

DECEMBER, 1911

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*



Pulling Out a Lump of White-hot Steel

**THE STEEL TRUST'S PRIVATE CITY AT GARY
A GREAT SOLDIER OF THE COMMON GOOD**

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

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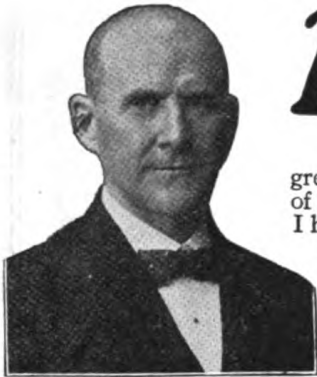
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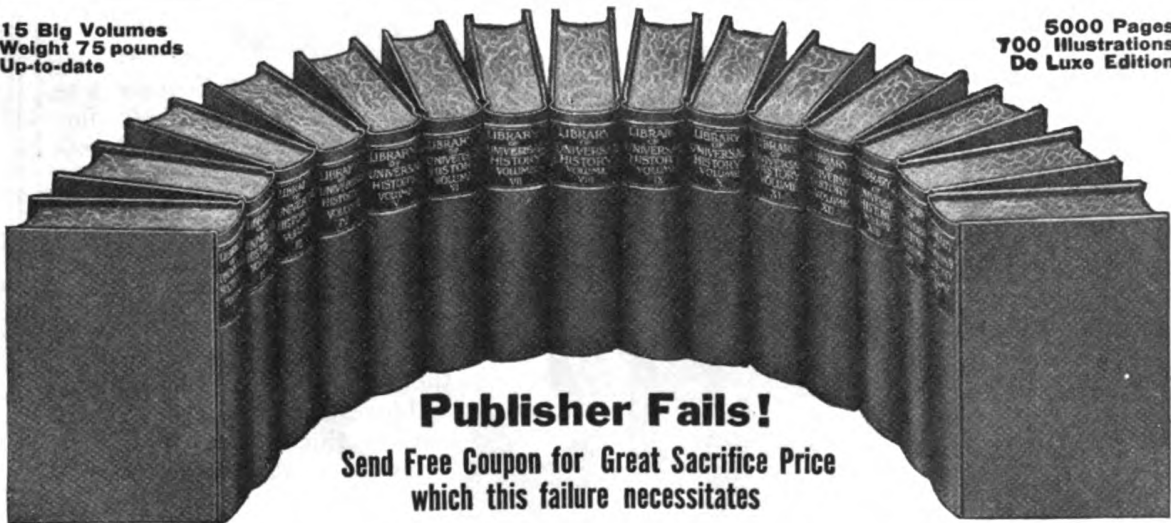
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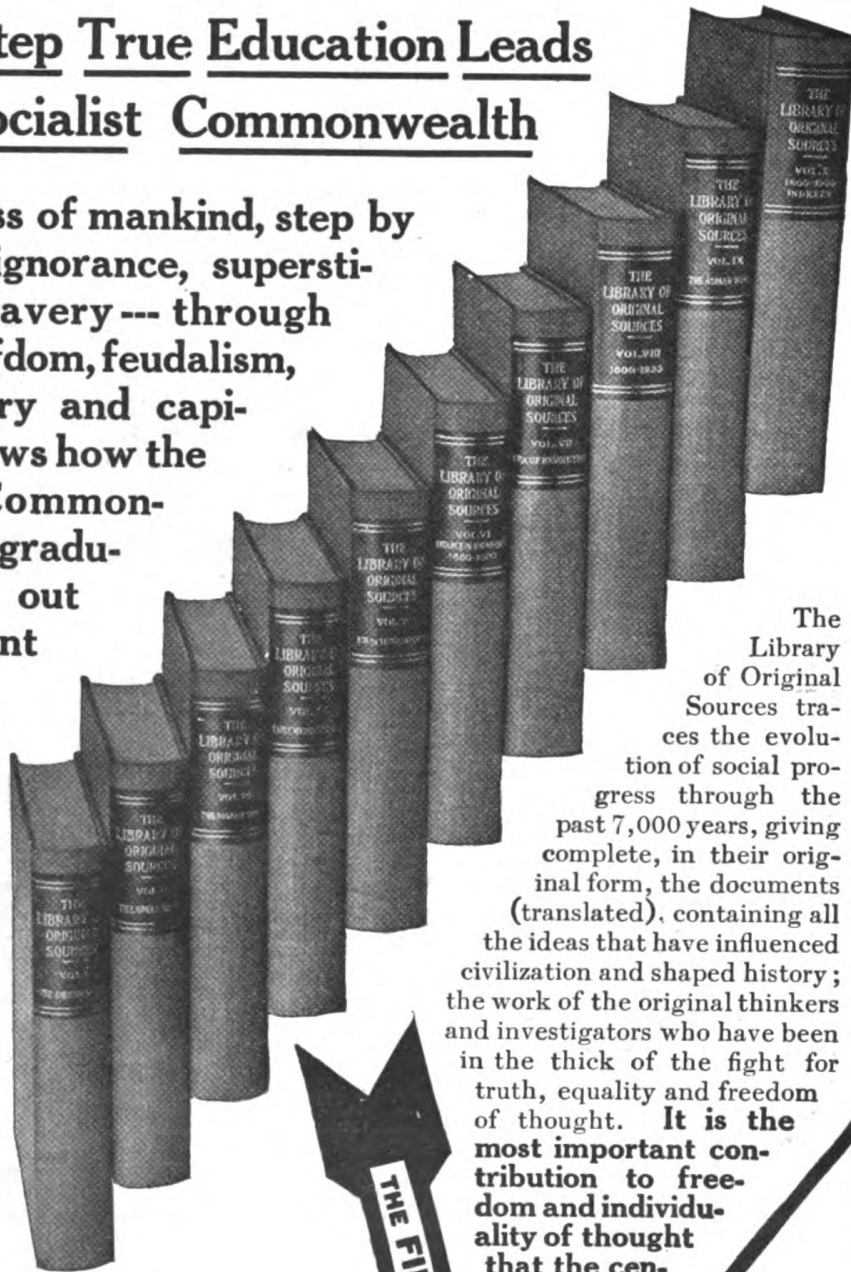
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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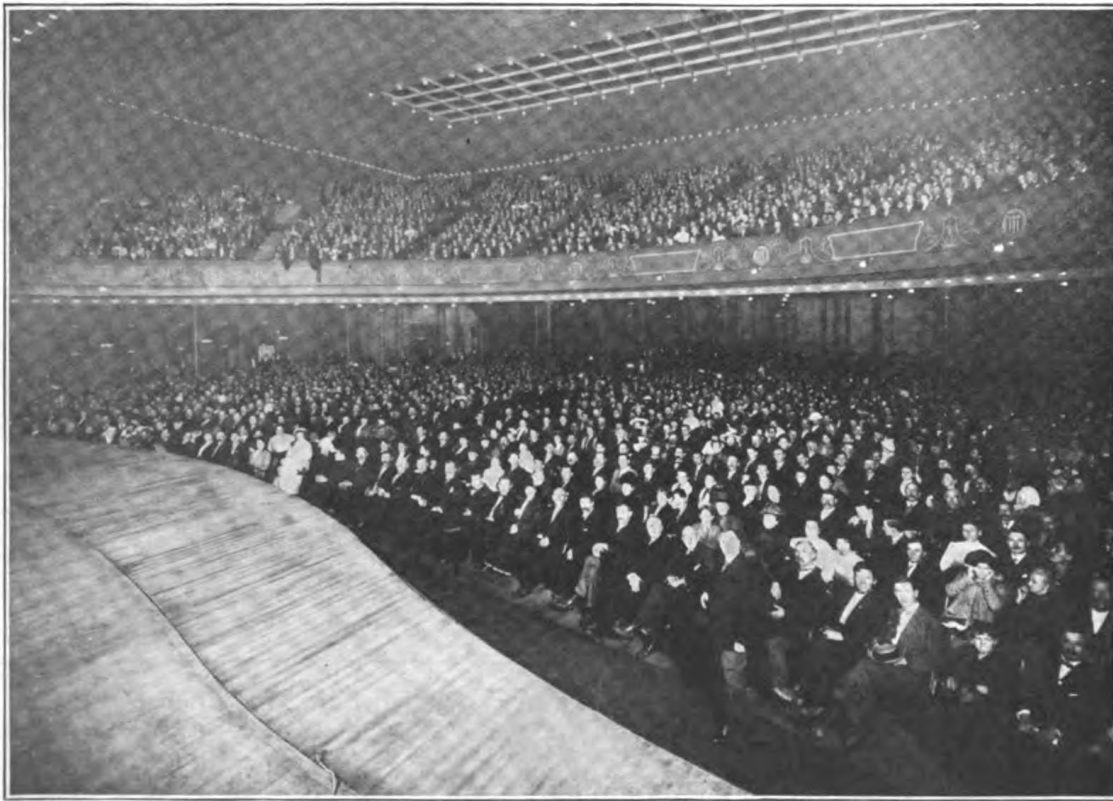
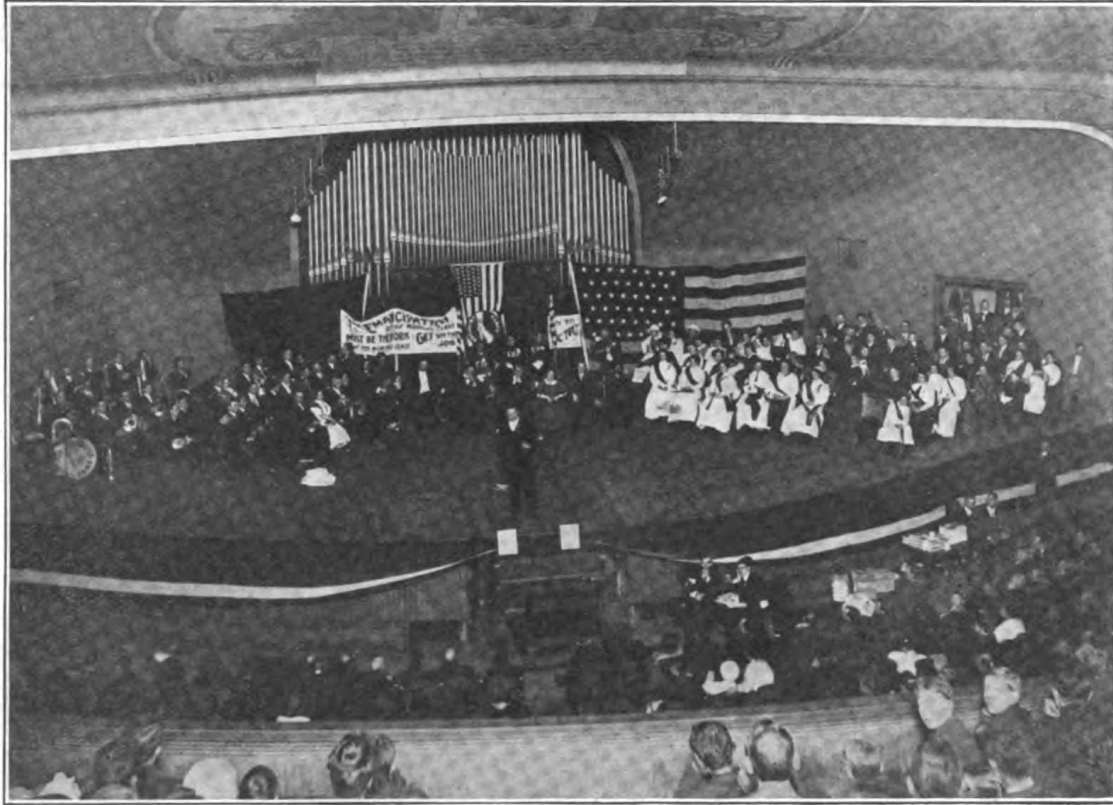
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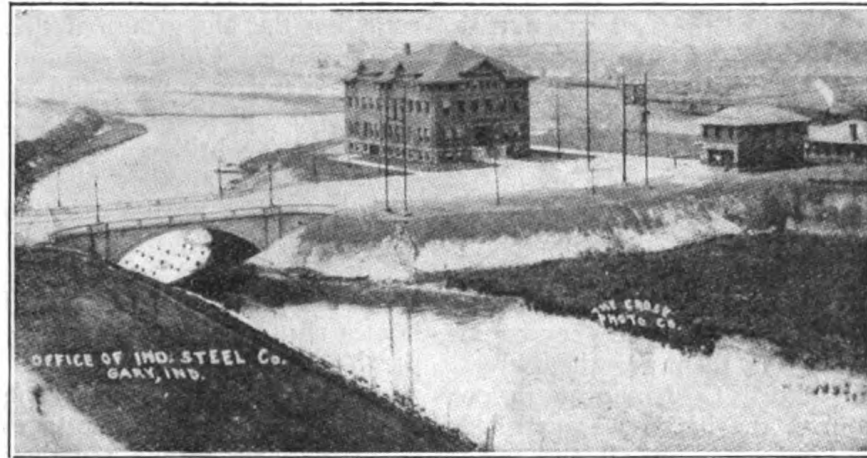
5,000 PEOPLE HEARD HAYWOOD AT CLOSING CAMPAIGN RALLY—MEMORIAL HALL, COLUMBUS, OHIO, NOV. 4.

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Vol. XII.

DECEMBER, 1911

No. 6



APPROACH TO GARY PLANT—COMPANY'S POLICE STATION GUARDS ENTRANCE.

THE STEEL TRUST'S PRIVATE CITY—GARY

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

Illustrated with Photographs by Lewis W. Hine

IN old feudal times, back in the middle ages, each baron or overlord segregated himself in a solidly constructed and massive castle, generally placed afar off from neighbors on an eminence which afforded a view of the surrounding country so that an approaching enemy could be instantly detected.

This castle was heavily guarded. Armed watchmen and lookouts were constantly on duty. Any stranger requesting admittance had first to give an account of himself before being allowed entrance to the

sacred precincts. Surrounding the castle was a high wall. Running around the foot of this wall was a deep moat or ditch. Any assailants had first to cross this moat and then surmount the walls before they were even in a position to attack.

Grouped as closely as possible around the castle were the little homes and farms of the villeins and serfs, or tenant farmers. They were supposed to be under the protection of the baron. They depended on him for rescue and defense in case of sudden foray and pillage by enemies.

It is true their homes had usually been fired and their crops destroyed before the baron could be waked out of his comfortable sleep, but anyhow there was some comfort in the notion that he was their good guardian and protector. For this "protection" the tenants owed their lord allegiance and must be ready to lay down the shovel and the hoe, or whatever tools they used in those days, and be ready to go out and get themselves shot whenever the boss felt like starting something.

In addition, they had to pay a substantial yearly tribute to the baron in the shape of garden and vineyard products for his table, meat for his larder, and provender for his horses, not to mention young and tender daughters for the satisfaction of his lusts.

Oh, it was a bully arrangement! You see these tenant boneheads had the idea that they couldn't get along without the baron, despite the fact that they did all the fighting and dying anyhow and that they could raise crops and keep them for themselves without letting Lord Goshamighty in on them. Of course, the baron was satisfied with his end, since he got all the good things of life without working for them, so who was there to raise a kick?

We moderns love to think that we have progressed mightily since those days and that we haven't any such fool arrangement now.

Haven't we, though? The answer is, yes. We've got such an arrangement right here in the 20th century and no further away from Chicago, that center of light and learning, than 25 miles down into the sand dunes of Indiana. This modern-medieval institution is known as Gary and it seems so much like a new thing under the sun that everybody calls it "the model city."

And it is, too—for the Steel Trust which owns it. The trust has things there just like it wants them and hence doesn't object at all to having it called a "model city." So pleased is the Steel Trust with it, in fact, that it is going to build more towns like it afar off from meddlesome agitators and troublesome wage scales.

Gary is the modern prototype of that baronial castle of ye olden time. Come on down there with me and I'll show the doubter how Judge Gary, of the Steel Corporation, has patterned his town almost on

the very lines laid down by Lord Goshamighty.

The Steel Trust has placed its giant mills there on the edge of Lake Michigan, where its belching smokestacks can look afar off across the water on the one hand and the level prairie on the other.

The big plant is guarded on both inside and out. Armed policemen and watchmen stand at the gate and all visitors must undergo inspection and exhibit the proper credentials before passing through. Surrounding the big group of mills is a high board fence. Cutting off the plant from the mainland is a wide and deep moat of black and sullen water, crossed by means of a concrete bridge made of the cement turned out by another plant of the Steel Trust's further up the Michigan Southern Railroad.

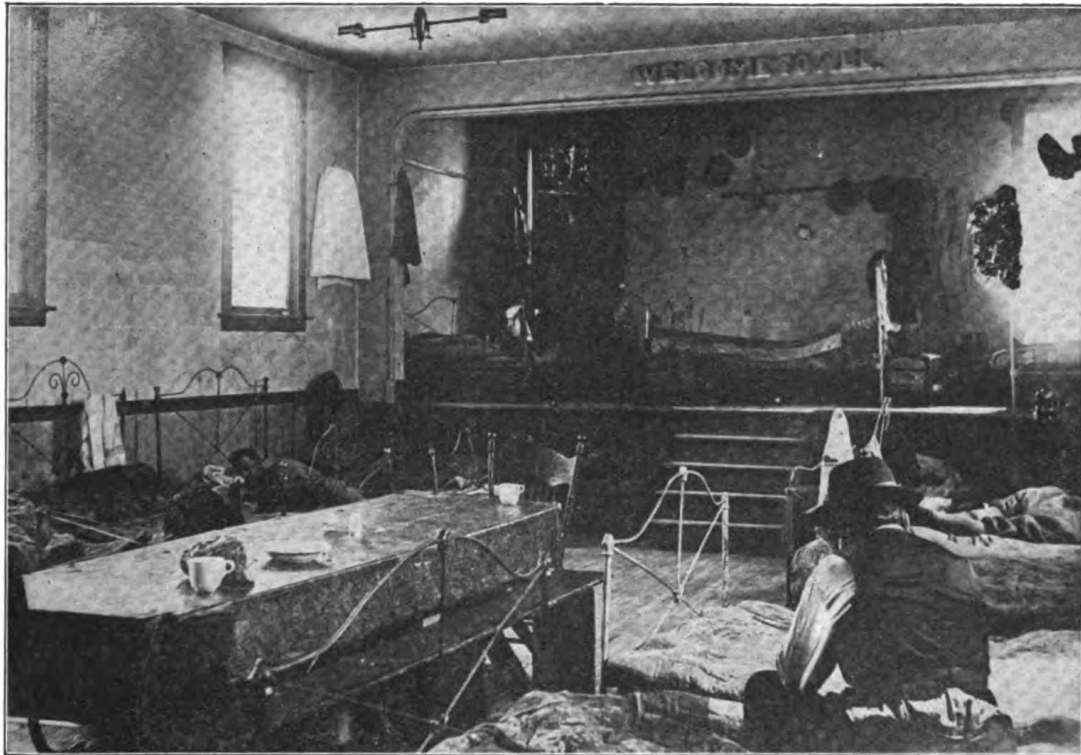
Spread out like a fan from the gate of the plant is the town of Gary, its huts and homes nestling as closely as possible under the blackened funnels that night and day pour out their smoke and flame.

In these little box-like cottages and shacks dwell the steel barons' ten thousand wage-slaves. They live in Steel Trust houses, they walk on Steel Trust land, they buy from Steel Trust stores, they deny themselves comforts and luxuries that they may put a little portion of their earnings in Steel Trust banks, and not once a year, but once every 12 hours they obediently leave their bunks to march down to the Steel Trust mills and pay tribute to their masters from the one thing they own—their labor power.

Oh, it's a bully arrangement! They give the Steel Trust all they have and in return the Steel Trust lets them live. The wage-slaves seem grateful for the privilege of being allowed to work. The Steel Trust is pleased with their peaceableness and quietude. So maybe it's a satisfactory arrangement all around.

"Maybe," you'll notice we say; for the slaves of the steel works don't talk much. They'll discuss baseball with you, or last night's show, or the dance next week, or the scrap in Mike the Mutt's saloon a week ago; but about their life and labor they preserve a silence that may be ominous or not, as you look at it.

It is perhaps enough to say that wages in Gary are from 15 to 25 per cent lower



WELCOME TO ALL—INTERIOR SLAVE PEN—GARY.

There are about 100 places in Gary where the workers are herded together in the same manner. With wages so low that men cannot provide for decent living conditions, these workers, mostly Serbians, Croatians, Macedonians and Hungarian Slovacks, pay one dollar each per week for the right to sleep in quarters where the steel magnates would not even allow their dogs to be quartered.

and the cost of living from 25 to 35 per cent higher than they are in Chicago, less than an hour's ride away. Twenty cents an hour is good wages for a skilled laborer. Working hours for the common laborer are 12 a day, seven days a week. He toils in shifts—two weeks by day and two weeks by night.

The skilled mechanic is somewhat better off. He works ten hours and is paid about 30 per cent less than the union scale calls for in Chicago.

The Gary mills have gathered their workers from the ends of the earth. Most of the establishments that deal in necessities, like clothing, furniture and drug stores, are compelled to print their signs in seven languages. Most of these toilers are, as can be guessed, foreigners. The nervous American cannot stand up long under the frightful heat and long hours.

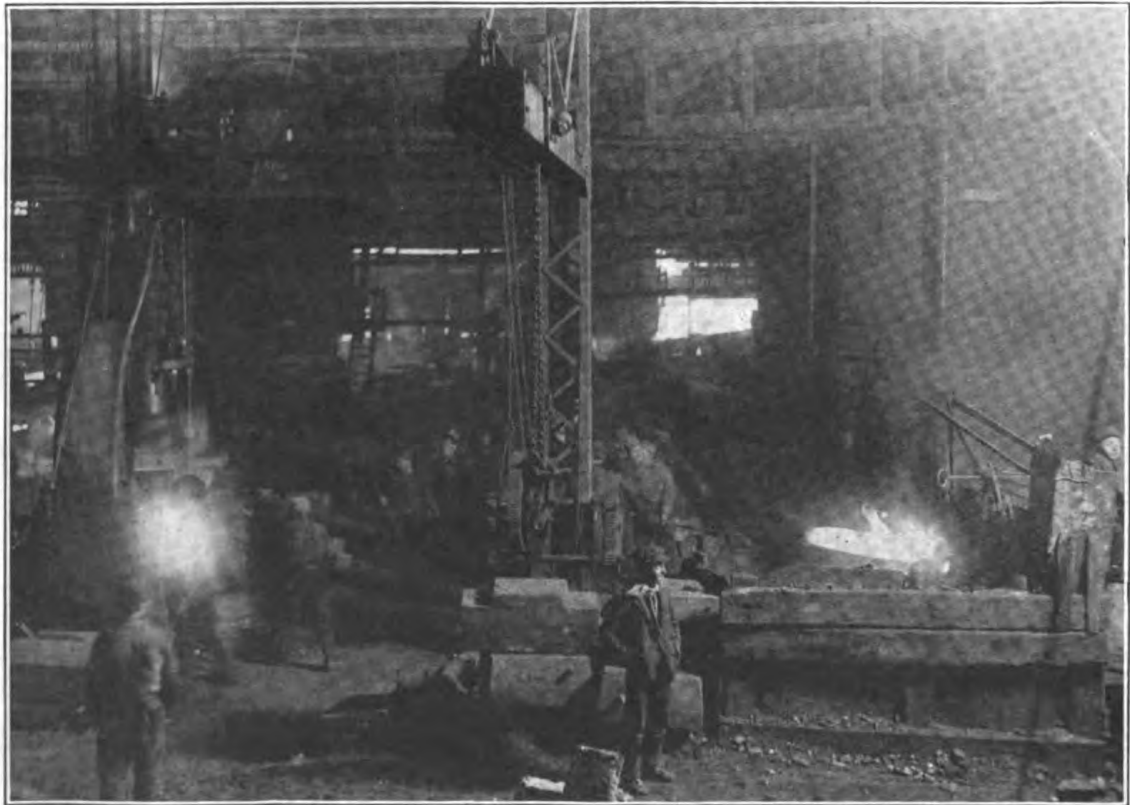
The majority of Gary's workers are single men and most of them are young—say between 20 and 40 years. One seldom sees an old woman in Gary, unless it is a wrinkled old crone who is brought to look after

the children of several families, and an old man is an exceedingly rare object. That the majority of Gary's married couples are also young is shown by the fact that most of the tots who enter the Gary schools tell their teacher their parents have no other children, or if there is another child it is generally a young baby. This indicates that most of Gary's married workers were united about five or six years ago.

Gary then, as these facts show, recruits its toilers from the young and the restless. A large portion of the population, which is now about 25,000 in all, is floating and fluctuating. No sooner is one regiment of workers used up by death, injury, disease or physical weariness than there is another regiment instantly ready to take its place. There is a group of youngish and stoutly-built men standing about the Gary employment office almost all the time begging for jobs. Young workingmen of all trades are flocking into the town every day, most of them on the bumpers of freight trains. They have become restless, they long for a change of scene or occupation, and because



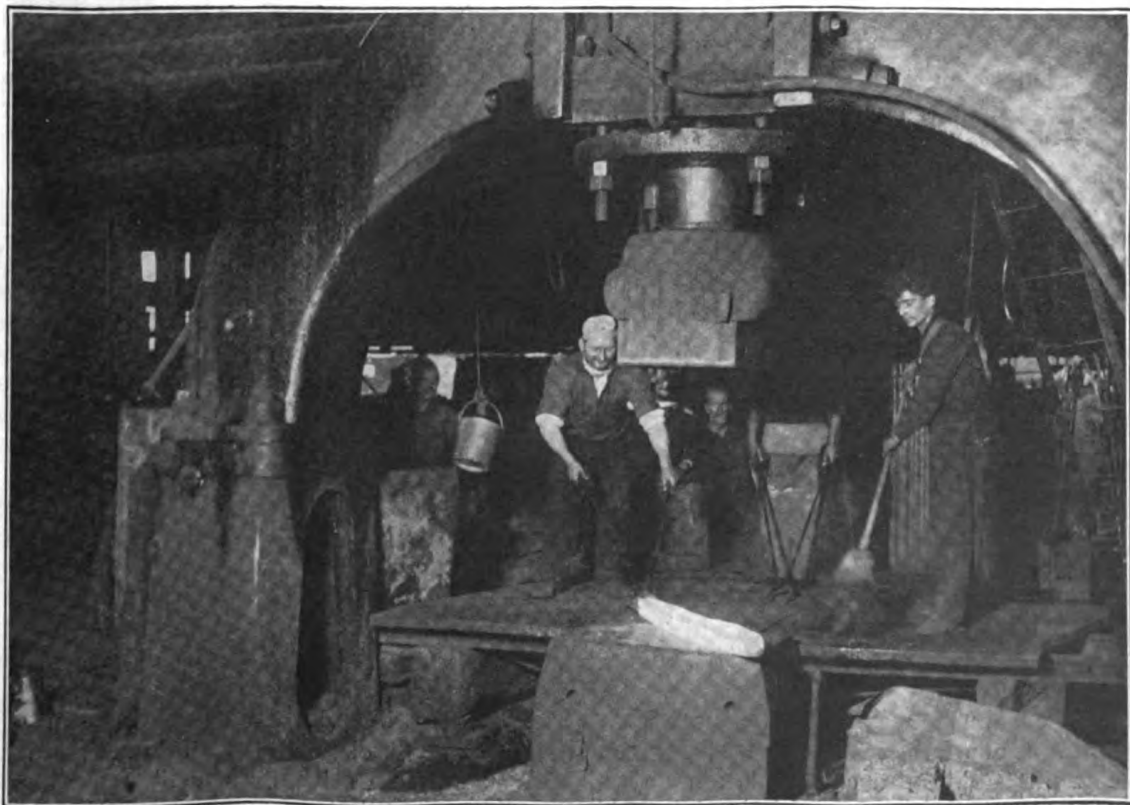
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HOLDING A WHITE-HOT BILLET UNDER THE HAMMER.

Gary has been so well advertised by capitalist newspapers and magazines they flock there under the impression that jobs are easy to get.

I was walking near the steel plant gate one morning when I was stopped by a husky young fellow in stained and dusty clothes.

"Mister," he said, "which direction is Pine from here?"

I pointed in the direction of the town named.

"I want to jump the next freight for her," he remarked.

"Looking for work?" I asked. He nodded. "Have you tried here?"

"Yep," he said. "Nothing doing, they told me. But right after that they hired three men, and there was I standing looking on and as hungry as hell. I guess I'm too ragged. I been on the road so long I guess they thought I looked too much like a bum."

"Where did you come from?"

"Hazleton, Pa."

"What did you do there?"

"Miner."

"You had a steady job and you left it to come here?"

"That's right. Maybe I was a fool, but I don't give a damn. I got tired of the mines and I wanted to see the country. I thought it would be a cinch to get a job here—they told me there was plenty of 'em. But not for me, it looks like. Well, me for Pine. I've loafed long enough. I got to feed my belly now."

And with a wave of his hand he was off towards the railroad station.

This young worker was perhaps typical of the class that makes up the majority of Gary's population. He and others like him are lured here by the carefully spread tales that there is plenty of work for all.

Probably one out of five of these young fellows gets a job in Gary. He works at it a while with the intention of going somewhere else as soon as he tires of it. But he perhaps meets a girl he likes and marries her. A baby comes right away and he now finds he must stick to his job if he would feed three mouths regularly.

His earnings, we will say, are \$50 a month. Out of this, \$25 must go for rent. He cannot obtain accommodations at all decent for much less than this in Gary. He

makes his home probably in a two-room "flat" situated in the third story over a saloon because he wants to be near his work and save time and carfare. Groceries are 20 per cent higher than elsewhere and he finds it hard to feed three for less than \$14 a month. That's \$39 gone. Clothing costs his family hardly less than \$5 a month more. That's \$44. Fuel, light, etc., cost \$4 a month more. That's \$48, leaving \$2 a month for amusements, drinks, drugs, doctors' bills—say, where does a steel worker get off at, anyhow?

But still he clings to his job. He knows that the minute he lets go a half dozen men will come on the run from the gate outside to take his place. Thus is competition among the workers incessant and thus are wages kept down and the toilers tamed.

But that isn't all. At any moment during the day or night while the workers in the plant are grappling with the white-hot rails or plates and hurrying them hither and thither, a huge swinging bucket, livid with molten steel, may be tipped over; a derrick may bump and drop its hissing load; a pair of tongs may slip, and it will be all over. Another bread-winner will be snatched up, hustled upon a stretcher and his body hurried to the Trust's hospital or to its private morgue. What, then, about the girl wife and the baby? There is little for women and children to do in Gary. Rough, careless, brutal, burly, indifferent, it is a town for men only.

Figures are not obtainable as to the deaths and injuries in the steel works at Gary. All inquiries are met with a shake of the head or a shrug of the shoulders. Workers who know that Death sits at their heels constantly during their hours of labor do not care to talk about him much. They will admit they know he is there, but they will then change the subject instantly.

"Funny," said a Gary steel worker as I passed him a bowl of steaming hot potatoes across the boarding house table. "One day I saw a man reach out with his tongs to grab a red-hot rail. I don't know what caused it or how it happened, but the next minute I saw the rail coiling around him in a spiral like a big snake. He gave just one yell and then there was spurts of smoke as it closed around him. It didn't leave much of him, either."

Some say that an average of 25 men are

killed in the Gary steel works every month and three times that many are more or less seriously burned or otherwise injured. These figures may be exaggerated; I do not know. The Steel Trust maintains its own hospital inside the plant and as soon as a man is hurt he is hurried there and the outside world never hears of the case. If a man is killed, the coroner records the death under "accidental deaths" and lets it go at that. Formerly the Steel Trust did not report the deaths in its works even to the police. Nowadays the usual official reports are made, but, of course, they mean nothing and never go any further. No squeamish or timid man is wanted by the Steel Trust. Outside its gate at Gary it has posted this ominous sign:

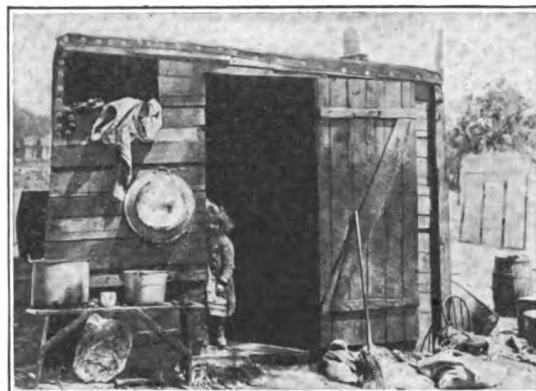
Unless you are willing to avoid injury to yourself and fellow workmen do not ask for employment.

But when one leaves the steel works gate Gary is not a bad town to look upon, as most industrial towns go. Its principal street leads directly to the entrance of the plant and is named after the favorite thoroughfare of its founders, "Broadway." Like the original, it is brilliantly lighted by night and is richly lined with boozoriums and ginmills.

There are only a few of these in the main business section, but toward the south end, in the working class district, the street is lined with solid blocks of them. At first glance one would think there is a straight mile of them, not interspersed with other stores, but continuous with saloons.

Yes, the Gary workingman drinks and he drinks heavily. The liquor problem is one we are going to know more about when it has been studied scientifically under Socialism. At present the average Gary workingman is trying to solve the problem by drinking it down and out of sight. We may watch him gulp his poison with sorrow, but we can't blame him.

If we were all in his place we would doubtless do it, too. Confined all day or all night in a man-made hell, his body exposed for hours to intense and blistering heat, his lungs covered with a coating of fine steel dust with which the air is laden, what wonder that there is set up within him a desperate craving for drink? If



"HOME, SWEET HOME," AT GARY.

there were no other factors, the long monotonous hours he toils would naturally drive him to the warmth and light and seeming good-fellowship with which the saloon abounds.

But as elsewhere, not far from these garish saloons is their inevitable accompaniment—desperate, miserable poverty. The fester known as the slum is already noticeable in Gary, though the town is but five years old.

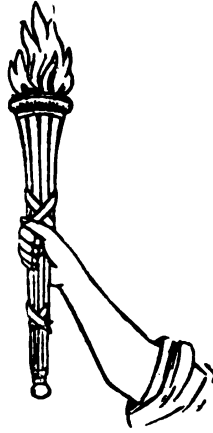
The slum has begun in Gary with the "shack." This is a long low hut made of boards driven into the sandy ground and covered with tin and tar paper. The structure is not as high as a man and one must stoop to enter the doorway.

Gary already has hundreds of these shacks. They are inhabited mostly by the unskilled foreign workers, who crowd themselves in at the rate of 15 or more persons to a shack. Such dwellings, or rather pig-sties, are cheap, and the foreign worker is forced to put up with them if he would save any money to send back home. The Steel Trust has built about 700 "model" dwellings in Gary, but these are not for the laborer. They are for foremen and other highly paid employes.

Such is Gary. And now what's the answer to this industrial hell, this "model" town of brilliant lights and blackened smokestacks, this don't-give-a-damn indifference to life and health, this brutal, overwork and cruel under pay?

Curiously enough I found the answer written on the archway of the railroad bridge that crosses the short plaza leading to the steel works gate. On the white concrete wall some wanderer had scrawled in letters two feet high the one word—Socialism.

WE ARE THE



REVOLUTION

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE Socialist party has flung far and wide its lines of advance. Our work until now was aimed at the awakening of the working class; at carrying the word of revolt to the remotest parts of our land. Heretofore our agitation was mostly extensive.

Let us now make it also intensive.

Inadvertently we have fallen into erroneous ways. We have talked too much politics. We laid too much stress on electing men. The offices looked big and good to some of us.

Let there be no mistake.

Class-conscious, political action is to the working class what wings are to a bird, fins to a fish and legs to other animals. The working class can advance only by entering the political arena and reaching out, as a class, for the powers of government.

To accomplish this the Socialist party was called into being. Political action is a means to an end. The end is the abolition of wage-slavery. The end is everything. The means are justified only by the end.

But some of us are talking politics as if politics were in itself the end. Elect Jones! Jones is a great man! Jones will do wonders! Get the offices! Let us show the capitalists that we, the Socialists, can be honest and efficient. That we can even reduce the taxes! That we can be very much like any reform party. That, in fact, there is not any difference between us and a reform movement.

This talk is born of over-eagerness for political success, for the capture of offices. In the long run, it defeats its own purpose, for it creates a disgust with all political action. Besides, it opens the door to political corruption, to dickered and dealing.

That we have talked too much politics is due to the inexperience of the membership and the opportunism of our speakers and writers who will first profit by political success. Also to our common desire to spread ourselves out, to become big. Also because it is easier to talk politics than Socialism.

Two great forces contribute to the making of the Socialist movement—the force of thought and the force of passion. Socialism is born of the knowledge of social laws and of the revolutionary fervor of the rising proletariat.

Knowledge not materialized in working class action is an unconfined force. It evaporates and is lost like liberated steam.

Working class action or revolutionary passion not based in knowledge is either led into the morass of opportunism or is beating blindly and vainly its bleeding limbs against the stone wall of capitalist tradition.

United the two forces are irresistible.

With these two forces harnessed to its chariot, Socialism is invincible. It becomes all-conquering and also Protean.

It permeates into the hidden pores and cells of our society and eats away the heart

tissue of capitalism, for Socialism is the incarnation of the Social revolution.

Proletarian political action aims at turning the guns of the exploiters upon themselves. A Socialist in public office cannot do this by merely being honest and efficient. That he must be honest and efficient goes without saying. But this does not make him different from many reformers in public office.

A Socialist is at war with present society and works for its overthrow. He holds public office with this object in view. And in small things and big things he must not lose sight of this aim.

A reformer aims at making exploitation of human beings for profit respectable.

The Socialist aims to destroy wage-slavery. The reformer wants to make it humane.

The force of reason and the grimness of the inevitable is in the Socialist position.

The attitude of the reformer bears the fatal imprint of a decaying humanism.

Nothing can harm or retard the Socialist movement, excepting it become false to its own impelling and guiding forces—revolutionary spirit and knowledge.

Therefore must we remain true to our principles and not forego them even for temporary political advantages.

Do not be in the least confused by the sneers of some who appear wise. They will call you “doctrinaire,” “dogmatist” or “fanatic.” Let not the doubt of the philosophic validity of the Socialist doctrines influence your course. No greater boon

was even given to the working class than the doctrines of Socialism. These doctrines are to the working class what the channel is to the river, what the air is to the flying arrow. They lend direction and purpose to revolutionary passion. Give the people a doctrine and they will crucify you for doing so and then die in defense of the doctrine.

The Socialists are suffering crucifixion right along. The revolutionary energy of the masses must also be aroused.

You may doubt in the seclusion of your closet and philosophize over your tomes.

You must come to the fray with a clear head and sure arm.

We have neglected the science of Socialism for the sake of numbers.

We have turned all our publications into propaganda sheets for the unconverted. But do we ourselves learn all that we should about Socialism? We must become more familiar with our theories and principles. We must form study clubs and take no substitute for what is best. We must grow in intensity, as we are growing extensively.

Also the expectation of the impending overthrow of capitalism must not be abandoned. There are more reasons to believe that capitalism will be shortly overthrown than not. The red spectre of the Social Revolution is the greatest bearer of gifts to the working class.

The revolution is threading its way and, as we pause to listen to its steps, we learn that the sound is the echo of our own steps.

We are the revolution.

“We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-way jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue.”

—Wendell Phillips.

A
GREAT SOLDIER
OF THE
COMMON GOOD

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE most admirable man that the English-speaking peoples have ever produced is Wendell Phillips.

By just so much as the mind is higher than brute force, ideas better than swords, ideals grander than appetites, conscience better than selfishness, service better than aggrandizement, faith better than expediency, this man stands higher than all the swash-buckler warriors and cunning politicians to whom we are accustomed to build our monuments.

He is about the only great figure in history, so far as I have been able to discover, that ever took up a hated cause, steadfastly led to it success, and had never a thought in it except of pure service.

No other man, not Lovejoy that was murdered, nor any soldier on any battlefield, gave up so much.

A sensitive man, he sacrificed honor and the good opinion of his times and accepted universal hatred and incessant attack. A man of the strongest family ties, he accepted the ostracism of every relative, including his mother to whom he was tenderly attached. He had am-

bitions; he was content to see them all annihilated. He loved his profession and had looked forward to an honored career therein; he closed his office and abandoned his promising practice. He loved friendship; he accepted for all the days of his life such isolation that he seems now one of the loneliest figures in history.

In a nation where success is the deity and ambition the creed of every young man, this one giving up everything he had ever held to be worth while, and making the sacrifice for the pure sake of an ideal, is surely the highest type we have known.

He had a vision far beyond any of the men that fought with him for the abolition of chattel slavery. Garrison was there because he had a consuming passion against slavery as a national sin. Phillips went far deeper. He came into the anti-slavery movement after profound reflection in which after the invariable method of his mind, he sought under the surface for the causes of things.

He alone saw that the slavery ques-

tion was economic and only one phase of the universal problem of labor. The 348,000 slave owners of the South kept slaves not because they were different from other men that didn't keep slaves but because they held slave labor to be essential to their profits. What was really at fault then, was the system. The ownership of man by man was a crime so hideous that no words could frame it; but while the guilt of such an ownership was deep and unquestionable, the system was the ultimate offender, not the individual.

He saw, for instance, that the invention of the cotton-gin, which made the growing of cotton profitable, fastened slavery upon the South, and without it the southern slave-owners would probably have been as ready to give up slavery as the slave-owners of the North had been. If slavery could be divorced from profits it would die of itself. Seeing this he saw also the boundless hypocrisy of the clergymen, editors, educators, leaders, statesmen and politicians North and South that attempted to find a moral defense for slavery. He knew perfectly well that these men were fawning courtiers, parasites, bawds and mercenaries at the slavery court, and the extraordinary bitterness with which he assailed them arose from this perception. Even a man that owned slaves and gathered profits from their labor was respectable compared with the northern clergyman that cited texts from his bible to defend the traffic.

It was the custom then and has been the custom ever since to make much of this bitterness and cite it as evidence that Phillips was a reckless fanatic. It is an easy phrase and covers a lot of our sins of omission. We do not throw ourselves into the righteous cause with the fervor and devotion of Phillips because we do not like to be called fanatics. But when a man is dealing with a great, fundamental, vital, principle of human freedom, how can he possibly be a fanatic? What terms, for instance, would be extreme when applied to human slavery? Or how could one adequately describe the horrors and results of present-day poverty or be too bitter or too active in opposition to such

things? To one that stands in the East End of London, for instance, and observes what is about him, all the fanaticism in the world seems like dish water.

And here we come upon the key note of Phillips' character. He could never conceive of any such thing as compromise with evil. He thought there could not possibly be two kinds of right. If a cause were worth taking up it was worth fighting for to the end without surrendering the smallest particle of its faith. Defeat was nothing; long waiting was nothing. If a cause were right its eventual triumph was assured; meantime there was no such thing as defeat. For a cause that was fundamental, no sacrifice was too great and no labor too exacting. Certain principles in the world were worth more than life, comfort, friendship, public opinion, worth more than all other considerations together. Human liberty was not a thing to be bargained about, to be advanced by concession or compromise or to be accepted with any qualifications. It was at all times the first and greatest thing in life, to be demanded absolutely, without price and without weighing the consequences.

No human institution was worth a fig's end if it conflicted in any way with fundamental human rights. He cared nothing for forms, parchments, traditions nor conventions. If the constitution of the United States recognizes slavery, trample on it. If your country stands for human oppression cease to be an American. If your courts go into the business of man-hunting attack them. If the church covers oppression with the halo of sanctity attack the church. If the press becomes the harlot of the oppressive power, spit on the press. If to be respectable means that for one moment you must make the slightest concession to evil, don't be respectable. If success is offered to you on any such terms, be a failure. No facing both ways. No dodging and dickerings. One thing or the other. You cannot serve Man and the forces that prey upon his heart.

Again and again Phillips rammed home that doctrine upon the Abolition movement. "He that is not with us is against

us," was one of his favorite texts. There would be no such thing as an opponent of slavery that wished to stop with limiting the territory of slavery. Such half-way men were worse than the slave-holders themselves. Either fight on to the end no matter how far off that may be, or get out of the ranks.

In the close parallel that exists between the Abolition movement of sixty years ago and the movement today to abolish wage-slavery, one is rather amused to see that the Insurgent or Progressive party of these times had its exact prototype then. Just as the Insurgents now perceive that the wage system is wrong and propose to limit or regulate it, so from 1848 to 1856 a foolish, pottering Free Soil party proposed to deal with the fundamental principle of human freedom by regulating slavery. Some of our regulative friends seem to think that regulation is a new thing. On the contrary it has been the coward's refuge time out of mind. In all history whenever man has begun to chafe against oppression a certain order of mental white rabbits has appeared with some proposal of regulation that would save them from the dreadful necessity of taking a stand.

It was so in this case. The White Rabbit Insurgents of the day knew in their shrinking and trembling souls that slavery was absolutely wrong, but they did not dare to say so. What they proposed was that it should not be admitted into the territories. That would advantage them with the chance to fool their consciences that men of this order dearly love. They could always say they were on the side of righteousness because they were Insurgents.

Some of these timid ones thought it would be a grand scheme if the Abolitionists would join hands with the White Rabbit brigade. They pointed out that with combined forces the movement might win something. It might get somebody into office or carry an election in Newburyport. Whereas, so long as the Abolitionists held aloof the wicked slave power was certain to have all the offices and win all the elections.

Mr. Phillips looked upon this proposal with scorn. To his mind the object in view was not to carry Newburyport but

to abolish the crime of slavery, and he had small patience for those that conceived their duty to have been done when they had voted to regulate that crime.

The White Rabbit movement was of few days and full of trouble. At first it seemed to promise something. Compromise is an alluring bait to the Anglo-Saxon mind. It saves bother and allows us to go on with sacred business. If a man went on record against the extension of slavery into the territories he would not greatly antagonize the dominant slave power and still he would be on the right side of things. Whereas, those Abolitionists were fanatics and cranks and it was bad for business for a man to go too far, you know. "I am not an Abolitionist," said a million men at the North, "but I don't think slavery ought to be extended into the territories." Their intellectual descendants are thick today. "I am not a Socialist, but I don't think Pierpont Morgan ought to own everything in the country."

But you cannot extinguish a conflagration by sprinkling it from a bottle of rose water. Here was a tremendous conflict between two faiths diametrically opposed. A basic principle of human life was at stake. When Mr. Phillips refused to join hands with the Free Soilers, calculating persons thought he was crazy. The next few years showed that he was perfectly right. In the fierce heat of battle between these opposing principles the Free Soil party was crumbled up in a way that made its champions seem highly ridiculous. When John Brown stepped upon the scaffold to die for freedom even dull men began to perceive that the proposals of the Insurgents were jokes for children and that here was a life and death struggle between colossal ideas.

It is part of the distinctive position of Wendell Phillips in our history that he alone of his element perceived the breadth of this struggle. Reflecting upon the underlying cause of slavery brought him to see that chattel slavery was only a part of the greater slave system that the present organization of society forces upon labor. He did not come at once upon this great fact; he could not have been expected to do so. In his day the accepted thinking of his country was so

utterly different that the wonder is he came upon it at all. But the mind that sixty years ago foresaw and foretold the airship and wireless telegraphy was far too active and acute to rest with any superficial indications. Before the abolition of chattel slavery was more than a growing hope he had reached the conclusion that the real warfare was against the wage system. He believed that chattel slavery should be abolished first, and that attention should not be distracted from it until its destruction should be complete; but the moment that was assured he took up the larger cause and began to insist upon attention to the labor problem.

It is an odd fact that the popular conception of Mr. Phillips, so far as there can be said to be any, practically ignores this phase of his life. No great man has ever suffered so much in general esteem from persistent misrepresentation and suppression, but of all the campaign of injustice in which his memory has been involved so much, the most striking feature is the attitude of history toward his career after the war. To such of the rising generation as know him at all his one eminence is that he was an anti-slavery agitator. Everything seems to have stopped with him in 1863; whereas, as a matter of fact his activities were prolonged for twenty years in all of which time he never ceased to agitate. His offence lies in the fact that the world has forgiven the unpopular cause for which he labored from 1838 to 1865, but it has never forgiven the cause for which he labored from 1865 to the day of his death. Success, the magic American talisman, had gilded the Abolition of chattel slavery; it had not touched yet the abolition of wage slavery.

And here I am moved to some remarks on the enormous power of Capitalism to pervert and poison history so that even the fair-minded, even (if you like) the suspicious and the informed, are deceived. Here was the most remarkable man of his times and the greatest influence. Not one American public school graduate in one hundred thousand ever hears of his name. Here was probably the greatest orator that ever lived. He has almost no place in the

printed accounts of oratory. Here was unquestionably the most effective of all agitators. He is almost never included in the lists of such men. Here was a man that for the purest of motives made in behalf of liberty the greatest sacrifices that it is possible for men to make. He is never mentioned as one of the lights of the human cause. In his own day, millions of men, including those that hated him looked daily for his utterances, and sentences of his swept across the continent cheering men's minds or stirring them to action. You would never learn from history that he had even existed.

Take such a matter as his oratory. That is an art, and one of the highest of arts. In art all considerations are supposed to be dropped except merely the achievement. The faith, convictions, or even the morals of the artist are supposed to be absolutely ignored. Yes. But here is a man of whose art in oratory such triumphs are recorded as were never told of any other. He has never been admitted to his true place in that art. Nothing that is related of the effects produced by Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt, Erskine, Webster, Clay, Mirabeau, or any other man compare with a dozen instances of this man's marvelous powers. Yet in the accepted histories of oratory he has almost no mention, and only such persons now alive as were privileged to hear him have any notion of his unequalled gifts.

Why is all this manifest injustice? Because history is made in the interest of and to pleasure Capitalism and this man had mortally offended Capitalism. The moment the war was over and the end of chattel slavery assured, he took up the labor question and thrust into the faces of the employing class the painful question, "How about the slaves that labor for your profits?" and Capitalism has never forgiven him for that. He struck the death knell of all his chances for fame and recognition when on November 2, 1865, he went to Faneuil Hall and practically severed his relations with organized society in his famous declaration called "The Eight Hour Movement."

"The labor of these twenty-nine years," said Mr. Phillips, "has been in behalf of a race bought and sold. That struggle for the ownership of labor is now some-

what near its end; and we fitly commence a struggle to define and to arrange the true relations of capital and labor. Today one of your sons is born. He lies in his cradle as the child of a man without means, with a little education, and with less leisure. The favored child of the capitalist is borne up by every circumstance, as on the eagle's wings. The problem of today is how to make the chances of the two as equal as possible; and before this movement stops, every child born in America must have an equal chance in life."

This speech put him clearly in the ranks of a cause that in one way was more unpopular at the North than Abolition had been. He was attacking, in their most sensitive point, the foremost pillars of society. When he stood forward that night in Faneuil Hall and naming the best known public men of Massachusetts demanded that they should declare themselves on the great labor question he aroused an unquenchable resentment. He was threatening sacred profits and there is no other crime so far beyond pardon.

After the war a great change had taken place in the public attitude toward the leading Abolitionists. They now became the heroes of the hour. Mr. Phillips himself was offered a seat in Congress, the Governorship and a prospective place in the Senate. When in the face of such alluring prospects he deliberately thrust aside every honor and took his place in the little army of labor reformers all men saw clearly that he was insane. Nothing else could explain such monumental perversity. His family, years before, had tried to have him committed to an asylum for championing the negro slave. Wise persons now shook their heads and declared that the family must have been right. A man that would refuse the Governorship of Massachusetts and then herd with common laboring men and labor party fanatics was an incurable maniac.

Mr. Phillips went his way serenely, insisting upon public attention to the labor problem that every interest in the country was striving to have suppressed. He perceived infallibly upon what a downward path the nation had been launched, and what alone could save it. In his great speech entitled "The Labor Question," he said:

"I hail the Labor movement for two reasons, and one is that it is my only hope for democracy. At the time of the Anti-Slavery agitation, I was not sure whether we should come out of the struggle with one republic or two; but republics I knew we should still be. I am not so confident, indeed, that we shall come out of this storm as a republic, unless the Labor movement succeeds. Take a power like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad, and there is no legislative independence that can exist in its sight. As well expect a green vine to flourish in a dark cellar as to expect honesty to exist under the shadow of those upas trees, unless there is a power in your movement, industrially and politically, the last knell of democratic liberty in this Union is struck."

His speeches in all these years resound with warnings to his countrymen of the enslavement of the masses that was certain to follow from the rapid growth of the capitalistic power and appeals to workingmen to unite and save the country and themselves by taking the government into their own hands. No wonder the entire capitalist press regarded him as a dangerous lunatic.

The best expression of his economic faith is found in the platform that he wrote for the Labor Reform convention, held at Worcester, September 4, 1871, largely at his instigation. He seems to have aimed in these sentences to make his radical position so clear that no one could question his unreserved support of the labor cause. He wrote:

"We affirm, as a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates.

"Affirming this, we avow ourselves willing to accept the final results of operation of a principle so radical—such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system, the extinction of all monopolies, the abolition of privileged classes, universal education and fraternity, perfect freedom of exchange, and, best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization, the poverty of the masses."

Other paragraphs "declare war with the wages system, which demoralizes alike the hirer and the hired, cheats both and

enslaves the workingman," and demand "that every facility and all encouragement shall be given by law to co-operation in all branches of industry and trade, and that the same aid be given to co-operative efforts that has heretofore been given to railroads and other enterprises."

Many other quotations from his utterances equally apt, forceful and socialistic I should give here if I had space. All that he said in favor of the revolt of labor and against the growth of capitalistic power should be carefully re-read today. It will sound now like a strangely verified prophecy and the unheeded appeal of a wise, humane and thoughtful man struggling to arouse his countrymen to a sense of their danger.

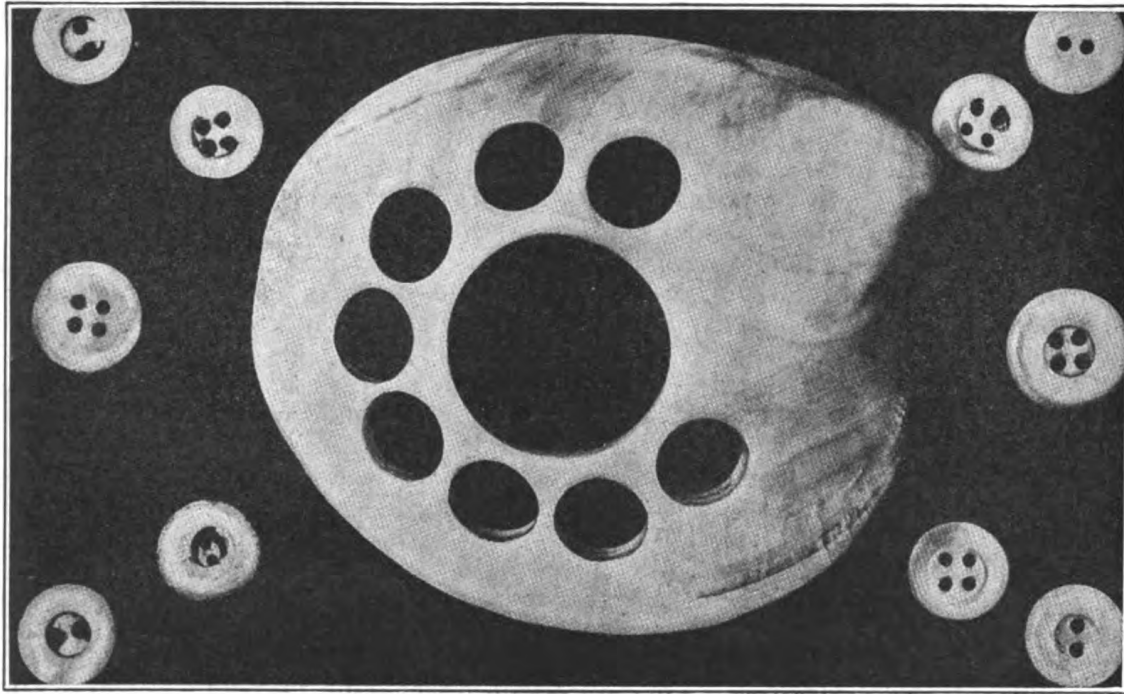
All this was exactly in accord with the principle of life that he had consistently followed from the time he began to think about underlying causes. He utterly eliminated himself from his plans. He would not accept any reward or any distinction for his service, which he jealously kept pure. He declined the Republican nomination for Governor when it meant election and a long career of political success, to accept the Labor nomination when it meant arduous and hopeless campaigning and certain defeat. A truly unique figure in American public life he never once considered the popularity or unpopularity of any cause; he only asked if it were right. Still more remarkable fact, he never even considered the consequences of what he did or said. If any cause were right, true, for humanity and democracy, he was for it if he were the only man in the country to take it up and if it brought upon him a flood of obloquy; without hesitation and without regret, he was for it, and if the flood came, why, let it come down.

Some time is usually required to convince one unacquainted with Phillips that all this is literally true and that America actually has produced one public man that was absolutely unafraid. That never temporized, never compromised, never bargained with conscience, never abated his utmost scorn for expediency and op-

portunism; was oblivious to the temptations of success and fought steadily on year by year with unshaken courage. Yet, such is the record in this man's case. He would not yield one jot of the faith either to an attack in front nor temptation at his side, and I know of but one other man in history that can be classed with him, Giuseppe Mazzini!

This is why it seems to me a calamity that the youth of America know almost nothing about this exponent of the highest American ideals. Our schools teach all kinds of trash about this hero or that, supposed to have won renown by killing people. They consistently say not one word about the man that strove through moral agencies instead of by force, devoted his life to freedom and democracy, unselfishly gave all he had to the cause of man, and displayed all his life a higher and greater courage than any soldier ever showed upon any battle field. But the man that defied and assaulted the smug hypocrisy of New England capitalism is not yet forgiven. He is still the "reckless fanatic" and "noisy agitator" from whom must be kept the admiration of young minds invited rather to fix their thoughts upon the glorious achievements of wholesale murder.

Courage and conscience were the first of the distinguishing traits of this man. There is the kind of courage that tramples upon fear when a man rushes up the hill in the attack upon a battery. There is another kind that Macaulay describes as "that nobler courage that comes of reason and reflection." I think there is still another and infinitely higher. It is the courage that Phillips felt when without shrinking he faced for more than forty years a ceaseless storm of bitter hatred, malice, lies, calumny, misrepresentation, ostracism, isolation and poisonous detraction. Capitalism covered his grave with its venom. On this one hundredth anniversary of his birth it should be the duty of American Socialists to see that his name is rescued from the oblivion to which hypocrisy and canting greed have tried to consign it.



PEARL BUTTONS STAMPED FROM CLAM SHELL.

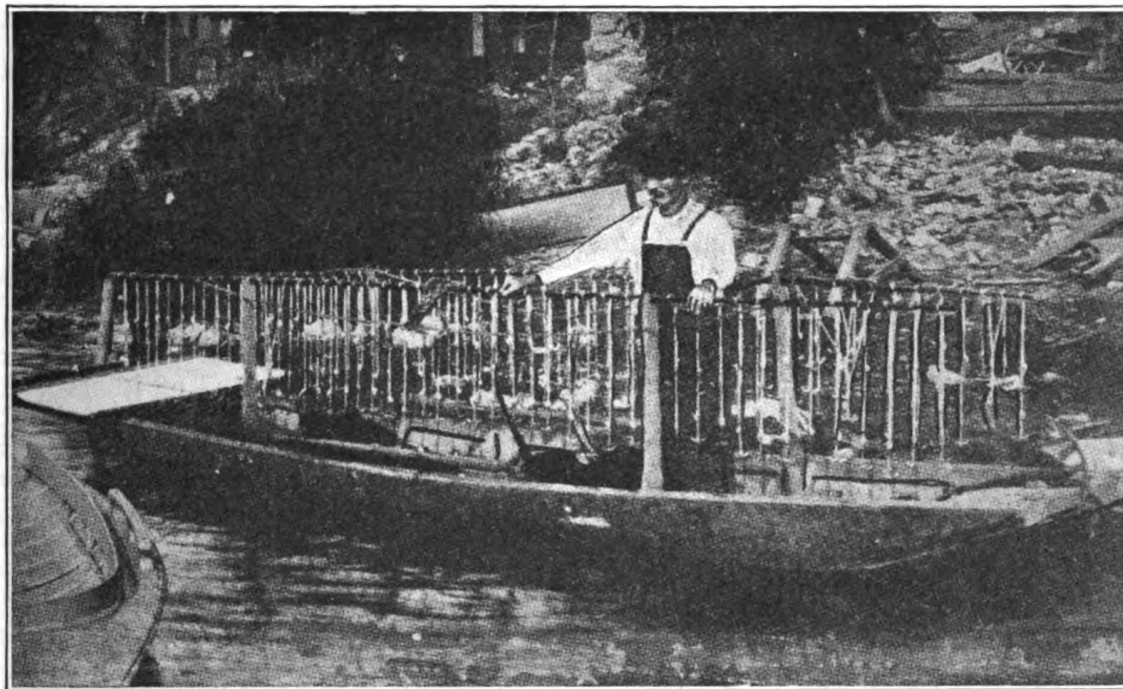
PEARL BUTTONS

BY
LEE W. LANG

MUSCATINE, IOWA, is the center of the button industry of the world. J. F. Boepple, a native of Germany, over twenty years ago, started the first button shop in the Mississippi valley and made buttons from clam shells taken from the bed of the Mississippi river. When he first started a shop he used foot power to run the cutting machines and the process of centering, polishing and drilling holes in the buttons was done by hand. Of late years the business has evolved to a point where nearly all the process of making the buttons is done by machinery. To begin with the clam shells are taken from the river bed by means of a rake or a hook, they are cooked in order to get the clams out of the shells, and the shells are sold to the manufacturers.

While the clams are being taken out each one is searched thoroughly for pearls and quite often a clam digger makes a good find. After the shells reach the manufacturer buttons are cut out of them, of various sizes, by men who are paid by the gross. A gross is 144 buttons, but the men are made to cut 168 buttons for a gross, the manufacturer claiming that the two dozen extra buttons are to make up for the imperfect buttons. But this is not the truth, for the boss counts out all imperfect buttons, besides forcing the men to cut the extras.

The next processes that the buttons go through are grinding, centering, drilling holes in the buttons and also polishing the same, all of which is done by automatic machines. The operatives employed to do



CLAM FISHING OUTFIT, MUSCATINE, IOWA.

this work are women and girls. They must finish and even sort the imperfect buttons for which they receive no pay. The manufacturers sell all the buttons, as even the thinnest are marketable though not bringing quite as good a price as the perfect buttons. Still the bosses refuse to pay the workers anything for the thin buttons. After the buttons are finished and sorted they are sewed on cards. This is one of the most dastardly schemes that was ever worked onto any community. The bosses pay one and one-half cents per gross for sewing the buttons on cards and the people have to carry the buttons from and to the shops. In most cases the school children have to do this work. The children are forced to help their mothers to sew buttons. I have seen children sewing buttons before school, at noon hours, after school hours and in the evening. The mothers sew all day long. Some have to neglect their housework to make from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per week.

All of the church societies sew buttons for the benefit of the churches. One church society has sewed as high as 66 gross in two hours' time and the result, at one and one-half cents per gross, was 99 cents, and as there were eight women present it aver-

aged 6 cents per hour. One woman has tested herself and on an average of a ten-hour day she cannot sew more than four gross per hour, making sixty cents a day. It must be remembered that a woman cannot keep this rate up, as the work is hard on the eyes, it affects the spine and produces nervous wrecks.

A prominent lawyer has figured out the labor cost of making buttons to be less than eight-tenths of one cent per dozen. The buttons are sold at retail from 10 cents to \$1.50 per dozen. The business has increased to enormous proportions of late. When it was in its infancy the workers used to make pretty fair wages, but in the last few years, since the manufacturers have become larger and have organized, they have reduced the wages of the workers to a starvation point.

During the last ten years various attempts were made to organize the workers in the button industry, but it was a hopeless task until the fall of 1910, when the manufacturers reduced wages to such a point that it became unbearable and the workers organized. O. C. Wilson, Socialist city alderman, was the principal figure in organizing them and at the present time he is the business agent of the union and

is giving the manufacturers a run for their money. After the workers nearly all joined the union, the manufacturers took fright and on February 25th, 1911, locked out the workers for nine weeks and the workers refused to go back to work without their union cards. After the manufacturers used all the means at their command, even going so far as to have the militia here, and not being able to induce the workers to go back they had Governor Carroll arrange for a settlement and the button workers agreed to it. But to the sorrow of the workers, the manufacturers discharged many of the best union workers and a halt had to be called.

On October 2nd the button workers of Muscatine went out on strike for the closed shop and all the men in the different shops as well as the girls went out with the exception of a few who worked through the lockout last spring. Over 2,000 people are affected by the strike and the bosses are feeling the result. Emmett T. Flood, of Chicago, organizer for the A. F. of L., is in charge of the strike and is doing well in keeping the workers together. As soon as the workers went out, they established a restaurant and a commissary and with aid from the different unions throughout the country they are keeping their members supplied with the necessities of life. They are buying coal, potatoes and flour in carload lots and giving it to the strikers.

The Commercial Club recently held a joint meeting with the manufacturers and business men of the city and adopted resolutions, pledging their support to the bosses and standing for "law and order," such as has been doled out to the workers. About 300 business men aligned themselves with the bosses, signed the resolutions for "law and order," and business has been pretty dull with them ever since. The real object of the manufacturers was to induce the business men to help intimidate the workers and they are trying the same by refusing the workers credit and urging them to go back to work. The business men were used as stool pigeons and are now sorry for what they have done. The manufacturers have imported thugs from Chicago and they are causing all kinds of arrests and throwing all kinds of people in jail on no charge at all. The marshal, who is a Democrat, a young

but ignorant brute, said he would go the limit to protect the scabs.

Miss Finnegan, of Chicago, was arrested and held in jail for six hours, having to give \$300.00 cash bond, and after four days' waiting, the officers said they had no charge against her. L. W. Lang, a Socialist school director, was also arrested, jailed, not allowed to see his friends or telephone to them, given no breakfast, not allowed to give bonds until he had lain in the ratty bummery for twelve hours. Then he was only let out on cash bond of \$300.00. He was given a trial in police court, refused a trial by jury, and found guilty of using profane and indecent language, according to the testimony of a Chicago slugger. The case has been appealed to the district court. This was simply a trumped-up charge because he was a Socialist official and they are trying to discredit the Socialists. Four children, ranging from 12 to 14 years of age, were arrested and taken to the county jail and placed inside, which is strictly for-



DETECTIVES TAKING SCHOOL CHILDREN TO JAIL FOR CALLING A SCAB—A SCAB.

bidden by the statute of the state of Iowa. They were kept there for four hours and dismissed.

The mayor has refused to allow any public parades. The unions asked for an injunction against his orders, but the judge upheld the mayor. On account of not being able to parade and counteract the business men's meeting, held a few evenings before, the unions of the city, under the auspices of the Muscatine Trades Assembly, held a great mass meeting at the Opera house, at which time Miss Finnegan, Emmett T. Flood, A. S. Langille, Mrs. Raymond Robins and other local speakers spoke. The opera house was filled with people who wanted to hear the message for the workers. Overflow meetings were held in the Trades Assembly hall, speakers going from one hall to another to satisfy the crowds. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the

way the police officers were making illegal arrests and pledges were made to aid the button workers.

Most of the button manufacturers started with very little capital and today they are nearly all worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The manufacturers are going to any lengths to accomplish their aim of breaking up the union. The Socialists are carrying on a campaign with literature, educating the workers and showing them how they must have the law-making and law-interpreting power in their hands. Next spring will see a general cleaning up of the old parties and then the workers will for the first time enjoy some of the rights which their forefathers fought for. Discontent is the order of the day the world over and it is the promise of a better day for the workers.

A DETECTIVE

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

A DETECTIVE is the lowest, meanest, most contemptible thing that either creeps or crawls, a thing to loath and despise.

A detective has the soul of a craven, the heart of a hyena. He will barter the virtue of a pure woman or the character of an honest man. He will go into the labor unions, the political party, the fraternal society, the business house, the church. He will drag his slimy length into the sacred precincts of the family; there to create discord and cause unhappiness. He breeds and thrives on the troubles of his own making. He is a maggot of his own corruption.

That you may know how small a detective is, you can take a hair and pinch

the pith out of it and in the hollow hair you can put the hearts and souls of 40,000 detectives and they will still rattle. You can pour them out on the surface of your thumb nail and the skin of a gnat will make an umbrella for them.

When a detective dies he goes so low he has to climb up a ladder to get into hell, and he is not a welcome guest there. When his Satanic Majesty sees him coming, he says to his imps, "Go get a big bucket of pitch and a lot of sulphur, give them to that fellow and put him outside. Let him start a little hell of his own, we don't want him in here starting trouble."

There is not room enough in hades for a detective.

WHAT WE WANT!

BY

J. H. FRAZER

WHEN crafty politicians (and politicians who imagine themselves crafty) see an opportunity to enrich themselves by means of political scheming, it is customary for them to announce with great gusto that they are "the friends of labor," "tax-payers' friends," etc., but that type of reformer who announces himself a Socialist or a Socialistic reformer is probably the most obnoxious. His stock in trade is usually a lot of drivel about "good government and municipal, state or government ownership."

This type of politician usually comes from the professional and small business class, and his mentality usually reflects the desperate economic standing of that class.

Although he may have never worked a day in his life, he knows all about what the working class wants. He has a patent on all of the knowledge obtainable on this subject.

To the reformer the working man who thinks for himself is an outlaw, a visionary, a reactionary, an undesirable citizen, and then some.

Our present society has developed to the point where the interest of every individual is inseparably bound up in that individual's class interest.

The writer would not make so bold as to state what are the best interests of the petty bourgeoisie, but will endeavor to throw some light on what the working class wants from the viewpoint of a **WORKING MAN**:

There is little confusion among the thinking portion of the working class as to what would be beneficial to them. We want less work and a larger share of what we produce. When we gain that we will want more of the same. In fact, we want to continue reducing the length of our workday, and at the same time increase

our share of the product until there is nothing left for the capitalist.

Suppose that wages were stationary and that we elected men to office for the purpose of establishing municipal ownership of public utilities and that they should succeed in getting them. Suppose that thereby car fare was reduced to three cents a trip and that gas was reduced ten cents a thousand, and water rates reduced twenty-five cents a month, the working man would gain but a few pennies per month.

Many Socialist reformers make the statement that the average value produced per man in the United States, according to statistics, is about \$2,500 a year, and that the average wage is about \$500 per year. This means that every wage worker, on the average, is deliberately robbed of \$2,000 per year. So far, good! But in the next instant they are telling us that municipal ownership will solve our problem. Just how ten or fifteen cents a day will compensate a worker for \$8 or \$10 a day remains for them to explain.

The fact should be borne in mind, however, that a decrease in the cost of living is almost invariably followed by a cut in wages. For instance, in villages and towns where it is possible for almost every family to have a garden and where farm products are cheap, wages are lower than in the large cities. Thousands of city workers who have come in from the country know this to be true.

Some of these towns have "good government" and some have other kinds of government, some have open, licensed houses of prostitution and some have none; some have municipal ownership of public utilities and some have not; some have one telephone system and some of them have two; some have street car systems and some have none, but in all of them the con-

dition of the working class is almost precisely the same.

The working class is essentially nomadic. The workingman must move from place to place to obtain employment.

He leaves a \$2 a day job to go to one which pays \$4, for the same kind of work, filled with the hope of being able to save \$2 a day. He has worked for years at \$2 per day, and has lived; surely if he can get \$4 per day he will be able to save \$2 a day. Opulence is in sight. In a few years he will be a bloated bondholder. Then he will come back and give the stay-at-homes the merry ha! ha!

But he finds rent is higher, that groceries cost more, that clothing costs more, where wages are high. He is compelled to live in a tenement and can't raise chickens. In six months' time he is disillusioned. He finds he spends every cent and gets no more of the comforts of life than formerly.

In the matter of working class politics we must proceed scientifically if we are to work any lasting benefits for the working class.

The lawyers, preachers and business men tell us that government, state or municipal ownership, is what we want. Now, if we proceed scientifically in this matter we will, first of all, refuse to accept anything on faith. We will demand proofs. If none are forthcoming, we will investigate the subject ourselves. The only way to obtain knowledge is through experience, either our own or of someone else. There is no revealed truth in regard to municipal ownership.

We find that in several of our large cities there are a great many municipal employes, and we further find that almost without exception they hold their jobs by virtue of political influence. We find in our state institutions that the employes are regularly assessed a portion of their salaries for the campaign and other funds of their political masters. It may be objected that all this is eliminated by the civil service. But, from the working class point of view, the civil service is very undesirable. A very small percentage of working people can qualify, and a working man with any spirit would not answer a number of the questions asked in the application for an examination for the postal service,

if he could procure employment in any other way.

If government, state or municipal ownership of public utilities is "good" for the working class, surely the best conditions for the working class must be in the countries where government ownership is already established. Mexico, for instance, should be an Eldorado for the workers. Likewise with Russia, darkest Russia, or France. But they are NOT.

In writing from abroad about a year ago, Mr. Gompers said that in all the places he visited he found the conditions of laboring people to be the worst in Belgium. Private ownership of public utilities is practically unknown in Belgium.

William D. Haywood says that he found the worst conditions in Glasgow, Scotland. The municipality there owns everything.

Those things which are made manifest to us through our sense perceptions may be depended upon as true. A lawyer, preacher or a business man may assert that the moon is made of green cheese, and, inasmuch as it is beyond the limits of our sense perceptions, and as we can produce no absolute proof to the contrary, we will not argue with them. But when it comes to a question of things of this earth and their correlations, it is an entirely different matter.

A lawyer, a preacher or a business man may think it is a "good" thing for a working man to get hit over the head with a policeman's club or trampled under the feet of a Cossack's horse, and right here we come to the root of the matter. It is the difference in the viewpoint of the two classes. The working class, in the past, has been a "good" thing for the parasites, but it won't be much longer.

We are thinking for ourselves these days, and we do our reasoning from existing material conditions. We don't get our knowledge of economics from the skies nor from court decisions grown hoary with age. Neither do we get them from the supposed sayings of probably mythological persons whom the preachers allege existed long ago.

"Scientific Socialism considers our views dependent upon our material needs, and our political standpoint dependent upon

the economic position of the class we belong to."—Dietzgen.

When we investigate municipal, state or government ownership we find that the workers are as thoroughly robbed, if not more so, than where private ownership prevails. In fact, it places the workers in a more precarious position, it being more difficult to strike, boycott or take any direct action against the state than it is against a private employer.

The working class has gained nothing by government ownership.

The doctor, lawyer, preacher or business man may be very enthusiastic about the postal system, the fire department and the public schools. This class favors the government postoffice because it gives them cheap, prompt and reliable service. It delivers their mail per schedule and handles their humbugging advertisements and swindling literature very cheaply.

The fire department protects them and their property for almost nothing.

In the public schools children are taught to become servile and efficient wage slaves, and to sing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." All of this is very fine for the parasites, but what about the working class?

Postal employes are constantly complaining of the grievous conditions under which they are compelled to work. They are even forbidden the right to organize and protest. A person working under the civil service is not allowed to sign a nominating petition or take any active part in politics.

Better wages are usually paid by private employers, where similar working conditions prevail.

The employes of our city fire departments are notoriously underpaid.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the miserable pittance paid teachers, in lieu of wages, in our public schools.

The interest of capitalist and wage worker are distinctly opposite. What benefits the one injures the other. A political party which advocates reforms which are beneficial to the capitalist will be repudiated by the working class. Many workmen would rather vote, if at all, for the Republican party, which they know to be openly opposed to them, than for a Socialistic party which they either know, or

instinctively feel, is trying to mislead them with petty reforms.

Doctors, lawyers, preachers and small business men are interested in "busting the trusts," but the workingman sees that the trust is a good thing for him. It is in line with development toward a co-operative system of society, and that is our aim.

The majority of parasites are quite well satisfied with things as they are. Perhaps some of them, who are not over-prosperous, would like to have their living expenses reduced by government, state or municipal ownership of the means of production and distribution. They also want "good government," so that wages may be kept as low as possible.

The working class wants to go to the opposite extreme. We want less work and more of our product, and will never be satisfied until we get everything that belongs to us. We don't care anything about what is commonly known as "good government." We want working class government.

If one wishes to understand the vitiating, deadening influence of practical politics he does not need to leave the United States for examples. How many, many times have reform politicians come before the public and promised that if elected they would do something great.

When they are elected we are informed by these gentlemen that they have discovered certain legal technicalities which they knew nothing of before and that it will take some time to put their pre-election ideas into action. Usually they manage to stall along until a short time before another election is to be held, and then they come out and tell the public that everything is progressing nicely and that if they are re-elected they will be able to immediately carry out their proposed reforms. Tom L. Johnson was elected mayor of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, several times with practically no other campaign issue than that of three-cent street car fare. In several cities in Ohio eight street car tickets are sold for twenty-five cents, but the working class isn't any better situated because of it.

In the city of Sacramento, Cal., the city made a profit of \$30,000 on its municipal water plant. The money was put into the

city treasury, and just that amount was saved to the taxpayers. The man who owns a million dollar home gains more on this kind of a deal than does the man who owns a five hundred dollar hovel.

There is probably no city in the world of the same size which has more expensive and luxurious homes, probably no city numbers as many millionaire inhabitants, as does Pasadena, Cal., and there they have municipal ownership of a number of the public utilities, but the working class is in no better position because of it. In fact, working conditions are no better there than in neighboring cities, where none of the public utilities are municipally owned.

The principal purpose of practical politics seems to be the perpetuation of the present economic system. Practical politics is NOT a means to accomplish an end. It IS an end in itself.

The practical politician learns the trade of politics because he thinks he can make a living by working at it, just as a bricklayer, a machinist or any other craftsman learns a trade.

The craftsman does not learn a trade for the purpose of annihilating that trade. It is to his interest to try to continue the conditions which make him necessary.

The workingman who is conscious of his position in society would rather vote for class-conscious capitalist politicians who oppress the workers to the best of their ability than to vote for unclass-conscious working class candidates who propose some petty reforms of more or less doubtful value to the working class.

A working class politician may propose some measure as a pre-election issue which will give a small portion of the working class some benefit, but when analyzed it usually turns out to be a benefit which is gained at the expense of the rest of the working class.

Class-consciousness means the knowledge that there are distinct classes in society, i. e.: a capitalist class and a working class, whose every interest is an opposing one.

Class-consciousness doesn't mean that all the working class should band together politically or industrially to elevate one small section of the working class into a sort of petty capitalist economic position.

Barring the exceptions, which are extremely few, the workingmen cannot rise as individuals to the capitalist class.

If any gain worth while is to be made it must be a gain for the whole working class, and such is possible only when a large portion of the working class is organized for united industrial and political action.

The System Federation on the railroads is probably the greatest step toward Socialism that has been taken in America in years. The new society must develop out of the old and unity at the point of production will make this possible.

"The state is merely the organized power of one class for the oppression of another class."—Marx.

The truth of this statement is evident to the working class and needs no elaboration.

Why do we want the state? Whom do we want to oppress? The capitalist? No!

The working class wishes to obtain control of the state only to abolish it.

The reformer wants to perpetuate the state and to give the state ownership of public utilities. This would mean merely a change of masters for the working class, and perhaps for the worse.

What use would we have for the present capitalist state if every worker received what he could produce? We wouldn't need police, detectives, militia and soldiers to break strikes nor to protect private property. When private property ceases, the function of the state ceases, i. e.: The protection of a small class of parasites and the protection of their property rights.

The government of the future will be an industrial government, over which those engaged in the industries will have full control. The road to industrial government lies through industrial organization.

The political organization should also be developed so that through political action we may control the police, militia, courts, etc., in the interest of the working class until it becomes feasible for us to abolish the state entirely. Not until then will the wages system be abolished or the "expropriators be expropriated."

Fight for the shorter workday. This is a rallying point where all workers can

agree. The man who is working twelve hours a day seven days in the week don't need to read everything written on the subject of sociology in the last 200 years to convince him that it would be better for him to work eight hours a day six days in the week.

Nine out of every ten workers would strike for the eight hour day if they could see any possibility of winning.

About four years ago 50,000 printers and about 40,000 pressmen opened the fight for the eight hour day in the printing trades.

The majority of them were compelled to strike. In some places they were out but a few hours, in other places weeks and even months. The eight hour day has been established.

It is doubtful if there are 100 printers in the whole United States who would be willing to go through a similar fight for

municipal, state or government ownership of printing offices.

The Harriman line railway men are not striking for government ownership of railroads. They are striking for less work and more pay. See the idea?

Give the working class something worth fighting for and there will be plenty of fighters.

Those writers who are advocating state capitalism and petty reforms are receiving the justly merited scorn of the workers, and those speakers who are showing their lack of judgment or their unmitigated gall by trying the same kind of a stunt either get no working class audiences or else their orations are made to the backs of the people who are going out of the door.

Those who aspire to be of value in the present working class movements must realize first that we don't want reforms! *WE WANT REVOLUTION!*





TOM MANN, ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' STRIKE IN ENGLAND

BY
TOM MANN

TO understand what led to the strike of transport workers in England it is necessary to bear in mind that a year ago there was formed in this country a "Transport Workers' Federation." This brought together most of the unions engaged in the carrying trades; and machinery was prepared to make common action easier than in former times. Also, Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, president of the Seamen's Union for fully a year, had been doing his utmost in various countries to make common action possible at least among sailors and firemen, and he aimed at general action in the shipping industry.

After many conferences in continental countries, as well as Britain, it was ultimately decided that June of this year would be the best month for action. Not that Mr. Wilson or any other advocate of labor's cause was really wishful for a strike; he and they desired to secure some solid advantages for the seafaring population, particularly, and for all connected therewith generally. And many scores of letters were written and sent to representative shipowners, to the Shipping Federation

and to the British Board of Trade, to try and obtain reasonable consideration of the demands formulated by the unions, but without success.

This utterly failing, the shipowners and the public were informed that there was no alternative left to the men but that of *withholding their labor*, and that this would be done unless the shipowners would agree to a conference. Then, as the shipowners remained obdurate, it became necessary to fix upon the date when the strike should take place, and the middle of June was fixed upon, but it was decided not to inform the shipowners of the date.

Accordingly the date was kept a secret to those who were specially responsible, but the 14th of June the strike was declared in all British ports.

The shipowners were thus confronted with a state of affairs they were utterly unable to cope with. Mr. Lains, the chief official and adviser of the Shipping Federation, had systematically kept up the attitude of the unyielding plutocrat; on behalf of his colleagues, he had repeatedly declared that they were fully prepared to

deal with any attempt that might be made to strike. He informed all that only an insignificant minority of the seafaring men were in any union and that the result of an attempt to strike would be, that other men would immediately be put in the places of the strikers, and that work would proceed without interruption.

The shipowners' papers scathingly denounced Mr. Wilson and criticised the union maliciously and mercilessly. In spite of all this, in less than a week after the strike, the shipowners were most willing to meet in conference, and urged a settlement as speedily as possible. They readily conceded monetary advances of from ten to twenty shillings a month; they agreed to wipe out the objectionable methods that had been in vogue so long in respect to the medical examination; they agreed to recognize the unions and approved the claim of union delegates to be present at "paying off" time and at "signing on." Thus the changed attitude was almost unbelievable; what eighteen months of pleading with them had failed to do, a few days' withholding of labor did.

It should be explained that only two of the unions in England decided definitely to declare war. These were the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union and the Union of Cooks, Stewards, Ships' Butchers and Bakers. Other unions had decided to sympathetically stand by and watch events.

The trade of the country was exceptionally brisk, and the coronation festivities were right in front and visitors from America, Europe and Australasia were arriving by every passenger boat; any dislocation at such a time would naturally make itself felt in exceptional degree. And so it was.

For myself, I was stationed at Liverpool, which afforded a field quite big enough for one's efforts, and here, as elsewhere, the strike was declared in the name of the two unions mentioned—the Seamen and Stewards—on Wednesday, the 14th of June, and the first of the conferences with shipowners took place on the following Monday. Inside of a fortnight a settlement had been arrived at with most of the principal shipping firms. But some of them had hopes that the Shipping Federation would after all be able to carry them through, and they declined to settle. This necessitated the

extension of the strike to the carters and dockers, so they were invited and later joined the strikers. This was a great factor in bringing in the other shipping firms. They met first as members of the Shipping Federation, only to agree that it was impossible to fight collectively with any show of success and that "each firm must do the best it can for itself." Settlements were proceeding apace when a new development took place. Of the 32,000 dock laborers in Liverpool and district, only 8,000 were organized, and these were receiving from six to ten shillings a week more than the unorganized. So now all the non-union dockers left work, went to the respective branches of the union and joined and insisted right away upon union rates and conditions. This looked like jeopardizing the gains already obtained by the men of the unions who had come out first. We had been urging the necessity of solidarity among all workers, and particularly among all transport workers, and now it was coming.

It proved to be a very trying time, but the result was all these men joined the union, and union wages and conditions were obtained, but before we reached finality with these negotiations, some seven thousand railway employes, most of them unorganized, came out in Liverpool, and claimed that their cause should receive attention.

This was a very serious addition to the family, and the strike committee had to consider most carefully the question of taking up their cause, as we had actually settled on behalf of the sailors, firemen, stewards and other seafaring men, and were finalizing conditions for the 30,000 dockers, and to take up the railway men, not only meant jeopardizing these gains, but brought us into direct conflict with the railway companies employing 600,000 persons. More serious still, the railway men's unions were tied down to inaction on most matters by the Conciliation Act of 1907, which fixed conditions for seven years, and these unions were not favorable to any strike on the railways, and officials were sent down to stop further striking and to repudiate responsibility.

As chairman of the strike committee, I frankly admit that some of us fully realized



POLICE GUARDING THE GOODS.

the arduous task in front of us if we declared to back the railway men who had struck. However, after full deliberation, the strike committee considered that the only possible course for them to take was to take up the railway men's case with the utmost zeal. We knew they were shamefully low paid and subjected to extremely harsh conditions. They were transport workers, too, and had shrewd courage, and asked our help. This we decided to give, and to refuse to handle any goods that were destined to or from the railways.

Up till this time all our activities had been characterized by the utmost courtesy on both sides. So far no collisions with the police had taken place, but on our refusing to handle railroad freight, the shipowners exhibited extreme annoyance, and after a few days declared that unless the men were prepared to work and handle all goods indiscriminately they, the shipowners, would declare a general lock-out on all deep sea trade.

They did so. This, it was expected, would kill the strike, instead of which the strike committee replied immediately. The lock-out commenced, by declaring a general strike on cross channel and coastal trade, and this was carried out.

It was during this period when the shipowners and capitalists generally saw that

the strike was succeeding at all points, that they clamored for more police and military. There were now 80,000 men on strike and locked out in Liverpool alone, and to our great satisfaction the representatives of the three railway men's unions, that had been attendant on the strike committee (when the strike committee decided to take up the railway men's case), were themselves inspired by the boldness of such action. And knowing, as they did, that in most Lancashire towns the union railway men and non-union men were holding mass meetings and declaring in favor of striking, the railway men's officials themselves showed pluck and convened their respective executive councils in Liverpool. Again, to our agreeable surprise, these executives, collectively, unanimously agreed to support the strikers, and to insist upon redress. And so, for the first time in our history, the four principal unions of railway men in this country declared unanimously in favor of a fighting policy, and proceeded to act accordingly.

Of course, such an extensive strike as this soon meant serious shortage, as only by strike committee's authorization could goods be obtained from the docks.

The first serious need was the milk supply. This being the staple food of children, authority was given for all facilities to be given to ensure full supply.



POLICE ARMED VAN.

Next in importance was the bread supply, and facilities were given for bread and flour and such fuel as was necessary to make the food.

All supplies for hospitals and all other public institutions were ensured safe transit by the committee.

Seven to eight thousand military were in town, large numbers of police from outside districts, and thousands of special constables, but all these combined, including battleships in the Mersey, did not in any way frighten the workers, and the strike committee continued its duties with vigor, tact and success.

The pickets discharged their duties admirably; for the most part, they showed good judgment, alertness, pluck and resource, and the result was success at almost every point for the men on strike.

I will not attempt a description of the fights that took place between police and people, the chief of which was on Sunday, August 13th. The police were the aggressors, and the bludgeoning was brutal, but many a head inside a helmet had good reason to know there was a fight.

When the railway men's executives agreed to take up the case of the men, they

proceeded to London for negotiations and I believe they were staunch and true and sturdy and courageous. They insisted upon members of the executive meeting the railway magnates face to face, and not as heretofore with some governmental official as intermediary. But ere matters had proceeded far, the statesmen and politicians made themselves busy. Prime Minister Asquith showed true plutocratic interest and instinct, by declaring that if a general railway strike took place the government would place at the disposal of the companies military men in sufficient numbers to keep the railways going and they would be sent all over the country.

This did not cow the men nor prevent them declaring a strike; but among the railway men's officials were Parliamentarians, and these succeeded in bringing in other Parliamentarians, and all these were for peace, and the non-extension of the strike.

To stop activity, to stultify it in the interests of capitalistic peace, is ever their object, and it was so here. In my judgment, had the executives themselves insisted upon conducting the negotiations themselves with the companies direct, and kept

the fight going another two days, they would have achieved vastly more than they did. Still, minimize it as we may, it remains a solid fact that the railway men's unions agreed unanimously for common action; that they did declare a national strike, and the response was most satisfactory; that they have obtained an assurance of redress of some of the grievances and it is highly probable that in a few weeks substantial increases of wages will be granted to certain grades, and the most objectionable features of the conciliation boards will be wiped out, or, if not, then I am quite sure the rank and file will demand action again to enforce these things.

Now the question is, what of the future? I conclude that the principles of syndicalism are here in the ascendancy, that the power and all around efficacy of direct action is being appreciated, and will be increasingly resorted to. It looks to the fighting proletarians here as though the capitalist state machine were not a suitable agency by means of which economic free-

dom should be won. We see the legislative institutions used to tie the people down. The ordinary workman is only just beginning to see this, but he is beginning to see it, and, in the same ratio, he sees that nationalization of services and commodities means the capitalization of these things; and now he is turning to industrial organization, not as formerly, to obtain a little better wage, etc., but beyond that, to actually obtain, first, control of industry, and ultimately ownership of the means of wealth production. This will be done through and by such industrial councils as will speedily grow out of the more perfected industrial organizations. So I say we shall achieve our freedom by the scientifically organized industrial union now growing very rapidly, the members of which are receiving an economic education, giving to them a courage born of knowledge, that will enable them to oppose and overcome all their enemies, be they institutions or privileged persons.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES

PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING of the University of Pennsylvania has written a book of first importance to Socialists and other students of economics. The United States census of 1900 contains some very unsatisfactory and wholly unanalyzed figures on the subject of wages and profits. Since they were all we have had we cannot be blamed for having made use of them. Whatever value they may have possessed eleven years ago, they are of little use now. Professor Nearing has examined every available source of current wage statistics and laid before the American people a most staggering report. Fortunately the available sources are sufficient for a clear analysis of the matter and for pretty careful conclusions. The volume from cover to cover contains nothing but cold facts. But those facts will be as a two-edged sword in the hands of the revolutionary workers. The Socialist move-

ment of America should be congratulated that this volume issues not from one of its own editorial sanctums but from the Department of Economics in that most conservative and respectable of American universities, the University of Pennsylvania. This volume is published by the Macmillan Company and it sells for \$1.25.

The purpose of the work is briefly stated in the preface as follows:

"Since Prof. R. C. Chapin estimated that a New York family consisting of a man, wife and three children under fourteen could maintain 'a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned,' on an annual income of \$900, speculation has been rife as to the number of families whose incomes equal that sum. Controversy was futile. No recent wage study has been made, and aside from the reports of the State Bureaus of Labor, which were popularly supposed to contain little or no

data of importance, no available wage figures existed.

"But some relation must be established between the \$900 efficiency standard and the wages actually paid in American industries, else the Chapin study would lose much of its force."

Coming to the subject of "The Necessity for Wage Statistics," Prof. Nearing declares that "The development of the 'wage system' has forced wages into the foreground of theoretical discussion. At least two-thirds of those gainfully employed in the United States are employed for wages; so that the population of the United States may well be described as a 'wage-earning' group. A small percentage of the population is dependent upon the income from securities and investments (mortgages, bonds, land, and the like); another small percentage, though a decreasing one, is dependent upon profits from private business; there is a small class of persons employed for stated annual salaries; somewhat under one-third of those gainfully employed are deriving an income direct from agriculture, leaving approximately two-thirds of the gainfully employed population earning incomes in the form of daily, weekly or monthly wages. Hence, wages are the means chiefly relied upon as the return for industrial effort (work), to provide the necessities of life to the population of the United States."

After noting the remarkable fact that "The Director of the Census, in reply to a letter, states that no special wage study would be made in connection with the Census of 1910," the author proceeds to discuss the available sources of information. While quite a number of other states have published wage statistics, only those issued by three of ten of the most important industrial states are worthy of comment. These three are Ohio, Massachusetts and New Jersey. In fact only five out of the forty-seven published up-to-date wage statistics. Beside these sources a number of reports are used. These include the special investigations of Congress, and the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The REVIEW will not attempt to give an adequate resume of Prof. Nearing's work. Perhaps one-third of the space is devoted to pure statistics. A careful examination of these many columns of interesting figures

lead the reader relentlessly to the final conclusions.

A chart on page 177 shows the wages paid by all the railroad lines in the great middle western states. Seven per cent of the employes including the general officers, receive over \$1,000 a year each. Forty-two per cent receive from \$625 to \$1,000. Fifty-one per cent receive less than \$625. (That is .50 per cent of the railroad employes of the middle west receive two-thirds as much as will support in a state of physical health a wife and three children.)

In view of the present railroad strike the average wages of the railroad shopmen is most interesting. For the middle western states the average wage of the machinist is \$2.97 per day; a fireman \$2.75; of other trainmen, \$2.69; carpenters, \$2.36; telegraph operators and other dispatchers, \$2.28; general office clerks, \$2.21; switch tenders, crossing tenders and watchmen, \$2.06; other shopmen, \$2.06; station agents, \$2.05; section foremen, \$1.89; other trackmen, \$1.42.

There are employed on the railroads of the United States 1,502,823 workers. Of these 754,950 receive less than \$2.00 a day; 320,762 trackmen receive an average of \$1.38 a day—that is just enough to sustain the life of an individual. These figures are taken from the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1909.

The great Bell Telephone system has 37,760 employees. Of these 8,651 or 23½% receive less than \$360 per year; 14,572 or 38% receive from between \$360 and \$600; 10,370, or 27½% receive between \$600 and \$960; 4,167, or 11% of the whole receive over \$960 per year. (But Prof. Nearing declared later that 20% should always be deducted from these yearly incomes to cover periods of unemployment). The government report upon the wages paid by the Bethlehem Steel Works is carefully analyzed. Out of 9,184 employed, 4,221 received from 10 to 16c per hour; 2,390 received from 16 to 22c per hour; 1,586 received from 22 to 30c per hour; 630 received from 30 to 42c per hour. Only 122 receive over 42c per hour.

Prof. Nearing's concluding statement on the matter of "Wages in the United States," is as follows:

"Making, therefore, a reduction of one-fifth (average period of unemployment), it appears that half of the adult males of the United States are earning less than \$500; that three-quarters of them are earning less than \$600 a year; that nine-tenths of them are receiving less than \$900 a year while 10% received more than that figure. A corresponding computation of the wages of women shows that a fifth earn less than \$200 annually; that three-fifths are re-

ceiving less than \$325; that nine-tenths are earning less than \$500 a year, while only one-twentieth are paid more than \$600 a year.

"Three-quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than \$600 a year."

QUESTION: If it takes \$900 a year to purchase the bare necessities of life for a husband, wife and three children, how are the three-quarters of adult males living on their \$600 a year?

THE DAY AFTER

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

THE California capitalist press was galvanized into something like a show of interest on the morrow of the Primary Election of September 26th, for on that day the nominee of the Union Labor Party had been routed horse, foot and artillery and the largest majority ever obtained in San Francisco placed behind James Rolph, Jr., the candidate of the respectable.

P. H. McCarthy was driven from the political field; some say, finally. It is a long road, however, that has no turning, and the vicissitudes of politics are notorious. Still, the fact remains that a most disastrous and, probably, fatal blow was inflicted upon the Union Labor Party. The late candidate for Mayor indeed declares that it was not he who was beaten, but the Union Labor Party.

This bluff though strong is not by any means convincing, for if ever anyone was beaten it was McCarthy, beaten on his record as Mayor, absolutely buried in the contempt of the electorate. As McDevitt, the Socialist candidate, very forcibly and truly says: "When McCarthy won in 1909 he came out promptly to tell the world that the *People* won, when McCarthy loses in 1911, he tells us all that Labor has lost. To that modern myth, *THE PEOPLE*, went all the glory of the winning, to that very definite class, the workers, befalls all the burden of the loss."

But McCarthy retires with the following in his "Statement to the Public" made subsequent to the election:

"The real thinkers of the hour, and the sanguine labor leaders, will discern a triumph in the outcome of this election, for the simple reason that, in working out its results, the election is destined to bring home to labor many a stern lesson that can never be forgotten. No great cause ever yet flourished without receiving its full quota of setbacks. In that way the good is sifted from the evil, and the truth is extracted from a bewildering maze of untruths. Like a confiding child, labor is still prone to yield to the blandishments of its rich and powerful enemy."

The comparison of labor with a confiding child for not voting the McCarthy ticket is funny beyond all explanation.

To trace the history of the Union Labor Party is painful and discouraging. Brought into existence as a scheme of a clever politician, Abe Ruef, who is now gathering the rent of ability in San Quentin, it has always been such a medley of the honest and the corrupt as to be at times almost incomprehensible. There is a nucleus of actual bona fide working men, who have a well developed political class consciousness, and a diabolically vile education. They have never risen above the A. F. of L. craft conception of the working class, and all that is implied therein. The result is

that for a great party supposed to represent labor and in control of the government of a metropolis, the Union Labor Party has had perhaps the worst prepared body of leaders in the world. A few minutes' talk would be convincing of the ignorance with which they undertook their task.

But it must be understood, and this is important, that they never shouldered it with any idea of its actual significance. As conceived by Ruef, the Union Labor Party was an instrument by which labor might have the police and the politicians might have the town. Hence the incomprehensibility of the Union Labor Party from the beginning, hence the fact that it has appeared as a very disjointed monster, shaking a solemn official head in the offices of the Labor Councils, and flirting a bedraggled tail in the purlieus of the tenderloin.

Called into being by Ruef, the extinguishment of the latter temporarily retired the Union Labor Party, until the exigencies of Pat Calhoun the railroad magnate called it to power again and gave McCarthy the mayoralty. Now, again, the needs of the dominant bourgeois have required the abolition of McCarthy, and he is abolished. He is abolished moreover by the votes of the laboring class itself, and by and through the efforts of Messrs. McArthur and Furuseth, who have rallied to the support of Rolph and respectability.

These two last were implacable in their virtue. They were specially called to rebuke the wickedness of McCarthy, and a letter from J. J. McNamara who asked that the efforts of McArthur and Furuseth against McCarthy be at least temporarily restrained was treated almost with disdain. The most that Furuseth would say was that he approved of the candidature of Harriman in Los Angeles, otherwise he would support Rolph, and this statement as far as Harriman is concerned is being exploited by his campaign committee in Los Angeles! Could anything more really ludicrous find a place outside of comic opera?

As for the general results and the prospects for the immediate future of the working class, they are frankly not bright. In fact, the whole industrial situation has been thrown into the political melting pot and actual material advantages have been sacrificed for the illusions of political power. If politics is the reflex of industrial power,

it is not hard to see why McCarthy and the Union Labor Party have been unable to achieve politically. At no time has the Union Labor Party had the political power. It has not even had the control of the police power, for directly it occurred to the real rulers to show that they were the masters of the police they speedily hustled McCarthy out of even a pretense of power. The tenderloin alliance was of no avail in helping to keep the illusion of power. The votes were delivered not to McCarthy but to Calhoun last time, and Calhoun, that is "big business," got the use and benefit of them. Talk about nemesis; for a few wobbly moments it almost makes one believe in "absolute justice."

Industrial control has been thrown into the melting pot, we repeat. The unions have been sacrificed. To keep up the illusion of industrial peace wages have been cut, an editorial in REVOLT says on this: "The political manoeuvring of P. H. McCarthy, his service to the masters in insisting that the members of the building trades accept employment at wages far below the scale (in many cases 40 per cent below), for the sake of maintaining industrial peace, as a political asset for 'P. H.' have contributed in considerable measure to the startling and significant vote for Open Shop Treadwell." This last was a candidate who ran solely on the "Open Shop" plank and received a vote of about ten thousand.

In other words the supposed Union Labor Party was conducted by big business for the political and industrial advantage of big business. When it ceased to serve that purpose it was killed. In fact the whole arrangement was a big business arrangement and McCarthy knew it, and, seemingly, always has known it, as appears from the following extract from his "Statement to the Public" already quoted:

"Far from being discouraged or downcast by this election the sponsors for labor's cause can discern in the future a more distinct victory than ever. When Big Business defeats Labor, Big Business merely postpones the day of universal enlightenment and a consequent reckoning for itself."

The result of the election therefore as breaking up the kind of combination which the Union Labor Party represented is a matter of congratulation.

The Socialists of the proletarian stripe have every reason to be proud of the result. The votes shows a gain of two hundred per cent over any previous campaign; the general average is over three hundred per cent higher according to REVOLT. The totals range from 3,800 to 7,000, and in the case of the city attorney the combined vote of the S. P. and S. L. P. reached 9,000.

McDevitt's remarks on this point are most pertinent and should be kept in mind whenever political conditions in San Francisco are discussed. He says:

"When all parties here are for municipal ownership and the initiative and referendum and kindred 'progressive reforms,' labeled in some very notorious cities as 'Socialism,' one may readily see why the NOMINAL or apparent Socialist vote is so small; but the fact remains that this election proves, what I have often affirmed, that San Francisco is the most advanced city, politically, in this country. And when Mayor McCarthy in his hour of defeat penned (or probably signed), the notable manifesto to which I referred above, and which is a more radical class platform than any Socialist Mayor (not excepting Seidel), was ELECTED upon, he realized that a new political era had dawned, the era of the real LABOR POLITICS, the politics of the MILITANT working class, the era of defiant proletarian politics, the era of a STALWART SOCIALIST PARTY."

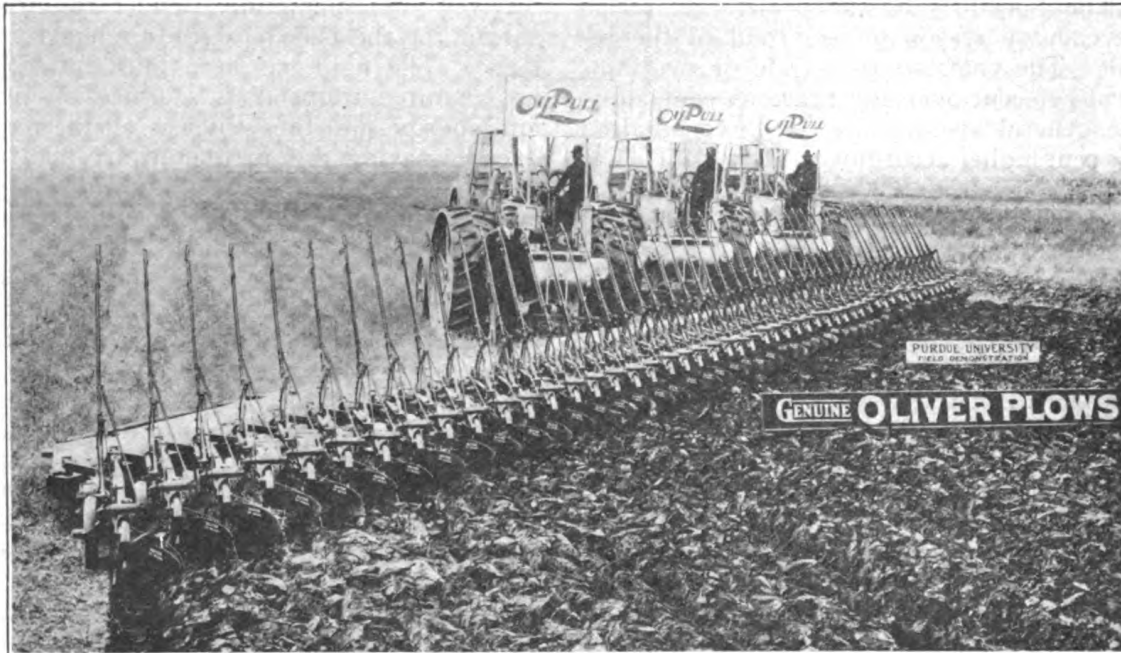
If it were not Socialist "bad form" to indulge in praise or to single out persons for special mention in the great fight, the revolutionary element and some of its personnel should be more fully discussed and the really marvellous results which they have

received with shamefully slender resources shown for the benefit of the proletariat at large. The fight has been most bitter; it has required tremendous sacrifices in time and energy, and the writer is all the more open in saying this in that he has had no personal share in it. It would not have been carried through without REVOLT, that wonderful little paper, which, springing out of nothing ("from the gutter," say its enemies), and with no visible means of support, yet contrives to pay its weekly bills and to spread the revolutionary doctrine in the state. To *Revolt* and the little group behind it is due the San Francisco result.

To the opportunists in the movement no thanks are to be given. They stood behind McDevitt, knife in hand, ready to stab him as soon as they could effectually do so. They were not clever enough to conceal their intentions. They only masked their hatred under a guise of indifference. Slighted by comrades who were pledged to support him in the fight, covertly (not so covertly, either), sneered at by speakers who suggested that union men had better vote for McCarthy, with every obstacle placed in his way which design could manufacture, and everything left undone which criminal neglect could omit, he stood out the strong man of the whole campaign, the standard-bearer who had led the proletarian hosts in the hardest and in some respects the dirtiest fight in which they had ever engaged.

The evil devices of the opportunists were, however, not allowed a chance of success, as the complete defeat of McCarthy at the primary prevented the consummation of that treason, of which the "International Socialist Review" gave warning last spring.

DIRECT ACTION: Any class conscious action by the working class or any of its constituent groups to secure immediate gain through aggressive collective use of instrumentalities already in their control, without waiting to first conquer political power.



SOCIALISM AND THE FARMER

BY

JOHN FOWLER

FOR twenty-five years one of the arguments against Socialism has been that it has no message for the farmers. Here were millions of good Americans, hard working, a great proportion of them in poverty, who were looking for a third party. Now what would the Socialist Party say to them? Would they ask of it bread and get a stone?

The above picture answers the question. The farmers don't have to wait for Socialism to get the stones. They are getting them right now, thrown at their heads by the big capitalists who are going into farming with machines like the one we here portray.

What can the small farmer with fifty acres of land or even a hundred and fifty acres do with a machine which runs sixty plows at once? How can he compete with a man who owns this machine? And why should he work his limbs stiff and addle his head scheming how to exist in a world

where work can be done so easily? Why not have the great agricultural areas of this country owned by the public? And why should not the harvests be sown and reaped by workers who get the equivalent of their full product?

The great plow we see pictured above is to the farmer what the rapid fire gun is to a crowd of strikers in a city. Before this weapon of the great capitalists, the forces of the farmers will break and run. Their children will not inherit their properties. If they should, they can only sell them out to the great land holders and lose their small sums in some other competitive business. At least half of the children of the farmers are going to the city where they become over-worked, under-paid and under-fed wage slaves.

The idea of telling a small farm owner who has four children that he should not be interested in Socialism! Suppose that one of his sons could take the farm and make a

living on it, what are the other three children going to do? It is as evident that the average farmer should be as much interested in the progress of the working class as any other worker.

Great and greater machines mean ever greater and greater farms. Nowadays it requires so much knowledge and such great executive ability to run a farm that there must be sub-division of labor. No one man could know enough to raise first-class grain, fruits, vegetables, poultry and animals in a scientific manner. Each of these departments of farming constitutes a science and an art in itself. The people who do the farming under Socialism will partake of all the great benefits of social progress. When one machine plows an acre of soil in a little more than four minutes, why should a man plow all day?

Why shouldn't he plow a little in the morning and then go to a picnic? This the workers could do, couldn't they, if they owned the machines?

That is what we mean to do under Socialism, work less and live more.

Ten years ago a few farmers were being educated to Socialism through books. Today thousands are being driven to it by machines. But, not many of them see it until they have lost their land. Socialism is the only hope of the farm worker. It means an end of tenant farming. The farmers who are now overworked and poverty-stricken will farm collectively, using the most improved machines, so that the products of their labor will be greatly multiplied and their working hours reduced from twelve and sixteen to an average of three or four hours a day.

OUR BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

BY

JAMES ONEAL

STUDENTS of the economic causes of the American Revolution have frequently pointed out that the acts of the British Parliament aiming to prohibit the development of colonial industry arrayed nearly all the sections of the American employing class against the British rulers. It was a bourgeois revolution which, when successful, enabled our early capitalists to proceed with the development of capital and exploit labor in a more efficient way.

This view is a correct one, as a careful study will show. But there was another factor at work, or rather, another grievance, which many of the planters and employing class felt keenly—a grievance which, so far as I know, no historian has yet pointed out, though it is known to them all. This was the effect which the Stamp Act had on the relations between the masters and the white men and women whom they held as contract slaves for a term of years. These were the “indentured servants” and “re-

demptioners,” who were bound to employers for terms of servitude and were classed as slaves with the blacks in the colonies. Some sold themselves to pay their passage to the New World; some were kidnapped in European ports and sold in American colonies; some were convicts shipped from England, and still others were sold by our “fathers,” as in the case of poor workers, who were unable to pay fines. These white slaves constituted a large source of servile labor in the colonies south of New England. Prof. Bruce, in his recent great work, “The Institutional History of Virginia,” has shown that in Virginia owners of white women laborers often violated them, and if the woman gave birth to a child, the master had two advantages. The unfortunate girl, if convicted of bastardy, was punished by having her term of service doubled, while her child also became the servant of the master. In chapters three and four of my little book, “The Workers in American History,” I have dealt with this system of

white slave labor at some length, and cannot enlarge on it here.

Now the Acts of Parliament taxed colonial industries so heavily that they amounted to a practical restriction, which in turn made the incomes to be derived from white indentured service uncertain. But a few clauses in the Stamp Act struck at this system of servile labor and demoralized it. Yet in all the discussion and denunciations of the "tyranny" of the Stamp Act by historians one will look in vain for any reference to the most significant clauses that stirred up the wrath of those living on the labor of white bondmen and bondwomen. The Navigation Acts made investments in white slaves hazardous, and the returns from their labor uncertain. The speculators in white flesh, known as "soul drivers," could not but feel resentful that their incomes were also disturbed.

The Stamp Act of 1765 contained clauses which affected the gains of those interested in the traffic, either as dealers or purchasers. Among other things the Act provided that the full sums of money, or other considerations agreed upon between masters and servants, shall be correctly entered upon the contracts, and the date of signing be given. Violation of the clause subjected the offender to a forfeit of double the sum, or other considerations agreed upon. Masters or mistresses may be sued at any time during the term specified in the contracts for violation of the law and such violation rendered such contracts void. If masters or mistresses failed to pay the stamp duties on contracts within a specified time the servant was allowed to pay a double duty, and in case the master or mistress failed to re-

imburse the servant within three months on demand, the servant could sue for recovery of the amount. The payment of the double duty by servants also released them from all obligations specified in the contracts; they were "discharged from all actions, penalties, forfeitures and damages, for not serving the time for which they were respectively bound, contracted for, or agreed to serve." Any printer, stationer or other persons who sold blank forms for contracts without them containing a printed warning stating that they must bear date of execution, the terms agreed upon, that duty on same is paid and a receipt given on back of contract by the distributor of stamps, or his substitute, was liable to prosecution and to forfeit the sum of ten pounds.

One may easily see how this act struck at the entire system of indentured service and the traffic in white serfs. Not that its enforcement would overthrow it, but that it placed obstacles in the way of falsifying indentures, taxed the system, and gave the opportunity for many servants to be released from service when their owners evaded the duties placed on the indentures. The Act, for these reasons, must have been a powerful agent in transforming the masters, who held white laborers in servitude, into rebels. Yet historians have systematically concealed this fact and emphasized other features of the Stamp Act that were far less important to the employing classes of the colonies. But such is "history," as it is written in the text books. A bourgeois revolution has received a bourgeois interpretation; the truth will yet be revealed by Socialist historians.

TO-DAY'S VICTORY AND TO-MORROW'S BATTLE

By

FRANK BOHN

WE can never fully prepare our minds for a great epoch-making event. When the fact and its results crowd upon us we are sure to be more or less bewildered. No word picture can take from the life-long dweller in the valley his surprise upon first viewing the world from the hilltop.

On November 8, the whole nation realized for the first time that a new epoch in our political life had come. During the past eighteen months a number of western cities had been carried, but these earlier Socialist victories were never treated very seriously east of the Allegheny Mountains. Anyway, it was nothing but a "passing flurry," a "freakish eruption," which would soon subside. But for several days following this last election, the capitalist press of the country was thrown into a panic. The New York Times printed columns of matter expressing the universal amazement of its Wall street and Fifth avenue supporters. Practically every great New York and Chicago paper contained editorials, some of them several, written to keep up the courage of their readers. Merely saying that it would not amount to anything, that it would soon pass by, that it was due to political corruption, to weariness of the old parties—such statements as these they knew would no longer satisfy their readers. Like drowning men grasping for straws they cast about for explanations. A scrap-book filled with these editorials from the capitalist papers would make the funniest kind of reading twenty years from now.

It is impossible here to reprint all the names of the successful candidates or even of the cities in which the victories occurred. Possibly the most significant were the landslide in Schenectady and the victory in Rhode Island. The Schenectady success we anticipated, but no one dared even to hope that the majority

would be so great and the number of officials elected so large. In Rhode Island the Socialist party has not been strong. The promising movement which had developed in that state twelve years ago was for a time almost wholly destroyed by factionalism. During the past three years it has again developed. Old veterans have again joined the ranks. The election of Comrade Reid to the Assembly followed a season of very steady and effective work on the part of the whole membership of Rhode Island. Rhode Island is one of the few states which will be carried soon—that is within five years.

In Ohio nine cities elected Socialist mayors and its capital city of Columbus secured four Socialist aldermen. In Hamilton, Ohio, which has a population of 32,000, we elected a majority in the city council. Ohio, with this list of political victories, 10,000 dues-paying party members, and with the largest general vote last year, now is well in the lead among the states. Yet the size of the party in Ohio is less important than its splendid quality. Three cities in Utah elected mayors. Finally, in New Castle, Pa., where the Socialist party local has been struggling desperately for over two years to preserve its very life, our hard-pressed comrades completely routed the enemy. The other states deserving mention are Massachusetts, which elected a member to the Legislature; Minnesota, where the city of Crookston, with a population of 8,000, elected a mayor, and Washington, which greatly increased its vote and where several officials were elected.

Our victory was thus nation-wide and came in those states and cities where the organization most deserved success.

From now on the Socialist party will be treated seriously in every part of the country. Its literature will be sought and its argument will command attention. The greatest practical result from this

election will be propaganda. The newspaper attention the party received during the week following the election was as effective as the placing of several leaflets in each home in the United States. In factories and mines, in homes and at social gatherings, Socialism has since the election been a universal subject for discussion.

The second notable result of the election is its effect upon the party membership. Amid our seventy-five thousand new members are tens of thousands who have worked five years, and thousands who have worked ten years or more. These have been upheld by the faith in the cause which, however lasting and vital it may be, deserves and requires a measure of success. Without an occasional thrill of victory, any army will lose in numbers and spirit. The Socialist party is now a hundred thousand strong. This host will move forward with lighter feet and gayer hearts. Victory after victory finally makes defeat impossible even to imagine.

Finally we know of no place where victory resulted from a campaign unworthy of our cause. Everywhere our fundamental position was emphasized. The electors were urged to vote not for the candidate but for Socialism. The Socialist voters were made to understand that victory in a municipality or state would be nothing but a step toward our goal. Judging by the reports of Charles H. Kerr & Company the demand for the soundest Socialist literature has been steadily increasing. In the cities where we won victories our party was not afraid to circulate the works of Marx and Kautsky, of Lafargue and Debs. It is notable that Schenectady, the only city carried in New York, and New Castle, the only city carried in Pennsylvania, were both strongholds of industrial unionism. The workers in both of these cities have been made to understand by our propaganda the place of the party and the mission of the party in the development of Socialism.

1912—The Beginning of an Epoch.

Never since 1852 has such chaos reigned in American political parties. Neither of the parties of capitalism is a coherent body. The voters of no class, neither plutocracy, middle class or workers,

bear a political label. They will vote any ticket that seems most likely to serve their interests. One of the amazing features of the election just past occurred in one of the rock-ribbed Democratic states of the "Solid South." There so many voters, disgusted with both factions of the Democratic party, voted the Socialist ticket that they came near electing the head of the ticket to a state office. Who would have imagined such a situation five years ago? Our comrades in Mississippi would probably be the first to acknowledge that this vote was not solid. But it clearly shows a marked tendency. The old parties upon breaking up will probably make room—not for one radical party, but two radical parties—the two outbidding each other in advocacy of social reforms. An ultra-conservative party cannot exist in the United States. Unless they can get votes capitalist politicians will not go after them. Both of these parties will be as radical as necessary to get the votes when out of office. When in office they will be as conservative as possible and still keep a majority of the votes. The one thing upon which all capitalist politicians are agreed is the necessity of swindling the working class when out of office and grafting on the capitalist class when in office. Amid this whirlpool of conflicting interests we see the bona-fide representatives of the middle class like La Follette, Cummings and Garfield, and tricky soldiers of fortune like Hearst and Roosevelt agitating, organizing and grasping for power. The campaign of 1912 will very much resemble the campaign of 1852, but it will undoubtedly close with the most tremendous political upheaval since 1860.

Through this wilderness of crooked paths the Socialist party takes up its march with the purpose of making a straight way for the working class. It may receive two million votes; possibly it may get but a million. Quite likely the number will be half way between these two. That doesn't much matter. It will elect more mayors and legislatures and a number of congressmen. Neither is that of the greatest importance. Any worker in the party who has seen it in different sections of the country at close range and

who has come into intimate contact with its membership knows that its present organization and work are as sound as its fundamental principles. In 1912 the party

cannot fail to take a long step forward. The facts have now proven what we have all along been saying—nothing can prevent our triumph in this generation.

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

FROM

McClure's Magazine and "Industrial Socialism"

In McClure's Magazine there has been running an important and interesting series of articles, entitled "Masters of Capital." The authors, Messrs. John Moody and George Kibbe Turner, describe very carefully the omnipotent empire of industry, which now overshadows America. The monopoly of banking is analyzed and the industrial power of the seven great rulers of Wall street is correctly gauged.

In an advance notice which appeared in the July McClure's the editor shows that he comprehends a further fact. He indicates the impotency of the political state in its attempts, hitherto, to control the "Masters of Capital." In their future articles, it is stated, Messrs. Moody and Turner will deal with this matter.

Their complete failure to find a solution for the problem they have so well stated is foreshadowed in the editorial note which we reprint below. "Two great social organizations," says the editor of McClure's, "now confront each other in the United States—political democracy and the corporation." This is the point of view of the perishing middle class.

Following the article from McClure's, we reprint a few paragraphs from "Industrial Socialism," a booklet written by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn. This states the position of the class-conscious workers with reference to the industrial empire of modern America and its masters. The two quotations will show that the class-conscious elements of both the middle class and working class understand the nature of the industrial empire, and are alike opposed to the industrial tyranny which it creates. But the middle class would "control" it through the power of the political state, while the revolutionary workers would make an end of industrial empire by taking possession of its industrial powers and creating an industrial republic. The "State Socialism," mentioned by McClure's, follows naturally from political control. "Industrial Socialism" is a totally different matter. These two ideas are now in conflict, the exponents of each equally determine to organize the working class against the "Masters of Capital." The immediate outcome is by no means certain.—Editor International Socialist Review.

MASTERS OF CAPITAL.

(From McClure's Magazine.)

OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE CENTRAL MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL.

TWO great social organizations now confront each other in the United States—political democracy and the corporation. Both are yet new,—developments, in their present form, of the past two hundred years,—and the laws of neither are understood. The entire social and economic history of the world is now shaping itself around the struggle for dominance between them.

The article by John Moody and George Kibbe Turner in the June *McClure's*, "How Morgan Built the 'Money Power,'" is a clear statement of the tendency of corporate power toward autocracy, and the startling distance that has been traveled in this country toward an ultimate monopoly—the control in a single central group of the great existing corporate properties of this country, and the power of creating new ones.

The problem presented by this situation is the most difficult that any modern nation has faced; and the odds, up to the present time, have all been with the corporations. Property settles by economic law in strong hands; it has unlimited rewards for service, and the greatest power in the world—the power of food and drink, life and death—over mankind. Corporate property in the last twenty years has been welded into an instrument of almost infinite power, concentrated in the hands of a very few and very able men.

The power of the political State—which must cope with this—is diffused to the

highest possible degree. The control of corporate capital is becoming a unit; its operations and interests cover the whole country. The management and direction of popular government, so far as this greatest of all its problems is concerned, is in the hands of half a hundred minor, independent States, each with only a partial knowledge and interest in the matter.

This type of organization is not only absurdly incompetent, as an instrument, to deal with the organization opposed to it; but the personnel of the bodies of men which it enlists in its service is notoriously and necessarily inferior.

Sooner or later the so far unchecked tendency toward monopoly in the United States must be met squarely by the American people. The fact, now clearly apparent, is that the industrial operations and general resources of the country are already far on their way toward a central control. No one great industry or resource is absolutely controlled by any one corporation or individual. But all fundamental resources, and all industries capable of forming a unit, are being drawn together toward monopoly control; and these units are being concentrated again, as has been shown by Messrs. Moody and Turner, in a central monopoly in the great security and money market of New York.

The problem of the relation of the State and the corporation is now the chief question of the world. In Europe the State is relatively much stronger; in America the corporation. In Europe the movement toward State Socialism—the collective ownership and operation of the machinery of industry and transportation—is far on its way; in America we are moving to control the corporation by political instruments, such as State boards and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

How long will the power of governmental control over the great national industrial corporations be divided, as it is now, between these half hundred provinces, established under the industrial conditions of the eighteenth century?

If it remains there does any grown man question the ultimate result of the struggle between corporate monopoly and government?

And if corporate centralization of power continues unchecked, what is the next great popular agitation to be in this country? For State Socialism?

FROM "INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM,"
BY HAYWOOD AND BOHN.

The Trusts Are Governments of Industry.—We have seen that the trusts grow naturally—that it cannot be otherwise. They can never be destroyed. There would in fact be only one possible way of making an end to them. That would be to smash the largest machines of production and the great railway systems. The trouble is not that we have trusts. The workers' condition comes from the fact that the trusts are owned and governed by a few people. Very often they are dominated by one man. Thus Morgan governs the Steel Trust. Morgan can make a law increasing the hours or decreasing the wages. He can prevent the workers from protecting themselves in the factories and thus kill and injure thousands of them. In fact, 560 steel workers were killed in the mills of Pittsburg in a single year.

THE INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE OF AMERICA.

We have compared the trust to an industrial state. Many states make up the Nation. In the same way many trusts compose our present great nation of industry. The trusts are rapidly organizing into one great system. So the Nation is coming to be governed as an empire. J. Pierpont Morgan is now the chief ruler of this empire. He is the emperor of the trusts. Under him there are kings and dukes who rule separate trusts and corporations. This great government of industry is said, upon very good authority, to have brought on the panic of 1907 in order to seize several great corporations which were fighting it. During this panic it grabbed hundreds of small businesses.

No capitalist, even though he might possess ten millions or twenty millions of money, can today start any new business of his own unless he goes to Wall Street, appears at court, and gets the consent of the Emperor of America. Whatever small separate industries exist, still remain alive because the industrial

empire does not wish to crush them out too fast. To do this would be to raise a cry of revolt among the middle class. Until now the workers have been so enslaved, so helpless, so deadened, that the Wall Street magnates have not even thought of their opposition seriously. But it would not do to go too far and too fast. So some small business men are still permitted to enjoy a hand-to-mouth existence.

The Industrial Empire and the Government at Washington.—Morgan and his associates on Wall Street use the government at Washington as a tool to serve their ends. They rightly despise the President, the members of the Supreme Court and Congress, for these politicians are far beneath them in power and importance. What laws Wall Street wants are passed. In case of a strike, the governor of a state is used to control the militia and crush the strike. The federal and state judges issue injunctions, that is, they make such new laws as the trusts want. The powers of the separate states are usually quite strong enough to deal with the divided and blinded working class. But if these do not suffice, then the powers of the National Government are used. Grover Cleveland, a Democratic President, broke the great A. R. U. strike in 1894. Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican President, broke the Goldfield Miners' strike in 1907. The Republican state of Pennsylvania has established a standing army of its own in order to have it ready to shoot working people. The Democratic legislature of Florida, in the spring of 1911, refused to pass a law forbidding the employment of children under eight years of age. All the Democratic and Republican officials, from dog-catcher to President, are but the hired agents of the empire of industry.

Thus the trusts control the army, the navy, the police, the political government, the schools, the press, the church, and even the theaters. The industrial empire is a power with its forces encamped in every city and state of the land, armed not only with the weapons which slay the body, but also with those mightier weapons which destroy the free mind of the working class.

Political States Merged by Industry.—

The separate states of the United States have long since ceased to be needed. At one time the people of different states were widely separated because it took so long to travel from one to another. Now they are connected by railroads, the telegraph, the postoffice and by the trusts and labor unions. An old-fashioned farmer would inherit his father's farm and leave it to his son. His family were permanent citizens of the state in which he lived. But the members of the working class move from state to state in search of employment, caring little in which one they happen to be. Let us say that a worker is employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. His employer is the state of which he is a member, and which governs him. He may live in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, or any of six other political states. As a trainman he goes through them but does not recognize their boundaries.

Similarly, a worker for the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada may live in Michigan, Ontario or New York. But the place of his residence is not important at all when compared with the province of the Grand Trunk system to which he is subject. The great Smelter Trust extends its operations from the United States into Canada and Mexico. Canada and Mexico are parts of the American industrial empire. The Western Federation of Miners has more locals in British Columbia than in any American state. Members of the W. F. of M. go back and forth over the Canadian border, working often for the same trusts on both sides of the line and supporting always the same union. So with Industrial Socialism. It will recognize no political boundary lines. To the working class there is no foreigner but the capitalist.

Industrial Unionism.—At the present time practically the whole American working class accepts the principles of industrial unionism. All agree that the workers should have *one big union*. All are coming to agree that this union must more and more control industry, until finally it rules and administers the industries of the Nation. Everywhere the idea arouses intense enthusiasm. The growth and progress of industrial organization it-

self must soon follow. Once united, industrially and politically, and resolved to make an end of wage slavery, nothing can prevent the final victory of the workers.

The Industrial Republic.—The workers' government of the future will realize Socialism. No government is created in a day. Any new system of society, with its peculiar government, must grow through many years to its final and perfected form. In this Socialism cannot be different from other forms of government. Socialism cannot be realized until the workers, through their industrial government, own and manage the means of production. This government is now developing—in the workshops, of course. Wherever the organized workers gain partial control over the shop in which they work, we have the growth of industrial democracy. If the workers have been employed twelve hours a day and they force their employer to grant them the ten-hour day, they are passing an important law of the shop. That law springs from the power of the workers to govern the shop.

Suppose that the workers of the whole Nation demanded and enforced the eight-hour day. That would be a mightier law in the interest of the working class than all the laws ever passed by Congress and the state legislatures.

With the growth of the organized industrial and political power of the work-

ers, the class struggle will become ever keener. The government of the capitalists will make war on the workers. The battle will rage throughout the land, in every city and town, in every shop and mine. It will continue until the workers are strong enough to gain complete control of the Nation's industries. **THE TRUST IS ORGANIZED INDUSTRY. THE LABOR UNION WILL BECOME ORGANIZED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.**

The Message of the Socialist Party.—

First, it must lay hold of all the powers of political government and prevent them from being used against the industrial organization of the workers.

Second, it must be the bearer of sound knowledge, using its great and growing organization to teach Socialism.

Third, it must use the governments of the cities to advance the social interests of the working class.

The Coming Freedom.—Socialism will establish democracy in the shop. Democracy in the shop will free the working class. The working class, through securing freedom for itself, will liberate the race. Socialism will free not only the slave but the slave-driver and the slave-owner. Socialism today makes war upon the enemies of the working class. When it is victorious, the enemies of the working class will embrace it. Peace and brotherhood will come with freedom.

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Victory.—A special article in this issue emphasizes the meaning of the recent Socialist victories. One very important consideration seems to have been omitted from this discussion. Why the many Socialist successes in small cities and towns and our apparent failure in the greater cities? In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston we seem to have made but a beginning. The reasons for this, however, are evident upon reflection. By far the most important difference is the simple fact of proportion. A relatively small group of comrades may organize in a small town, go to work and in a few weeks place the Socialist proposition before every thinking inhabitant. A single large and successful meeting stirs the whole community. How different the situation in New York or Chicago. In the great metropolis there are few neighborhood acquaintances. A crowd leaves a great meeting and scatters its forces without making much impression upon the mass. A hundred influences which do not obtain in the smaller town distract the attention and use the time of the active Socialists as well as of the workers generally. No purely local causes explain the backwardness of the movement in our great cities. Generally speaking the problems of Socialist organization increase relatively with the population of the city.

The Strike in Schenectady.—With the news of our splendid victory in the highly organized industrial city of Schenectady comes the report of a strike in the Schenectady plant of the Locomotive Trust. The incoming Socialist mayor, Comrade Lunn, will thus take office in the face of conditions which will try his metal to the uttermost. The question will come up at once—How far will a Socialist city administration be allowed to proceed in physically protecting the workers on strike? Suppose the trust closes down its Schenectady plant and transfers the orders to Erie, Pa., or to the Baldwin Works at Philadelphia. Suppose it attempts to overawe the government of Schenectady through the injunction and the power of the state. Whatever happens, the fight is on. The youthful Socialist Party is being tested. Our Schenectady organization is one of the soundest and strongest in the land. To its rank and file and to its newly elected officials, compromise of principle is unthinkable. The fiercer the fighting in Schenectady the greater the vote in New York State next year. Through victory or defeat the locomotive strikers will go on to ever greater and stronger industrial organization. In the shop as at the ballot box the workers want nothing so much as to fight the enemy.

The Forces Back of Insurgency.—About the elements of this coming social conflagration now at hand the forces of reform are sputtering and blowing in their last pathetic effort to put out the fire. Two hundred people—po-

litical failures and other odds and ends—assembled in Chicago on a bleak autumn day for the purpose of fixing up the fences of Mr. La Follette. In its way the meeting was quite a success. The two hundred agreed that La Follette should be President. Some one said that Roosevelt sent his blessing. Maybe their hopes are not in vain. Let us suppose that La Follette is nominated and elected by the Republican Party.

The Fading of the Last Hope of Reform.—The bone and sinew of social reform in America is the discontent of five millions of poverty-stricken country voters and their families. The city-dweller, however well informed, has usually no conception whatever of the tremendous speed of the industrial revolution now taking place on the American farm. This number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW contains an illustrated article which to some degree indicates the trend of affairs. Fortunately by far the greater portion of agricultural America is as flat as a table. Wherever wheels may go round the steam roller and the traction engine are now grinding the small farmer and his little tools into the very soil of which but yesterday he was the boasted proprietor. Let there be no mistake. No other portion of the American proletariat will fight the way these farmers will fight when their last fading hope of holding private property is gone. The Kentucky night riders have shown how much they care for "law and order." Ten years ago some otherwise pretty well informed Socialists declared that American Socialism must compromise with the small freeholder. Who would say so today? La Follette on his present platform might go in for four years and fail as Roosevelt has failed. Then the times will be ready for one more radical than La Follette.

The Increased Momentum of Socialist Progress.—Nothing human can control the forces making for Socialism. Our movement proceeds like a body falling toward the earth. A given time trebles its velocity and the same time again trebles it. It is increasing not arithmetically but geometrically. To be explicit. Twenty years ago Socialism was being advocated by a few German immigrants, a few intellectuals and a few freaks. Ten years ago, with the development of the western social democracy, it became in reality a movement, but its advocates were almost broken-hearted by the small vote of 1900. Five years ago we were still a struggling group of enthusiasts with our hopes sustained by the truths of science. Then, one, two, three, came the mighty blows which made for our cause—the rise in prices, the panic of 1907, the utter failure of Rooseveltism, and finally the taste of victory in half a dozen western cities. These victories meant wide public attention coupled with an enthusiastic gathering together of our own forces. The Socialist Party could

no longer be ignored. Ten Socialists instead of one in a Schenectady shop or a Butte mine or on an Ohio railroad, were made not ten times more effective, but a hundred times more effective in their propaganda. In the face of a great popular demonstration opposition weakens. The enthusiasm of a host wins the minds which facts could not educate. In America the unity of the working class is

all that is needed. Ignorant and tricky opposition to the Socialist movement has failed and our brutal plutocracy will not dare make war upon a united working class. Let us not misunderstand ourselves. The thrill of enthusiasm for a cause is the greatest of all educators. We have entered the transition period. Prophecies are idle. The facts do not require them. We now face the crisis.

BLANKET STIFF PHILOSOPHY.

By William D. Haywood.

A shorter day means bigger pay.

* * *

An aristocrat of labor is a step-brother of the Rich.

* * *

An officer of the law is a walking delegate of Capitalism.

* * *

The pick, the shovel and the hammer are mightier than the pen, the sword and the cross.

* * *

An Industrialist is class conscious. A pure and simple trade unionist is only craft conscious.

* * *

The dear "Public" is a mysterious element in society neither fish, flesh nor fowl, laborers nor capitalists.

* * *

Every demand of the workers in the shop is an effort to twist the ownership of the tool out of the hands of the boss.

* * *

A Trust means less competition and more dividends. One Big Union means less competition among workers for jobs and bigger wages.

* * *

Reciprocity: A contract wherein the capitalists of two nations shake hands and agree upon a mutual system for robbing the producers.

* * *

Rags make paper. Paper makes money; money makes banks; banks make loans, loans make interest; interest makes poverty and poverty makes rags.

* * *

The workers being interdependent, they should organize as the capitalists have assembled them in the industries. Today the workers are divided according to position, name or shape of the machinery they use.

* * *

When you face an injunction and do not know how to win—take out the j, that stands for jails and judges; the c that means courts and cruelty; the t, that stands for trials and tragedies, and the answer will be found in the letters that remain—IN UNION.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

England.—The British Socialist Party.

—A united, revolutionary Socialist party with 35,000 members. This is the splendid result of the conference held at Manchester on September 30 and October 1. It is a result long yearned toward by thousands of loyal comrades. Time and again has the Social Democratic Party tried to bring it about, but always without success.

It is safe to say that there is more "floating Socialism" in England than in any other land on the face of the earth. It was in England that for the first time in the modern world labor unions became a great social force. It was in England that utopian Socialism first became a formidable challenge to capitalist society. And in England as much as anywhere the propaganda of scientific Socialism has been carried on with vigor and devotion. Nevertheless until within the past month, there has been in England, no organization clear enough in principle and strong enough in numbers to be ranked alongside the Socialist parties of Germany and France. The Independent Labor Party has been bound hand and foot by its alliance with non-Socialist organizations in the Labor Party. The Social Democratic party has consistently stood for independent, revolutionary political action by the working-class. As Comrade Quelch expressed it at Manchester, this is "the one national Socialist organization which under no circumstances has bowed the knee to Baal or lowered the red flag." This is a proud statement, but a true one. Nevertheless, the S. D. P. has failed to get hold of the working-class of England. Besides these there have been the Fabians, a little group of brilliant, middle-class propagandists; the groups of Clarionettes, organized by Blatchford's great paper, the Clarion; and a host of independent local organizations. Under the circumstances it is little wonder that hundreds of individual comrades did not care to ally themselves with any organization.

At its annual conference last Easter, the S. D. P. took the step which has led to Socialist unity. It authorized its executive council to invite other Socialist bodies to take part in a unity conference. Finally a call was sent out signed by a goodly number of organizations, and the Manchester conference was the result. The following account of the make-up of the conference is taken from Justice: "There was probably a larger number of organized Socialists represented at Manchester, than has ever been represented at a purely Socialist gathering in England before. The I. L. P. was not officially represented as a national body, neither was the Fabian Society; but I. L. P. branches sent 41 delegates; Clarion clubs and groups were represented by 32 delegates; there were 12 delegates from the scarcely formed British Socialist Party; 86 from the S. D. P.; and 48 from various local Socialist societies and representation committees, making a total of 219 delegates, representing an aggregate membership of 35,000. Other delegates had been appointed, making the number 251, but these were unable to attend, and messages expressing agreement with the conference were received from 18 I. L. P. branches, 4 Clarion groups, and 3 Socialist societies, who were unable to send delegates." It will be seen from this account that there was represented at Manchester the great body of crystallized Socialist opinion in England.

Comrade H. M. Hyndman was unanimously chosen chairman of the conference. Under his leadership the delegates did their work in a spirit of heartiest good comradeship. In the short space of two days they adopted a program and set in motion the machinery for the formation of the new party. The task of drawing up a constitution was left in the hands of a committee of ten with Hyndman as chairman. As soon as the action of the conference has been ratified by the bodies represented the organizations taking part will naturally go out of existence.

Readers of the REVIEW will be chiefly interested in the attitude of the Manchester conference toward the problems which the labor world is facing. They will ask, "Is the new party to be an uncompromising, revolutionary one? And, on the other hand, what is policy with regard to the organization of labor on the economic field?"

The answers to these questions are very clear. There was little boggling with terms at Manchester. Comrade H. Quelch, for the Executive Council of the S. D. P., introduced the following resolution: "This conference of Socialist organizations, believing that the difference of opinion and the adoption of dissimilar tactics which have hitherto characterized the various sections of the British Socialist movement, have arisen from circumstances peculiar to its initial stages, is convinced that the time is now ripe for the formation of a united Socialist party, and the delegates pledge their organizations to co-operate in the unification of their forces on the following basis of common agreement:

"The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working-class movement, acting in closest co-operation with the industrial organizations for the socialization of the means of production and distribution—that is to say, the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society. Alike in its objects, its ideals, and in the means employed, the Socialist Party, though striving for the realization of immediate social reforms demanded by the working-class, is not a reformist, but a revolutionary party, which recognizes that social freedom and equality can only be won by fighting the class war through to a finish, and thus abolishing forever all class distinctions."

Two amendments designed to tone this resolution down by omitting reference to the class-struggle were lost by large majorities. Most significant, however, was an amendment offered by an I. L. P. representative, G. Moore Bell. Comrade Bell moved to drop from the resolution the words, "though striving for the realization of immediate social reforms demanded by the working-class." This amendment was energetically supported

by H. Russel Smart, a Fabian, who said he knew from experience the deterioration which goes on in an organization which loses sight of its revolutionary ideal and devotes itself to social reform. The amendment was carried.

Comrade Leonard Hall moved an amendment which forced the conference to take up the matter of industrial unionism. He proposed to drop the passage after the words a "revolutionary party which," and insert "working by revolutionary and industrial tactics supplemented by a political action for the abolition of all class distinctions and the establishment of freedom and equality." This amendment, it will be seen, throws the emphasis on the industrial, rather than on the political, movement. In support of this Victor Grayson said that while fearless obstructionists were needed in Parliament, English Socialists must immediately concentrate upon the industrial field. The recent upheaval, he went on, had done more to educate the workers than any number of propaganda lectures. The amendment was lost.

With the single change, then, involved in dropping out the reference to "immediate demands" the resolution of Comrade Quelch was unanimously adopted.

The conference had, however, another opportunity to go on record in regard to industrial unionism. A resolution was introduced "that the United Socialist Party take part officially in the organization of the various workers on the lines of organization of industry." This resolution was lost. Comrade Quelch speaking against it, expressed what was probably the conviction of the majority. As reported in Justice he said, "that they had agreed to act in closest co-operation with the industrial organizations, but they required to be very chary about pledging themselves to what was called industrial action. He did not think that was their concern. In view of recent events they were forced to the conclusion that the industrial movement was far ahead of the political movement among the working-class, and it was therefore their great work to bring the political movement abreast of the industrial movement."

It appears from these resolutions and discussions that the British Socialist

Party takes at the outset practically the same position as that occupied by our own Socialist Party. As to industrial unionism its expressions of opinion sound like echoes of those we heard last year at the Chicago Congress. In the matter of "immediate demands," our British comrades are more clearly revolutionary than we have ever been. In the matter of numbers they are practically our equals. Thirty-five thousand in England is almost equivalent to a hundred thousand in the United States. And the British Socialist Party has hopes of reaching the hundred thousand mark in the near future.

All of this is the best news in the world. And it is especially welcome to us here in America. Socialists are not likely to sentimentalize in the blood-is-thicker-than-water vein. But it is beyond question that everything that takes place over there is soon re-echoed here. The apparent predominance of the Labor Party has been one of the chief sources of strength behind the movement to start a similar party here. Similarly, it is to be hoped, a strong, revolutionary Socialist movement in England will strengthen clean-cut, uncompromising Socialism in this country.

Italy, Bankruptcy of the Reformists.—

The war against Tripoli is having one good result. It has forced the reformist leaders of the Italian Socialist Party to follow their theory to its logical conclusion. And now reformism faces defeat within the Socialist ranks. Its fate has been brought about, not by revolutionary arguments, but by the logic of facts. Reformism has practically defeated itself.

It will be remembered that at the last Italian party congress the reformists were in the lead, as, in fact they have been for many years past. Since then the Socialist group in the Italian parliament has systematically supported the government. In fact Comrade Bisolati was called into conference with the King and had a hand in making up the present ministry. He was invited to take a ministerial portfolio himself and finally refused merely because he thought he could be of more use to the government on the floor of the assembly than in the cabinet; he has

consistently maintained that it would have been perfectly right for him to enter a capitalist government as the representative of the working-class. The reason given by the Socialist members of parliament for supporting the government is the Prime Minister's promise to introduce as soon as possible a new suffrage law.

But the ruthless war against Tripoli has upset the best laid plans. It appears now that the Italian government had been making preparations for this war long before it was declared. In its methods of warfare, too, it is openly and unnecessarily brutal. Nevertheless the Socialist parliamentary group has not deserted the government. Many of its members do not approve of the war. Some of them do not approve of it because they think it will not pay. Others do not approve of it because they believe in the international solidarity of the working-class. But one and all have given the government their support. In defense of their action they say two things. In the first place, they maintain, this war is only a logical phase of capitalist development; there is no more reason for opposing it than there would be for opposing the development of trusts. In the second place, they argue, why should they endanger our new suffrage law for the sake of being on the right side in the matter of this miserable war?

Now unfortunately for the reformists the Italian Federation of Labor is more interested in preventing its members from being shot than it is in the passage of a new suffrage law. When war was declared the executive of the Federation, held a meeting at Bologna and called a twenty-four-hour general strike. This was done in response to the evident desire of the working-class itself. If the strike had not been called it would have taken place anyway. When the Socialist parliamentary group saw what was happening it met also and passed a rather wild resolution supporting the executive of the Federation in its action. From first to last, the executive of the Socialist Party did nothing at all.

The strike took place, and was a tremendous success. Of course it did not prevent the war. It was not designed to prevent it. It was called as a protest.

It was so effective that for twenty-four hours on September 26 and 27, all work and business was absolutely stopped in 125 Italian towns and cities. The enthusiasm exhibited by the working-class was overwhelming. Nowhere was there discoverable among the proletarians the slightest sympathy for the war.

In justice to Italian Socialism it must be said that this success was largely due to Socialists. The war was vigorously opposed by practically all Socialist papers. Almost to a man the members of the Socialist Party were among the strikers. Many of them were among its leaders. The rank and file of the party was against the war and did all that could be done to make the protest a success.

The effect of all this on the Socialist Party itself can be partly estimated by the special party congress held at Modena, October 15-17. It is not possible here to give an account of the groups which were represented or of the arguments which were made. Suffice it to say that it is perfectly clear that the revolutionary wing has gained in strength. At the congress held recently at Milan the revolutionists polled only 24 per cent of the vote; at Modene they polled 40 per cent. More than this, the great majority of the reformists declared themselves opposed to the systematic support of a capitalist government. That is to say, the majority of reformist leaders see clearly that their support of the war in Tripoli has opened the eyes of the working-class. Now that the working-class see where reformism leads to it is withdrawing its support. And any logical reformist is ready to change his mind when he finds that he no longer has the majority behind him.

So the Italian adventure in Tripoli has done much toward clarifying the Italian Socialist movement. The reformists in parliament have followed their theory to its logical conclusion and have found themselves supporting a bloody foreign war, a capitalist war of conquest. The rank and file of the Italian Socialist Party see the logical result of reformism and are about ready to decide that in the future they will have none of it.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A Letter from William D. Haywood.

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: Having accepted the nomination for membership of the National Executive Committee I feel it my duty to state to the membership of the party my position with reference to the functions of the Committee.

Conforming always to the provisions of the Socialist Party Constitution, the N. E. C. should not assume to be an Appellate or Supreme Court of the Party relative to matters of a local or personal nature.

It is also my view that the powers of Party management should not be centralized in the hands of the National Executive Committee. The N. E. C. is an executive committee. As a member of that body I would oppose its assumption of all legislative as well as judicial functions. These powers must rest with the membership of the Party.

The N. E. C. should act as a Bureau to collect information which would be useful in the propaganda and educational work of the Party.

As a candidate I do not wish to be elected under a misapprehension. The Socialist Party in conventions has proclaimed a neutral position as regards the labor movement. It is well known that this neutrality is not observed. There are members vigorous in their effort to co-operate with the decadent craft unions. The Socialist Party being a working class organization, it is my belief that our purpose will never be fully achieved until we carry to the working class the message of industrial unionism which means that the productive workers shall be organized as the capitalists have assembled them in the industries. Therefore the work directed by the National Committee and its executive committee should include the education of the working class to the end of industrial as well as political solidarity.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

A Letter from Frank Bohn.

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: The membership of the Socialist Party may at this time rightfully expect a statement from those who have accepted nominations for the National Executive Committee.

In my opinion a great many of the difficulties which of late have aroused turmoil within the party organization have been due to an error in administration. It was undoubtedly the intention of the party membership that the National Committee and not the National Executive Committee should be primarily responsible for the administration of the National Office. But the National Committee has not met and hence during years of inactivity has almost ceased to function. Therefore, the National Executive Committee, undoubtedly acting from a sense of

duty, has to a large extent taken upon itself the duties which the party membership intended that the National Committee should perform. If the National Committee will meet once, and perhaps twice, a year it will do away with the necessity of biennial party congresses and the National Executive Committee can then be left to fulfill its purely executive functions.

In so far as the National Executive Committee directs the national propaganda and organization work, it should be guided by certain fundamental principles:

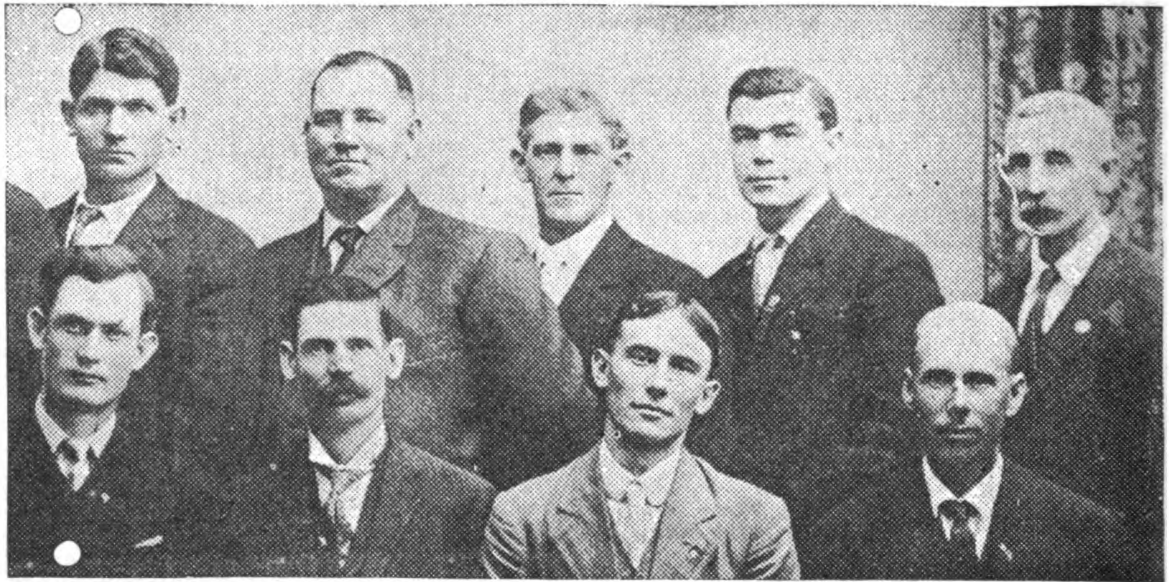
During the coming year we shall witness the almost complete break-down of the Democratic and Republican party organizations. Already hopelessly divided, the organizations of the two capitalist parties will undoubtedly further disintegrate. There will be formed either from within or without these parties a new radical party which will voice the interests of the decadent middle class on the political field. The Socialist Party must not in the least degree compete with any such middle class party or faction for votes or power. Its present mission is one chiefly of propaganda and education. It should present to the working class the revolutionary principles of solidarity, class action and the abolition of the private property system. Of course it is impossible to confine these great principles to the narrow range of political action. The Socialist Party should advocate industrial as well as political solidarity. Wherever in municipalities and states, power comes to it, that power should ever be subordinated to its great primary purpose. That purpose is the preparation of the working class for the social revolution.

Even more dangerous than co-operation with the reform political movements of the middle class are the efforts, which we constantly see repeated, of allying the Socialist Party with cliques of trade union politicians. The splendid success of the Socialist Party has been due to its independent position, its clear view and its sound policies. The worst kind of a defeat which could befall our party would be a spurious victory obtained through an alliance with another organization of any kind whatever.

FRANK BOHN.

A Socialist Hotel.—If any REVIEW readers have occasion to visit the city of Washington, D. C., they will find pleasant surroundings and Socialist neighbors at the August Bebel House, which has lately been opened by Comrades Wetherell and Berry at 211 New Jersey avenue, N. W. We hope in the near future to be able to give the address of places in other cities where Socialists can be sure of meeting Socialists.

Comrades Who Will Control the City Government



Toledo News-Bee.

Upper row, left to right—Daniel Deitsch, chainmaker, township trustee; Fred Boltz, machinist, city auditor; Charles Churchill, laborer, assessor; B. W. Pierce, salesman, assessor; Charles Boyd, farmer, councilman; A. D. Lower row, left to right—Bert Williams, electrician, assessor; Charles Hawk, laborer, city treasurer; Frank school board; Fred Stonerock, school board, defeated; Sam Hoagland, laborer, president of council.

Victory at St. Marys, Ohio.—The REVIEW certainly appreciates the splendid campaign put up by the St. Marys comrades. We know the comrades had their coats off by the enthusiastic letters we received from time to time telling us of their work. On October 5th they pulled off a rousing Haywood meeting and Comrade Secretary R. A. Burton wrote in saying that "it was the most enthusiastic meeting we ever held. Big Bill knows how to reach the wage-worker."

The *St. Marys Socialist* was full of hot shot in every issue.

We take pleasure in giving the REVIEW readers the following information regarding the candidates and campaign, taken from the *Toledo News-Bee*.

For the next two years at least this city will be watched closely by all students of scientific government.

The Socialists will be responsible for the conduct of the entire city government even to the duties of assessing property. On Tuesday the entire Socialist city ticket was elected. It was the most sweeping victory ever won by the Socialists in this country. Staid, conservative, sober St. Marys underwent such a political revolution that the oldest inhabitants stand amazed.

The Socialists control not only the executive branch of government, but the legislative as well. The city council, composed of four ward members and three councilmen-at-large, all Socialists. The mayor, vice mayor, auditor,

treasurer and president of council are Socialists. So are the ward assessors.

The movement overflowed the city limits into the township. Socialists elected two members of the board of trustees. Failure to nominate other township officers prevented a clean sweep outside the city.

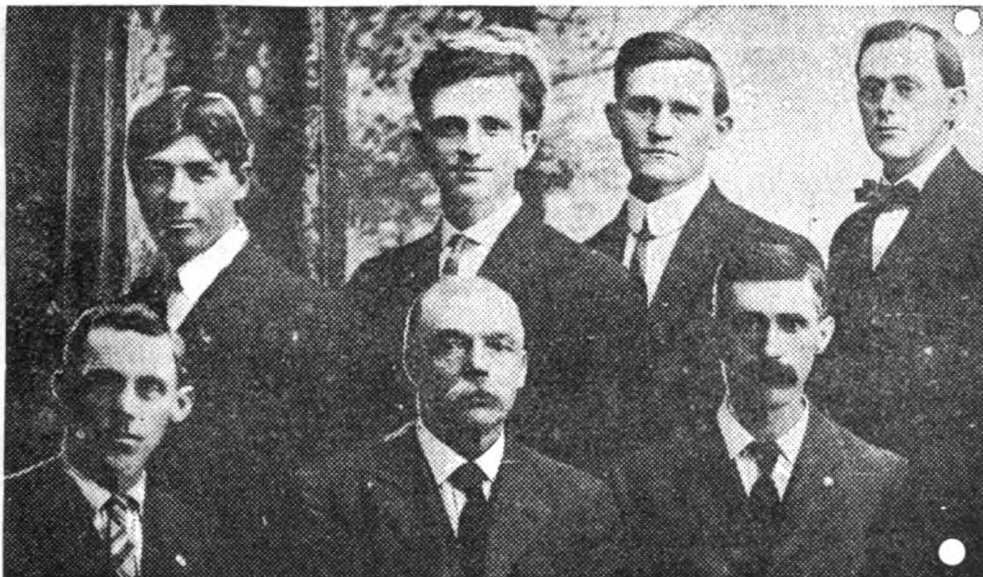
Less than four years ago there were only four Socialist votes out of a possible 1,400. Last year it had grown to 300. This year it totaled 629.

Fully 50 per cent of the voting population of St. Marys belongs to the wage earning class. Wages are not high. The Socialist campaign was made with a heavy pair of gum shoes. It was an educational campaign with but few speeches, but much circulation of literature.

This manner of appealing to the voter threw the old party men off the track. They lost sight of the fact that the Socialists in this city are conceded by their national leaders to have one of the best organizations of any city in the country. Its effectiveness is shown in the vote for mayor. H. J. Wessel, Democrat, 257; O. E. Dunam, Republican, 424, and Scott Wilkins, Socialist, 629.

At the head of the organization is Scott Wilkins, the mayor-elect. Wilkins came from the farm eight years ago and up until the time he was nominated he was a letter carrier. He is 30 years of age. He is a serious-minded, sober chap whose entire sympathy has been enlisted in the cause of the toilers. He resigned a \$1,100 position to take a chance on getting an

of St. Marys, Ohio, for the Next Two Years



Fred Witzenhouson, chainmaker, councilman; A. E. Heusch, clerk, councilman-at-large; Longworth, machinist, councilman-at-large; Louis Munery, laborer, assessor. Floor, grocer, councilman; Scott Wilkins, machinist, mayor; William Sullivan, grocer,

night to a crowd of over 1,000 people. We had a band and a parade of at least 700 people in line. The audience was more than pleased. Haywood exceeded our highest expectations. He has a real message, and it seemed as we listened to him talking as though we could hear the heart throbs and see the red blood of labor spent to produce the necessities of life. People who heard Haywood here four years ago were all remarking how much he has improved. No community should miss having Haywood. If you do have him your only regret

elective job that will pay him only \$400 a year.

Every Socialist elected has filed his resignation with the Socialist executive board.

The Haywood Meetings.—Comrade Peter Kinnear of Columbus reports that before Haywood had ceased speaking to the audience of over 4,000 which he addressed the night before the closest election ever pulled off in that city, the Republican and Democratic politicians had gotten in session at the Neil House. Big Business was frightened and determined to defeat the Socialists at the election. The Catholic Church threatened to excommunicate every Catholic that voted the Socialist ticket. Impossible and horrible stories were circulated all over the city against the Socialists and all the elements of reaction organized and started out electioneering at 5:30 on the morning of the 7th. Thousands of dollars were drawn from the town banks to persuade voters. It was the greatest election Columbus ever held. Comrade Kinnear says:

"Such a victorious defeat comes only once in a lifetime. All the forces of Capitalism allied against us and still we increased our vote. We elected ten officials, four councilmen, four assessors and two members of the school board. The Haywood meeting was a fitting close to our long campaign of education. We now know who we have to fight and next time the lines of battle will be more clearly drawn than before."

Comrade Primmer, of Hamilton, Ohio, writes: "Comrade Haywood spoke here last

will be for those who could not hear him. The psychology and sentiment toward socialism in Hamilton is swinging fast and it will not be long before we carry this place."

Comrade Max Boehm, of Conneaut, Ohio, reports in part: "The lecture given by Haywood here October 12, is an event that will long be remembered by those privileged to hear it. He was introduced by Jennie Potter, and the S. P. candidates occupied the platform with him. Haywood delivered one of the most eloquent and instructive addresses on the philosophy of socialism that I have ever heard—and the writer has had the pleasure of hearing most of our greatest orators. This opinion was shared by everybody else. The large hall was crowded to its full capacity. The audience listened to his words with breathless interest. He made us feel that we were sharers in every class struggle he told us about. He spoke about the McNamara boys. Haywood has the power of making himself one with his audience. He does not speak down to us, nor stand aloof and lecture from a lofty pedestal. But he infuses an intensity of human interest into all he says that makes us all feel that we are living the actual experiences he talks about. When he said:

"It is better for a young man to be a traitor to his country than to be a traitor to his class by joining the militia," and the crowd cheered him to the echo. The audience was held spellbound to the last word and when he had finished, everybody waited for more. We wanted a final farewell.

Haywood gives the kind of a talk that makes

new converts to socialism and he clarifies the ideas of those already in our camp. Everybody who attended the lecture feels that their time and money were well spent, and there is already talk of arranging another Haywood meeting in the near future."

Secretary White, of Newcomerstown, Ohio, wrote as follows: "Our meeting lasted very late and it was a glorious success for Uhrichsville—one of the rock-ribbed Republican centers of this state. Haywood was at his best and made one of the clearest and most convincing speeches we have ever heard. He talked two hours and we all listened eagerly for his every word. Round after round of the most enthusiastic applause greeted his words. This place only organized a local recently. But we have sent for a charter and the farmers and miners have made up their minds they intend to take hold of things."

Comrade Dryfuss, of Tiffin, wrote that he was unable to express his opinion of the Haywood meeting. "It was the most eloquent and inspiring lecture the workers in our city have ever heard. The audience applauded from start to finish."

Comrade Quinn, of Niles, writes: "Haywood meeting a success in every sense of the word."

Haywood at Cincinnati.—Am dropping you a line to inform you of the wonderful success of the (local) Haywood meeting held in Cincinnati yesterday. We want to say that in spite of unfavorable conditions operating against a successful meeting that we had a capacity audience listening to "Big Bill" for TWO WHOLE HOURS WITHOUT A SIGN of restlessness, intent on every word uttered and applauding generously whenever the speaker made a point, which seemed almost continually.

As to Bill himself, one can only note the wonderful improvement in both the man and in his ability. He is truly "The Eloquent Miner," delving deep into the dim recesses of his listeners' minds and revealing (to the listeners themselves), untold possibilities of wealth. His lecture was an A1 topnotcher in itself and its manner of issuance was grand—forceful, positive and energetic. The younger brother of the McNamaras, who lives in Cincinnati, attended the meeting and signed an application card for membership in the Socialist Party immediately after the meeting, and we consider this just one more feather in "Bill's" cap.

I am anxious to see the International secure a larger circulation, in order to facilitate a completer education on scientific lines of our own membership, who show a woeful lack in this respect. The average Socialist will attempt to quote Marx while in a discussion, and when questioned, prove himself no pupil of Marx at all, nor of any other SERIOUS author, simply gaining his knowledge from the Socialist papers of the lighter nature.

Haywood compels admiration and we hope

to have him again under more propitious circumstances. Wishing both him and the I. S. R. continued success, I am, yours for the "Co-Operative," Lawrence A. Zitt.

Correcting an Error.—We are in receipt of a letter from W. J. Ogden, secretary of the Tioga Steel & Iron Company, Philadelphia, Pa., informing us that photograph shown on page 90 of the August Review and labeled a "Group of Strikers," had no connection with the strike at Baldwin's. He advises us that these men were employes of the Tioga Company and had nothing whatsoever to do with the Baldwin strike. We are very glad to have our attention called to this error on the part of the photographer who furnished us pictures for this article.

From the Auckland Social Democrat.—The comrade well grounded in the economics of Socialism is the comrade, other things being equal, that will "make good" in the Movement. "Reform," and "Unity" campaign lures, will not mislead him. And just because so many of us recognize the truth contained in the foregoing, it is difficult at times to decide upon a work that shall be short and precise, and, above all, SOUND, to put in the hands of a student. A brochure is to hand from Kerr & Co., of Chicago, entitled, "Shop Talks on Economics," by Mary E. Marcy. It is without doubt the best "starter" upon the subject we have seen. It is the thing. We want every reader of the *Social Democrat* to obtain a copy from the Literature Department of the Socialist Party, Auckland. It sells at sixpence!

Dorothy Johns in California.—Word comes from many enthusiastic locals in California that Comrade Dorothy Johns, the well-known writer and lecturer, will tour that state this fall and winter. The comrades are to be congratulated. We cannot have too many revolutionists in the field. Dates can, we believe, be secured through the office of *Revolt* in San Francisco.

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One of the Most Important Questions to Consider in the Search for Happiness and Health

The burning question to you is, "Are you getting out of life all the pleasure and the health you are entitled to?" If not, why not?

No matter whether every organ and member of your body is in a sound state of health and strength, if your stomach is in any way disordered, you are not going to be "yourself." You are going to be a worried, out-of-sorts, nervous or sullen individual, whose actions will reflect your condition inside, and people will naturally avoid you.

The world wants to smile and be cheerful, and unless you are cheerful and smile, at least occasionally, you will have few friends, fewer opportunities, no success, and you will go down in defeat—defeated by dyspepsia and a bad stomach.

A good and thorough digestion* has a quick, wonderful reaction upon the brain. You must have noticed it many times, for the brain and stomach are as intimately connected as a needle and its thread, one can hardly be used to advantage without the other. If your stomach is slow and lazy in digesting your food, it will produce at once a slow, lazy and cloudy influence upon your brain. Mark it! If your stomach has absolutely quit work, and fermentation is poisoning your vitals as a result, surely your brain is going to be sluggish and correspondingly depressed. No one need tell you that.

But why continue to suffer all the miseries and torments that a disordered stomach brings you?

If your stomach can not digest your food, what will? Where's the relief? Where's the cure?

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are the relief and the cure. Why? Because, as all stomach troubles arise from indigestion and because one ingredient of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets is able to thoroughly and completely digest 3,000 grains of any kind of food, doesn't it stand to reason that these little Dyspepsia Tablets are going to digest all the food and whatever food you put into your stomach? Science nowadays can digest food without having to use the stomach for it. And Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are the result of this scientific discovery. They digest and digest thoroughly and well, anything and everything you eat.

So, if your stomach refuses to work or can't work, and you suffer from eructations, bloat, brash, fermentation, biliousness, sour stomach, heartburn, irritation, indigestion, or dyspepsia of whatever form, just take one or two of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, and see the difference. It doesn't cost you much to prove it. Then you can eat all you want, what you want, whenever you want, if you use these tablets, and you can look the whole world in the face with a beaming eye and you will have a cheerful spirit, a pleasant face, a vigorous body and a clear mind and memory and everything will look and taste delicious to you. That's life.

Get Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets at any drug store on earth for 50c a box.

Send us your name and address today and we will at once send you by mail a sample package free. Address F. A. Stuart Co., 550 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.

Portland's Big Demonstration.—Again Portland heads the procession in the monster Protest Meeting held Oct. 9th, when 10,000 enthusiastic and determined workers paraded the streets, bearing such banners as the following:

"Who Blew Up the Times—O 'Tis Not for US to Say."

"Was It Dynamite or Gas? A little Gas BURNS."

"Workers of the World Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

"Otis is the one blot on Southern California."—Gov. Johnson.

"McNamaras stand for organization—an injury to one is an injury to all."

Music was furnished by the musicians' union. All expenses of the parade were paid by the organizations participating and the entire receipts from the sale of over 7,500 badges and buttons went to the McNamara fund. Fifteen thousand workers attended the meeting held in the park. Allan McDonald, E. J. Brown, Col. C. E. Wood, Will Daly and others spoke. They demanded freedom for the McNamara boys. The Socialist Party, the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. joined in the demonstration. It was a splendid example of the way the workers are getting together. Solidarity is the talk and the work of the hour.

From New Zealand.—Comrade J. Grose writes us from New Zealand that The Auckland Bricklayers, Laborers and General Laborers Union took a ballot a few weeks ago to decide whether or not they would cancel their registration from the Conciliation and Arbitration Courts, also to decide if they would join the New Zealand Federation of Labor—a fighting organization on the industrial field, based on the Class Struggle. The vote ran as follows: For cancellation, 851 to 152. For the New Zealand Federation of Labor, 918 as against 82, voting No. The tramway union acted in a similar way a few weeks before, and Walter Thomas Mills and his gang of compromisers and reactionists were whipped thoroughly. Comrade J. Grose says he thinks Comrade Charles Edward Russell did not learn all the facts while he was in New Zealand. There is there a fine fighting organization of revolutionists in the Socialist Party who have kept their integrity in spite of such men as Mills who have done all in their power to disrupt and disorganize them and to turn them over to the enemy. No Labor Party for the New Zealand Reds and industrial unionism is the talk of the hour both inside the party and out. As Comrade Grose says: 500 fighters can go further and do more than 5,000,000 crawlers.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A Socialist History of the Human Race.—We hope that every REVIEW reader will note the new offer on the second page of our cover this month. It includes fourteen bound volumes and two works of Marx in paper covers, and taken in their proper order these books constitute the best Socialist history that has yet been offered in the English language. To the special offers included in the advertisement we add one more, namely, that on receipt of \$5.00 we will send by express prepaid any books published by us to the amount of \$5.00 at retail prices, and will also send five subscription cards, each good for the REVIEW one year, either to a new name or to one already a subscriber. This is the most liberal offer ever made by any Socialist periodical. It will enable any Socialist hustler to build up a library with no cost to himself, or to make a living by taking subscriptions and selling books.

Puritanism.—This new book by Clarence Meily will delight every clear-headed Socialist and will help open the eyes of many who have not yet begun to think for themselves. It is a clear, forceful, economic explanation of the origin and the decadence of the moral code of the Puritan. No one is a good revolutionist until he understands and rejects that code. Read this book, then sell it or lend it. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Militant Proletariat.—By Austin Lewis. It is not too much to say that this is the most important work on American economic development and the tactics of American Socialism that has yet appeared. Here will be found a complete logical statement of the position which the REVIEW defends from month to month in the course of its comment on current events. Every new party member should read *The Militant Proletariat* before discussing party tactics. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Socialist Argument, by C. C. Hitchcock, is a handsome volume attractively printed in large, open type, and contains a number of essays on Socialism,

part of which are new and part of which have had a wide circulation in booklet form. A friendly critic says: "Mr. Hitchcock is an attractive and interesting writer, and his papers are well adapted for circulation among the educated classes who are beginning to investigate Socialism, but to whom the language of the 'scientific, revolutionary' Socialist is sometimes objectionable." Cloth, \$1.00.

Incentive Under Socialism, by Warren Atkinson, will shortly be published in a revised and enlarged edition of 64 pages. Price 5 cents; 10 copies 30 cents; 100 copies \$2.50. Note that our stockholders' discounts apply only to retail and not to wholesale prices. All these new books will be ready for delivery on or before Dec. 10. Advance orders will receive prompt attention.

A Woman's Place, by Robert H. Howe, is the latest booklet in the Pocket Library of Socialism. Price 5 cents; 10 copies 20 cents; 100 copies \$1.00. We are now keeping the number of booklets in the Pocket Library of Socialism at exactly fifty, dropping old ones to make room for new ones. A full set of the fifty books, together with the REVIEW six months, will be mailed for \$1.00. A thousand of these booklets, assorted among not to exceed ten titles, will be sent by express, charges prepaid, on receipt of \$7.00. Remember that they retail for five cents each.

Lyric Columbia Graphophone \$25.00.—On another page will be found our offer of a phonograph free with 25 yearly REVIEW subscriptions. The machine described on that page is exactly the thing for use at a Socialist meeting, either in a hall or in the open air, but it is a little too loud in its tone to be best suited for a small room. If you want a "Lyric" graphophone for the home, we can send you one for \$25.00. The price is fixed by the manufacturer, and we are not allowed to deviate from it, but some of our friends may be glad to order from us and let the retail profit help our work along instead of going to a capitalist.

A Record-Breaking Year.—As we go to press we have complete figures for only ten months of the year 1911, but these indicate a big increase over any previous year. The receipts of the REVIEW for these ten months are \$18,824.26; our book sales \$30,377.11; sales of stock \$1,190.00, and contributions \$33.00, making a total of \$50,424.37. Our running expenses including wages, advertising, rent and miscellaneous expense, printing the REVIEW, printing books, purchases of books, postage, expressage, interest, and payments to authors, amount to \$48,540.44, leaving a small margin which has been applied to the payment of loans. On the last day of October our paid-up capital was \$36,820.00 and our total indebtedness of all kinds amounted to \$6,549.46, or about an average month's receipts. This we expect to reduce considerably during November and December.

An Enlarged Review.—This is coming just as soon as you are ready for it. Our publishing house pays no dividends; no one connected with it makes any profits. As soon as we have a small surplus above necessary expenditures, it will be used to enlarge the REVIEW. The quickest and best way to reach this point is for you to

send \$5.00 for your own renewal and four new subscriptions. You will receive five dollars' worth of our books for your trouble, and you will be doing your share to enlarge the REVIEW without delay.

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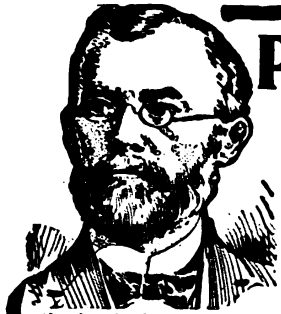
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From the President of the College.

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS

By PETER E. BURROWES

The author of this book was a welcome contributor to the International Socialist Review and to other Socialist periodicals in the early days of the Socialist Party of America. A limited edition of the volume was published in New York some years ago, and a year or two before the author's death

we bought from him the entire edition, bound and unbound. The last of the sheets have just been bound for us in attractive and tasteful style, and as the book was never electrotyped, there will be no more editions. To make sure of a copy, order at once.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE ESSAYS

Life would never have been a problem if the workers of the world had been its thinkers, and it will lose its problems when they find their brains.—**Monsieur Diabolus.**

The creative force of society is the working man. There is none other but he who is wholly necessary; none other but he whose rest or absence never can be endured. Upon this necessary man, this salvation man and his interest alone Socialism plants its banner.—**The Spiritual Life of Man.**

Socialism is the science of proletarian experience.—**The Environer.**

The principal thing that becomes impossible to a property-conscious class is intellectual originality, or any tint near to it that would entitle the tinted to the rank of a hero. If you will have heroes to admire, you must go back to individualism, or find spots of it in history; you cannot find heroes after class-consciousness is established.—**The Far Man.**

We do not tell the world that man's salvation rests on the benevolent impulses of good men, or that its disasters have flowed from the malignant influence of unfriendly spirits. We do not attribute the revolutions which have come upon nations to the crimes of the ambitious or to the strenuous virtues of heroes; but we declare these great events of history to be always and obviously traceable to the master-fact—the system of economic production, the way the people were

getting their living before the revolution was forced into history.

This economic conception of history's process which leads to Socialism is itself an outflow from the master-fact. As clear as that the direction of the mountain ranges is the master-fact in the direction of the rivers, so clear is it that the economic conditions under which the race lives direct the flow of politics and indicate the pathway of the ethical, poetical and religious life coming after. It is not with love, nor fellowship, nor hope, nor resolution, nor anger, nor selfishness, nor despair (for these are all modified by the master-fact), that Socialism makes its alliance, but with the economic activity.—**The Master-Fact in Society.**

No half-hearted, half-headed, half-interested allies will carry this fight to the ramparts. The economic pressure which finally calls the capitalist down must come from the working class alone. It must come from wage slaves, conscious of their slavery and their strength, conscious of their economic power, their social necessity and their historic mission.—**The Revolutionary Message.**

Woe to the people who are led by an organizer who finally knows; but to the man who knows not, save that he is experimenting together with his fellows, for a moving together by the aid of experience, give your faith.—**Pass It On.**

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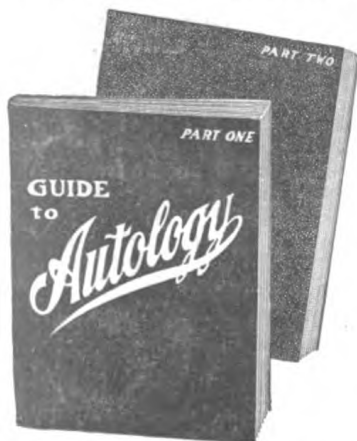
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Harvard University Medical School, '88; College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago), '89; formerly House Physician and Surgeon in Cook County Hospital (Chicago); Professor of Obstetrics College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago). Member of Chicago Medical Society, etc.