply was, "Indeed we do." We give away all that are not sold and consider them cheap propaganda.—Comrade Mrs. Bullard, Kansas.

Too Full of Meat to Miss. Indeed I do not want to miss a single number of the REVIEW, for it is too full of meat. While I may not be in full accord with all it contains, I like to keep in touch with the various ideas entertained by the comrades. Money is a very scarce article with me, and I am obliged to make a little go a long way in the purchase of literature, and that is the reason that I take the REVIEW, for I think it furnishes more real matter for the money than any other Socialist publication.—Comrade Swift, New York.

The S. P. of California sends in a big order for books, including 5,000 each of "The Shrinking Dollar" and "Breaking Up the Home."

Neck and Neck. Local Kings County, N. Y., and Los Angeles, Calif., are still running a close race on literature sales. Local Kings County sent in over \$225.00 this month at one whack.

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AGENTS, "Was out one day, sold 11 stoves." B. L. Husted, Mich. "You have the best stove on the market; sold 9 in 2 hours." W. E. Beard, S. C. J. W. Hunter, Ala., secured 1—tested it—ordered 200 since. J. G. Gauthreaux, La., ordered 155 since. **THESE MEN MAKE MONEY**—You have the same chance. Price low—\$3.25 up; any number of burners. Send no money. Write today. Agent's selling plan, etc.

The World Mfg. Co., 1646 World Bldg., Cincinnati, O.

From an Optimist. The REVIEW has arrived with its account of the Indianapolis convention and it is pleasing to note the rise, since the last convention, of the influence of the "reds." The absence from the platform this year of the "capitalist the slave of his wealth rather than its master," "realize the international brotherhood of man," "the religious beliefs" paragraphs, etc., is a healthy sign and gives rise to the hope that the Socialist Party in the United States will be represented in the next national convention by delegates the majority of whom will not see fit to waste time denying that they are anarchists, or to apologize for aiding workmen on trial for life, even though these same men subsequently proved themselves enemies of labor. When the membership, by referendum, cuts the sabotage clause out of this year's platform and places it in an antique frame and hangs it among the spider webs and mold and the many other discarded playthings of the Socialist Party's childhood, that will be another step forward. Still another step will be when we own to the charge of being "direct actionists" or cease associating with an organization the avowed purpose of which is to organize the workers so that they may achieve their own emancipation. In closing, allow me to say that I am glad that we have the REVIEW and to express the hope that it may live and continue to grow in power and influence so long as its present editorial policy is continued. Yours for the revolution. Comrade Jamison, Montgomery.

Andrew C. Sill was born in Bainsbridge, N. H., February 21, 1871, died June 3, 1912. Comrade Sill was one of the pioneer organizers of the Socialist Party in Florida, and was the nominee of the party for secretary of state in 1908. Later he was elected state secretary of the party, to which position he was twice elected to succeed himself, and served most efficiently until April 1, 1912, when he resigned on account of the pressure of other interests. As a tribute from his comrades, he is regarded as more responsible than any other man in the party for its having polled nearly one-third of the votes in the last state election. The party throughout the state will feel that it has sustained a great loss.

In 1909 he became greatly interested in Ruskin Colony, becoming one of the earliest allottees; and a year later sold his holdings at St. Petersburg and concentrated all his interests at Ruskin. He has been one of the most active promoters of the interests of both Ruskin and Morris Park, and held the offices of chairman of the executive committee of Ruskin Co-Operative Mercantile Company, president of Ruskin Colonization Company, general manager of Ruskin Colony Extension Company, and secretary of Ruskin-Morris Park Interurban Railway Company.

To express the high appreciation in which he was held in Ruskin, we may quote from "Bonnie Brier Bush" in the account of the passing of Georgie Howe, leaving out the Scotch dialect, "There is but one heart in Ruskin, since he has gone; and that is sore."



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We particularly wish to hear from the excessively thin, those who know the humiliation and embarrassment which only skinny people have to suffer in silence. We want to send a free 50-cent package of our new discovery to the people who are called "slats" and "bean poles," to bony women, whose clothes never look "anyhow," no matter how expensively dressed, to the skinny men who fail to gain social or business recognition on account of their starved appearance. We care not whether you have been thin from birth, whether you have lost flesh through sickness, how many flesh builders you have experimented with. We take the risk and assume it cheerfully. If we cannot put pounds and pounds of healthy flesh on your frame we don't want your money.

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The Ways of John F. Tobin. Editor INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: I have just seen the Tobin letter in your June issue. It is characteristic of that gentleman, and of the methods by which he has made the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union what it is, that he purposely and with malice aforethought omitted the date of my letter of introduction of him to Comrade Debs. That letter of mine was written some fifteen years ago—between 1896 and 1898—when I was living in Nashville, Tenn., and Tobin was a member of the Socialist Labor Party and an honored member at that. It was not inconsistent of me to write that letter then, but it would be worse than inconsistent—it would be dishonest—for me to write it now. It is not generally known, and to new-comers in the movement especially, that Tobin was once an active Socialist. Indeed, it was chiefly because of that that he first became president of the United Boot and Shoe Workers' Union when that organization was formed in Boston in 1895. He was the candidate of the progressives in the convention then held, Jim Carey stepping aside to make way for Tobin. I first met Tobin at the A. F. of L. convention in New York in 1895, when he, Barnes, Bechtold, myself and other Socialists were a small minority that voted unitedly on all Socialist propositions. We met next at Cincinnati the following year and again in 1897 at Nashville. It was from Tobin, by the way, that I first heard the news of Jim Carey's election as a Socialist to the Common Council in Haverhill in 1897—the first Socialist official elected in the New England states. It is only necessary to add that in those days Tobin was known as "Honest John," and that his utterances then were as revolutionary as his acts now are reactionary.—William Mailly.

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Ettor-Giannitti Meetings in Essex County, Mass. Roland D. Sawyer is making his headquarters for the summer at Kensington, N. H., town on the borders of Essex county, and since July 8 he has been holding lectures in the various towns and cities in the county in the interest of Ettor and Giannitti. Comrade Sawyer has a set of stereopticon slides on the Lawrence strike, and he is endeavoring to off-set the prejudiced statements of the capitalist newspapers. In addition to the stereopticon lectures, several mass meetings have been arranged at which Comrade Sawyer and Elizabeth Gurley-Flynn are the speakers.

Section No. 6. Local 19, East Hartford, protests emphatically against the proposed constitutional amendment known as Section No. 6, which would expel from the party any member who advocated sabotage. One of the reasons for our protest, regardless of the merits or demerits of sabotage, is the wording of the amendment (constructed by cunning lawyers at the convention), which makes it impossible to vote against the amendment without apparently voting against the principle of political action. If it was deemed best or advisable to amend the constitution to denounce Sabotage, why was it necessary to include the words, "Any member of the party who opposes political action," etc., since Article No. 2, Section No. 1, subscribes to the principle of political action? To our mind, the wording was cunningly contrived to conceal the real object of the resolution and to slip it by the membership of the party on a referendum vote without the members sensing the real meaning of the amendment.

There is no more occasion for a clause of this nature in the constitution than for one denouncing free love, or anarchism, or any other ism which we have been accused of standing for. Under a strict interpretation of the clause any member of a labor union might be expelled from the party for advocating a strike, since a strike is an interference with the machinery of production, and that is sabotage. In conclusion, we say: Let every member scan this clause carefully and understand the full purport of it before casting a vote in favor of it. Organizer and Recording Secretary, Henry D. Noble, E. Hartford, Conn.

From Woonsocket, R. I. The Socialist Fourth of July picnic at Cold Spring Park was a decided success. All day long the workers of Woonsocket and surrounding towns came and went and enjoyed the picnic of their own class; it was estimated that 6,000 persons attended. Rev. Roland D. Sawyer of Ware, Mass., was the speaker, and he divided his talk between a treatment of the Ettor-Giannitti case and a propaganda speech on Socialism. The following resolutions were passed:

"We, some 2,000 citizens of Woonsocket, R. I., in public meeting assembled, united in the following resolutions as our protest against the unjust treatment of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giannitti by the ruling class of the state of Massachusetts; and,

"Whereas, Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giannitti were seized and thrown into prison at the behest of capitalist manufacturers, when

guilty of committing no crime whatsoever; and,

"Whereas, It appears that the courts of Massachusetts are intent on giving these men long terms of imprisonment, or perhaps judicially murdering them; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we protest to our fellow citizens of New England against the class character of the courts, the governor and the whole political machinery of the state; and we call upon our fellow citizens everywhere to unite with us in raising such a public sentiment as shall secure justice for our comrades and fellow workers, whose only crime is loyalty to their class; and be it further

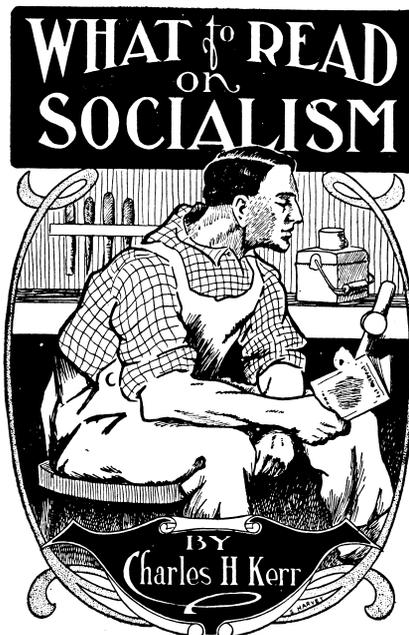
"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, and District Attorney Atwell of Lynn."

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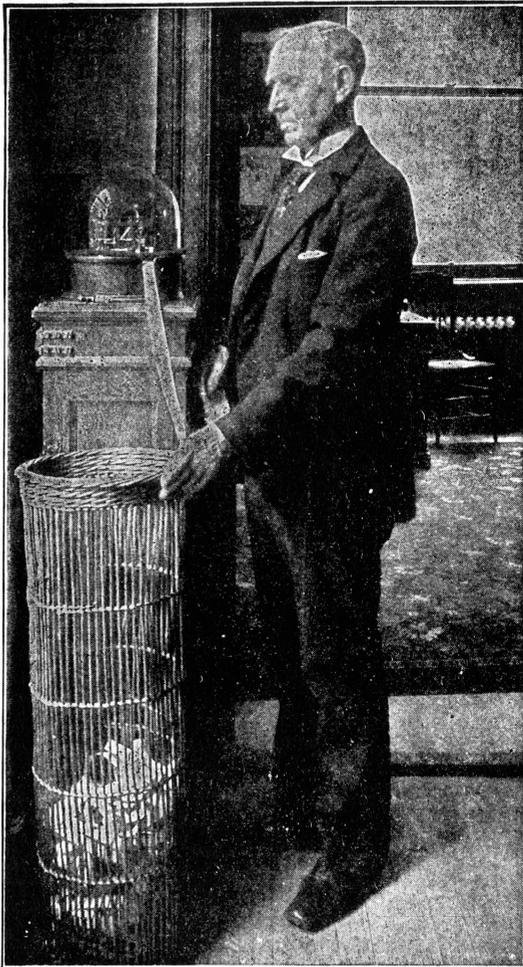
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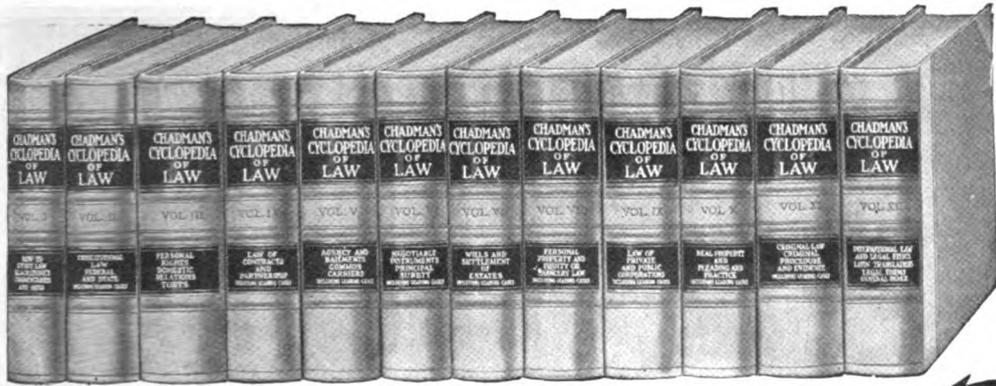
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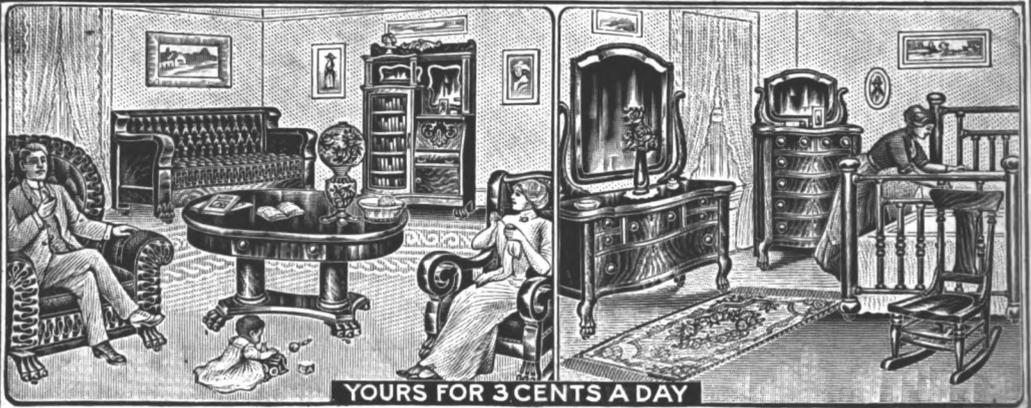
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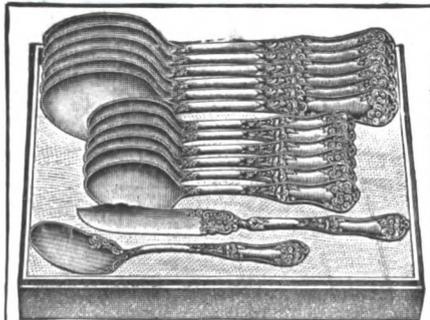


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