

NOVEMBER, 1912

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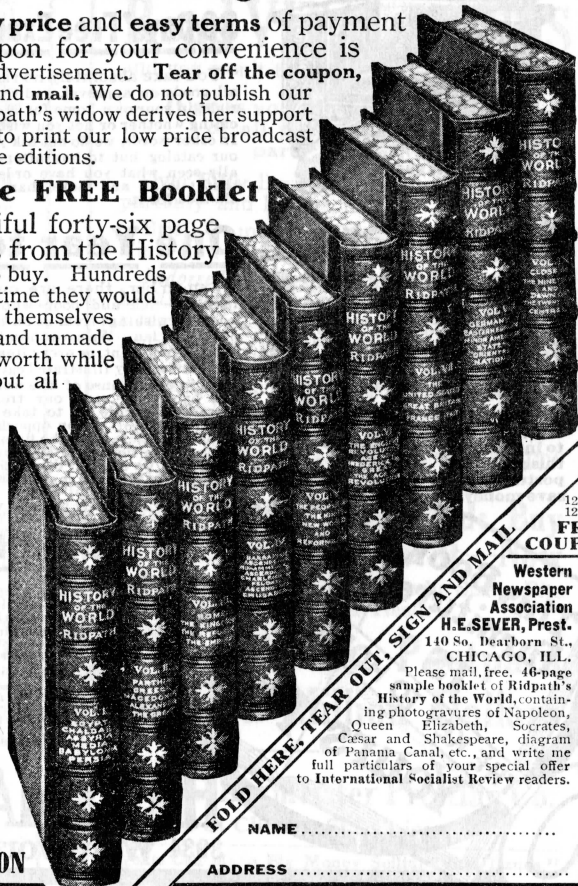
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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CONTENTS

Miners Play a Waiting Game.....	<i>Edward H. Kintzer</i>
Illustrated.	
Why a Workingman Should Vote the Socialist Ticket.....	<i>Leslie H. Marcy</i>
How the Winchester Arms Company Rifles the Workers.....	<i>Robert M. Lackey</i>
Illustrated.	
Untold Tales of the Army and Navy.....	<i>Ex-Soldiers and Marines</i>
Illustrated.	
The Trial of the Timber Workers.....	<i>Jack Morton</i>
Automatic Machinery.....	<i>Robert Johnstone Wheeler</i>
Illustrated.	
On the Road With Debs.....	<i>Ellis B. Harris</i>
Illustrated.	
Through the Jungle by Rail.....	<i>Mary E. Marcy</i>
Illustrated.	
The Second Battle of Lawrence.....	<i>Phillips Russell</i>
Illustrated.	
The Great Falls Strike.....	<i>James B. Scott</i>
The Seventh I. W. W. Convention.....	<i>J. P. Cannon</i>
Revolution Yawns.....	<i>Agnes Lout</i>
Illustrated.	
A New Zealand Letter.....	<i>Scott Bennett</i>
The Right to Strike.....	<i>Herbert Sturges</i>

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Chicago, Ill., November 1, 1912.

To Our Readers:

The frost is already on the pumpkin and the snow will soon be flying out your way. During the long winter evenings you will want a good book to read.

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The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XIII

NOVEMBER, 1912

No. 5



SQUAD OF WEST VIRGINIA MILITIA ESCORTING PRISONERS TO COURT MARTIAL IN ONE OF THE MINING CAMPS OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Miners Play a Waiting Game

By EDWARD H. KINTZER

Socialist Candidate for State Auditor of West Virginia

WITH the calmness of seasoned soldiers, with a purpose that presages no good to the operators, with defiance that brooks no interference with that purpose, the battling miners of West Virginia await the coming war-of-the-ballots.

In dealing with the armed mine guards these mountaineers were taught valuable lessons in solidarity and cohesion which made them effective in meeting this force. So, after delivering a blow of direct action against the operators, with equal intelligence they are preparing to strike at the

ballot box. They have organized themselves in spirit if not in fact, having learned to do by concerted action whatever is to be done.

They are not living in a fool's paradise expecting the capitalist orders to collapse because a majority might wish it to. Back of their political action there is something more tangible than a mere expression of choice.

And well there should be, for heretofore no election has gone against the operators. They will stop at nothing to purchase votes and stuff ballot boxes. They have bought legislators like they purchase mine props, "made" governors with impunity, and with open effrontery placed two senators in congress against the wishes of the people.

Frank Bohn, associate editor of the REVIEW, while recently touring West Virginia on a speaking campaign, said: "The situation here regarding Senator Watson ought to receive wide publicity. There is nothing else like it. Other Watsons exist but none of them are in congress."

It is the coal industry and organized "Big Business" that the miners must oppose—these interests that named Watson and Chilton United States senators.

SOCIALISM IS EASY.

It is not difficult to teach these battling miners the fundamentals of Socialism, for the class struggle to them is very apparent and the hallucination of "dividing up" and "destroying the homes" has no terrors for them. They have nothing to divide and no home to destroy. Having recently been evicted they know that nothing could accomplish these things more effectively than capitalism. Their only assets are experience, hope and determination. This experience suggests action, their hope is Socialism and their determination means victory.

Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the national organization of the United Mine Workers, in a recent letter states the political situation quite clearly. He said:

"We have an excellent chance of electing the entire Socialist ticket in Kanawha county. The miners poll 40 per cent of the total vote in this county and they are practically all Socialists, made so by the present strike.

"This is the county in which Charleston, the capital of the state, is located, and,

moreover, if we capture the political power of this big county it will practically insure the success of our strike. It is a great opportunity."

Politicians of the old school are admitting that the Socialist ticket will win. Even last March, before the strike, Adjutant General Elliott, absolute dictator by right of martial law over Paint and Cabin Creek districts, stated to the writer: "Unless Roosevelt is nominated by the Republicans there is some question whether the Socialists will be first or second." He stated that he had been over the lower section (meaning Kanawha county) and knew. He resides at Charleston.

Thomas L. Tincher, a locomotive engineer, is the Socialist candidate for sheriff. He is making the guard system the issue in the campaign.

"A Socialist sheriff would solve the mine guard problem quickly, says Tincher. "All he would have to do would be to enforce the law and the mine guard would become a useless institution."

With exceptional outbreaks of hostility between the mine guards and the miners, the situation in the martial law district is quiet. The operators, mine guards and miners are disposed to play a waiting game.

DAMAGING TESTIMONY.

The one point that is of most interest is the strike commission taking testimony, where the mass of evidence adduced presents a strong indictment of the coal companies and their hired band of murderers.

In searching the region the militia confiscated many machine guns that had been purchased by the operators and used by the mine guards. This evidence before the commission has not strengthened the position of the operators.

Greed and the fierce struggle to earn dividends on a water soaked capitalization produced a chain of circumstances that are the most damning of record.

There are many communities that are almost deserted, for no one who will not work for the coal company is allowed occupancy of the houses. The strike has brought production to a standstill.

Mucklow, where the two-day battle occurred, is a deserted village except for the presence of a few mine officials and guards. It all sounds like a tale of the Arcadians except the proximity to civilization(?).

One of the families evicted in this village was composed of four generations of Cranes. Louise, a baby, who was suffering from summer complaint, her father, grandfather and great grandfather. When evicted—dispossessed—these people were forced to tramp over the hills many miles. They could not stay in Mucklow even though the union offered to pay the rent. They were told that unless they worked for the company they would have to leave. Even the fields and roads at Mucklow offered them no camping place, for they all are owned by the company.

These three men had toiled in the mines—but what of that? They had been good workers—but what of that? They were old and the baby sick—but no matter; they would not meekly submit to the conditions, so out they had to go.

This happened early in September. Baby Louise is now well. A ragged tent with the stars and stripes floating over it is the abode of these people, who produced enough wealth to live in comfort, of which the system robbed them of nearly all.

"To some it may seem a joke—the American flag here," said Crane when asked about the flag, "but I don't know of a better banner for Americans who are willing to starve for the sake of liberty, to fight under."

Conditions in the tented villages look about the same, only a little bit more ragged. All about there is more cheer, for the intolerable heat has gone and excepting several cold and rainy nights, the weather has been comfortable. The foliage is turning and the leaves are falling. In another month, unless a great change comes, there will be intense misery in the camps. The fruit and berries will have disappeared and the gaunt figures of hunger and cold will be trooping among them.

When martial law began many mining camps that had become a menace to health were visited and a clean-up ordered.

"God walks upon the seas and land but the devil is here in these hills," said Adjutant-General Elliott, while inspecting these camps. "Fifteen miles away from here is civilization where are many automobiles and women who fondle poodle dogs,



EDWARD H. KINTZER.

and there are churches and preachers. And here—well, you see. When the trouble broke out I went through this district at the behest of the governor, and I reported to him that God does not walk in these hills. I saw neither a rosebud or geranium."

GROWING SYMPATHY.

If this strike were conducted against coal operators that had competitors in the field, as in former years, the operators would now be on their knees to the men. The mines are shut down; but the coal is produced elsewhere.

The miners all over are awakening to this and there is a growing bond of sympathy and solidarity. There is a likelihood of this strike spreading to all the mines in this state.

Mother Jones continues to be the leading character in the fight and every fiber of her being has been aroused. She is indeed the "Angel of the Mines," the best loved by the miners and the most feared by the operators.

WHY A WORKINGMAN SHOULD VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET

BY

LESLIE H. MARCY

IF you are a workingman or a working woman with a vote, you should vote the Socialist Ticket.

It is not hard to show you why. You don't expect your boss to fight your battles, or to demand more pay or shorter hours for you. You don't expect him to pay your rent or your grocery bills. You know very well that nobody ever has hurt themselves doing anything for you and that nobody is ever going to.

You have to fight your own battles. You have to hold down your own job. You have to pay your own bills. When it comes to getting anything or doing anything for *you* the only man you can count on is **YOUR OWN SELF**.

The more the investigators search into the origin of the campaign funds donated to Mr. Taft, or Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Wilson's campaign manager, the more you will see that the big money came and is coming in **FROM THE BIG CAPITALISTS**, the very men who are robbing you of the value of the things you make in the shop or mill or factory, or from the men who are appropriating the coal you dig from the mines.

You don't suppose they are getting so philanthropic all of a sudden that they are coming across with cold hard cash to elect men to office who will **FIGHT YOUR BATTLES**. They are digging up because they all know that any one of these candidates are always and at all times going to **HELP** the **EMPLOYERS** of labor in every strike. They know these men will help pass laws that will enable them to squeeze **YOU** a little harder.

The **WORKING CLASS** is financing the campaign of the Socialist Party because it is a party that is made up **OF, BY** and **FOR** the workers. It is unalterably and everlastingly opposed to the Capitalist Class and is pledged to serve the working class in every possible way.

The Democrats had their chance to show what they would do for the working class and things got just a little worse under their administration than they had ever been before.

Roosevelt had seven years to display his friendship for the men and women who work and he ran all to words just as he is doing today. In every strike he stood with the Capitalist Class **AGAINST** the workers. He called out the troops to shoot down men who were striking for an eight-hour day (where eight hours was the **LEGAL WORK DAY**). The noted governor of West Virginia, one of the best known Progressives of the year, is today sending troops into the mining districts in order to break the strike of the miners there.

When it came to Boss against Worker, Roosevelt, and Cleveland and Taft and every other Progressive, or Republican or Democrat is always lined up **WITH THE CAPITALIST CLASS**. They use all the power they possess to keep wage workers whipped into doing all the bosses desire.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, has put up Eugene V. Debs, a working man, as the standard bearer of the **Fighting Working Class**. We have put up a man who has been on strike; who has worked in a shop and run an engine. We always put up men to serve us who have

been workers themselves, because we know they are the only men who **KNOW HOW TO SERVE US.**

I know many workingmen who are good fighters. Some of them are putting up a game show against their boss all by themselves. But a workingman can't have any chance against the boss alone. He has to join with his fellow workers to be strong enough to get anything.

All you have to do to separate yourself from your meal ticket very quickly is to forget to tip your hat or be respectful to the boss. You will probably be fired at once. You cannot gain much by defying him all alone. It is the same with voting. If workingmen keep on dividing themselves into different camps, voting for one of three Capitalist **SERVANTS**, Taft, or Roosevelt or Wilson, you may be sure they will always come out at the little end of the horn. Because any one of these candidates, and the parties they represent, exist to serve the employing class and not **YOU.**

You can't lose your vote by voting the Socialist Ticket. The bigger the Socialist vote piles up the more the Reform Presidents, or Republican or Democrat Presidents will try to give you in order to draw your vote away from Socialism. They will yield small reform measures in order to ward off Socialism.

The Bosses use the Government, the Judges, the Courts, the Army and Navy, and the Police to keep themselves in power for

the sake of **PROFITS.** The aid of Socialism is to do away with the Profit System.

We intend to stop allowing the Capitalist Class to grab all the profits made through our labor. We intend to keep this wealth ourselves and to give the Boss a job alongside us.

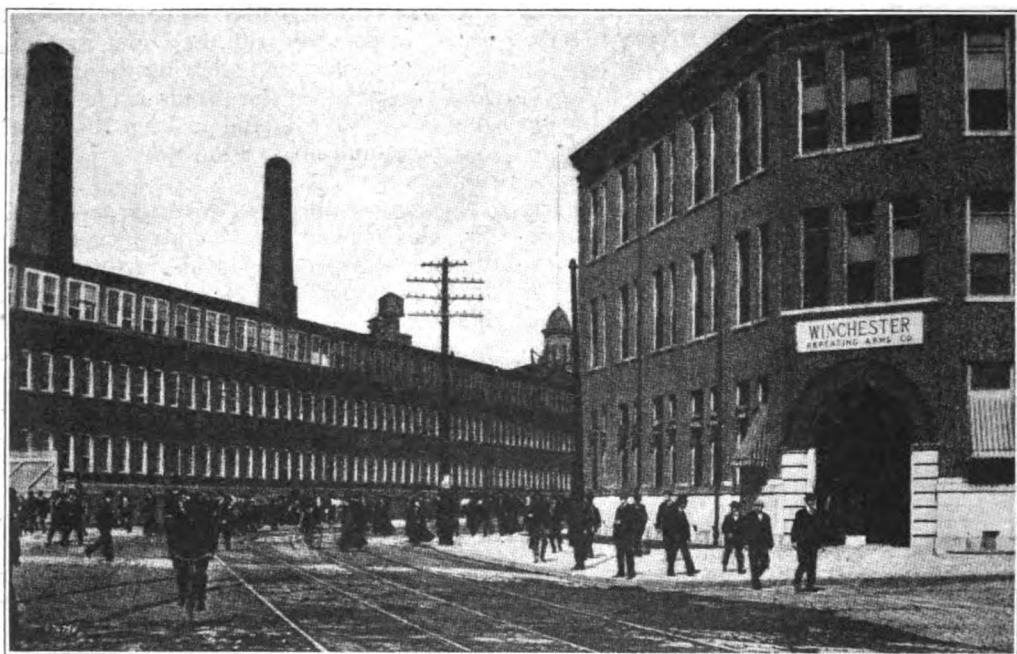
As long as the Boss owns the factory and the Government, he can keep every thing the workers produce in his factory, paying them only small wages to pile up wealth for him.

Socialism proposes to take over the factories, mines, railroads, the mills and the land to be owned by the workers who work in them. Then every worker will be a joint owner in the mill or mine where he labors. He will be his own boss; and own his own job. No boss will be able to grow rich off his labor, for the man who works most will be the man who owns most automobiles or clothes or whatever it may be. And the man who refuses to labor will possess nothing.

Socialism means travel, healthful surroundings, short hours, and all the good things of life for those who work. If you have no vote, join the Party anyway. You can help in the work of education, and organization and this is the chief thing. For when the working class **KNOWS HOW TO FIGHT** and is **ORGANIZED TO FIGHT**, the day of the Boss is doomed.

And above all things—**STUDY SOCIALISM!**





PLANT OF WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY.

HOW THE WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY RIFLES THE WORKERS

By **ROBERT M. LACKEY**
General Secretary Brotherhood of Machinists

THE Winchester Repeating Arms Company is the largest manufacturer of fire arms and ammunition in the world. Its plant covers over 59 acres of land in the heart of New Haven, Connecticut, and its rifle ranges and storage grounds embrace 489 acres on the outskirts of the city. From 5,900 to 6,400 workers are on the pay roll. As far as possible, the company has established a monopoly by buying out competitors, dismantling their factories and junking the machinery. Its products are shipped to every corner of the globe. Winchester goods are in great demand for sporting purposes, but wars are a very important

source of revenue. Frequently, mysterious shipments are made to unknown destinations. They may be for a revolution in China, South America or Mexico.

The Winchester works is interesting, chiefly because of the tremendous dividends paid the stockholders, the poor pay, long hours and tyrannical treatment given the employes. A million dollars is all that the stockholders even pretended to invest when the company was incorporated and no more has been added since by them; but according to the company's own sworn statement to the tax assessors, its city property alone, including land, buildings, machinery and other equipment is valued at

\$3,684,292.00. Moody's Manual, which is an authority on such matters, says that the plant is worth several times the capital stock of the company. It is doubtful whether the owners would sell for less than \$15,000,000.00. The difference between the original investment and the present worth has been accumulated entirely from the unpaid labor of the workers. The dividends run from 60 to 100% each year, but after the Spanish American war, a dividend considerably over 100% was declared. The stock being gilt-edged is very closely held. Transfers are rarely made. The latest quotations were in the neighborhood of \$1,200.00 for a hundred dollar share.

Winchester's is a big company with small ways, as its relations with its employes will show. Ten hours constitute a day's work. Overtime is paid for as straight time. A worker who is two minutes late is docked 1-3/10 hours on the week's pay. A system of espionage worthy of Russia is practiced throughout the works. Every employe is watched like a prisoner and quickly fired if he is suspected of the least leaning towards unionism. The piece-work system has probably been carried on to a greater extreme than in any other American factory. Clockers have timed every operation down to the second and set the prices accordingly. Truck drivers are paid according to the weight of their load; sweepers by the square foot and the men who gather the cuspidors and clean the windows are paid by the piece. Frequent cuts are made but never all over the factory at one time. The company is too wise for that. A reduction is made in one department at a time, but every department is due for at least one cut in about every two years.

A concrete example of the bad faith of the management and the method of cutting prices is shown by the experiences of the loaders in the cartridge department. A loading machine run by a gang consisting of a man with a boy and four girls, assembles every part of a cartridge and turns out a product ready for the market. Several years ago 200,000 cartridges was a day's work for which the man, called the loader, received about \$2.80, and the girls and boy somewhat over half of the man's rate. One day the foreman wanted more cartridges in order to fill the many orders on hand. He promised that there would

be no cut in prices provided more work was produced. The gang succeeded in turning out 250,000 per day, for which the loader received \$3.50 and his helpers a corresponding increase. This rate was continued for a few years when the prices were cut, so the same amount of work would only bring the old rate of wages. The attention of the foreman was called to the promise made not to cut prices, but no heed was paid to it by the management. Advantage was taken of the panic of 1907, to make further reductions. The workers had the alternative of accepting lower wages or speeding up to make up the difference. Then another cut followed. No improvements have been made on the machinery, but the increased output is entirely due to the breakneck speed of the workers.

During the last ten years the amount of work turned out has been doubled while the wages are actually lower. If the old piece prices still prevailed, loaders would now receive \$3.00 a day more than the present wages. The company is therefore saving about \$900.00 a year on each loader and a corresponding amount on each of the rest of the gang, according to their rate. An entire loading gang receives less than 5 cents a thousand for a certain kind of cartridge, while the lowest price quoted in the Winchester catalogue for the smallest kind of cartridges is \$5.00 per 1,000. Accordingly, 400,000 cartridges, which is now a day's work for a gang receiving about \$11.00 in wages, retail for \$2,000.00. The raw material of which cartridges are made consisting of lead, powder and copper is not expensive, therefore, the margin of profit must be exceedingly great.

Loading cartridges is dangerous, as an explosion is apt to occur any hour. Seven people lost their lives at one time on this work and the loss of a finger or an eye is not unfrequent as the consequences of the killing gait at which the workers must go.

Fuminate is a high explosive, a small quantity of which is placed in every cartridge at the point struck by the firing pin so as to cause the explosion of the powder. The department where it is manufactured is the most dangerous in the factory. Everyone employed there takes their lives in their hands; but recently even this department was placed on the piece work basis. As a result of the speeding up

which is bound to follow, loss of life is sure to increase.

Several spasmodic efforts had been made to organize the Winchester workers, but the union has always been thwarted by the company, immediately discharging those who joined. A few years ago, about thirty men were initiated in a union. The secretary of this union left his satchel down unguarded for a moment. Someone stole it by substituting a similar satchel. The names of the union men were obtained and they were all fired.

The Brotherhood of Machinists tackled the job of organizing all the Winchester workers into one big union with a full knowledge of the handicaps against which it would have to contend. It was realized that in order to be successful the organization must be conducted in such a way as to protect those who identify themselves with it. Hall meetings were out of the question, as no one would dare to attend. The campaign was commenced by holding open air meetings at noon at the shop door. Organizer Walter Eggeman, who started this work, has spoken to large gatherings three and four times a week for several weeks. The crowds listening to him have increased in number, and attentiveness, in spite of the foremen and other stool pigeons of the company mingling in the crowd with note books and pretending to take the names of those in the audience. On several occasions the writer has assisted Bro. Eggeman in addressing meetings at noon and

again at night on the Green, which is a large park in the center of New Haven, in the shadow of Yale University.

Thousands of *Machinists Bulletins*, with special articles dealing with Winchester questions and strongly appealing to the workers to organize, have been circulated. It has not always been easy to give these out as the police sometimes interfered. Then it was necessary to sell them. This was done occasionally by passing pennies out to the workers who then purchased bulletins with them.

A large two-sided banner bearing a target on each side has played a conspicuous part in the agitation. Every morning, noon and night the targets are paraded in front of the shops. The banner is really a work of art and the sentiments it bears always receives a cordial reception from the Winchester wage slaves.

Personal appeals through circular letters and visits from organizers have also been features of the campaign. In fact, every medium by which men can be reached has been utilized. Secrecy is maintained in regard to the identity of the applicants by having them mail their applications to headquarters. This method is to continue until a sufficient number have joined to assure protection to all.

The Winchester Company has been alarmed by the progress made, but its old methods of firing union men will not be successful this time and it is at a loss to



**JOIN BROTHERHOOD
OF MACHINISTS**
"EVERYBODY IS DOING IT"



**SEND YOUR APPLICATION TO
BROTHERHOOD OF MACHINISTS**
34 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

discover new tactics by which to hamper the movement.

A New Haven paper published a report of a fake meeting which was supposed to be held by the Brotherhood. Four hundred men were said to have signed their names and pledged themselves to strike if the union was not recognized. Neither the Brotherhood, organizers, proprietor of the hall or anyone else knows anything about this meeting. Organizers Eggeman and Cassile were addressing an open air meeting at the time the fake meeting was reported to have been held. The purpose of the report was undoubtedly to create confusion and distrust. Other equally untrue yarns have appeared in the newspapers by

which the company alone could benefit; but as usual it is very difficult to get a word in such papers in regard to the progress made by the union.

The company has much reason to be alarmed because of the headway made in furthering the ideas and principles of industrial unionism. It is a new force with which it must contend. "*One Big Union of all Winchester workers,*" "*a shorter day,*" "*better pay*" and "*industrial freedom*" don't sound pleasant to those who have become millionaires on the profits of labor. But these words are the inspiration, the hope and the battle cry of freedom for the Winchester wage workers.

STEALING PLANKS

LAST week the Bull Moose Druggist said to the Socialist Machinist, "Well, we have taken the ground from right under your feet. Theodore stands for Government Ownership, too, also for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. You don't have to vote the Socialist Ticket to get what you want. We'll give it to you."

But the machinist WAS a Socialist and he only laughed. That is what every Socialist does when anybody imagines any party is able to steal the planks of a Socialist platform.

The planks the Bull Moose Party have taken are not Socialist planks. They are reform planks that are not a part of Socialism. SOCIALISM is the only real Socialist plank in any party platform.

It is true that sometimes Socialist parties seek a few reforms which they think will benefit the wage workers. They have always advocated free speech, the right of free assemblage and freedom of the press because these measures give to workingmen and women an opportunity to agitate, educate and organize their fellow slaves.

But there are other parties that also stand for these things. We are glad to see them take up these measures. But no party can rob us of the only Socialist plank that must always and everywhere compose our whole program. This is nothing less than Socialism.

Any party that works for the collective

ownership of the means of production and distribution by the working class is a Socialist party. No capitalist party could possibly adopt such a program. No reform party has ever even remotely advocated revolution.

Government ownership does not mean Socialism. In the most highly developed countries, from a capitalist point of view, the various governments are ADVOCATING government ownership, because the capitalist class IS the government. Government ownership would merely give this same exploiting class an abstract institution behind which to hide while it continued upon its joyful career of buccaneering.

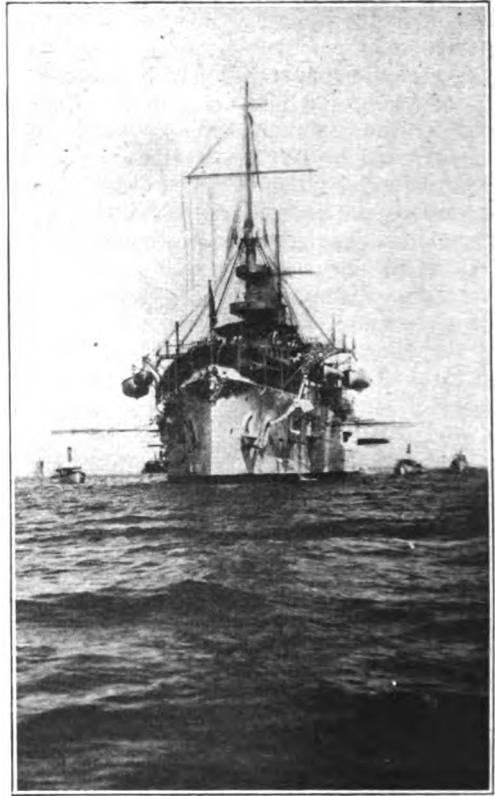
The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, whose aim is the collective ownership of the tools of production by those who work. They intend that the working class shall own collectively the factories, the mines, mills, the farms and the railroads. They intend that the workers shall enjoy the full fruits of their labor without digging up any profit to any boss.

This is our real program. This is our platform, bared of all its trimmings. Neither capitalist nor servant of the capitalist class can steal it, because the capitalist class stands for the PRIVATE ownership of the things by which goods are produced and distributed, and the ownership of OUR JOBS.

UNTOLD TALES OF THE NAVY

BY

EX-MARINES IN THE U. S. NAVY



Note.—The four communications which we published in this issue are from young men who have served in the Navy. They are, we believe, the best possible reply to the letter of the Naval Recruiting Officer who claimed the Navy meant a fine opportunity for young men to see the world and to learn a trade. We hope our readers will see that a copy of this article is put into the hands of all the marines they know.

AFTER the panic of 1907, out of work and desperate, at the age of twenty-one, I enlisted in the U. S. Navy, and was sent to the Newport, R. I., Training Station. I met there thousands of young men averaging about nineteen years of age. Most of these were like me, out-of-works. There were a few hundred off the farm, attracted by the glamour of an "adventurous" sea life and service in foreign parts. Also the expected crowd of ex-convicts, crooks and refugees from the law.

In the course of a few months the last vestige of independence is taken out of the recruit. You can scarcely breathe or stir a foot without breaking some regulation. If an officer takes a dislike to you, you are in for it. "Extra duty," consisting of laborous and dirty work is the least of punishments. Against an officer's say-so, the

word of enlisted men is absolutely nil. If you try to put up a defense or dare to answer back you are in for it. No matter how well you behave, you will soon find yourself before a summary court-martial of associated snobs on some pretext or other. Then two weeks of bread and water with a full ration every third day. This followed by thirty days' breaking stone, is a comparatively mild punishment.

The training station is situated on an island right off Newport, and receives the full benefit of the city's sewerage. What with the poor food and the insanitary water supply, scarlet and typhoid fever epidemics are regular spring and autumnal occurrences. In the last few years the whole island has been in quarantine a number of times, and many is the poor lad who has breathed his last in the Newport Naval Hospital.

WAR COLLEGE ORGIES.

The Naval War College on the island, is the scene of many an orgy between the younger officers and the women of Newport's Smart Set. In the summer of 1910, the newspapers were full of a sensational denunciation by a Newport minister who declared he had secretly witnessed a War College debauch in which naked society women cavorted around patriotically clad in silken American flags. Other details are unprintable. Men stationed on the island could tell of unspeakable vices practiced at the War College to which Sodom and Gomorrah were as a children's Sunday-school. But that is another story.

SEA DUTY.

On board ship the discipline is even harsher than at the training station. Here the man with the least trace of manliness left in him is finally "broke." Harsh punishment is meted out for the slightest offense, even for unavoidable accidents. No matter how hard a man tries, it is impossible to keep a clean record; the exceptional few with such a record are usually unspeakable lickspittles or captain's pet. Seamanship is a thing of the past. The ordinary seaman's life is one continual round of holy-stoning decks, polishing brass, painting ship, washing dishes, peeling spuds, and scrubbing and scrubbing and scrubbing; interspersed with an occasional coaling of ship, which is probably one of the punishments Satan hands out down below.

With so many young men living under such unnatural conditions it is not unexpected that every time the ship leaves port the sick bay is full of venereal cases. Following a stop in port after a long stretch of sea-duty nearly the whole ship's company is down with some form or another of these. Sodomy and other similar practices are not uncommon among both officers and men—young apprentice seamen being used as catamites. More than one officer has been caught in the act by his more decent associates and forced to resign. Of course, these things are hushed up. At Hot Springs, Ark., the government maintains a sanitarium for officers suffering from venereal diseases.

HOW THE ENLISTED MEN SLEEP.

Even in the hottest weather the crew is forced to sleep below, usually on the mess deck. The ventilation on this deck is of the poorest, consisting of a few portholes about a foot in diameter along the sides of the ship. More than once have I seen the poor lads fighting with each other like beasts for the coveted hooks near the portholes, on which to sling their hammocks. The weakest in this struggle for air were forced to sleep in the center of the deck where it was something like what the Black Hole of Calcutta must have been. Worst of all, we were always forced to sling up our ham-



TEN DAYS IN THE BRIG WITH DOUBLE IRONS ON BOARD "THE ELCANO."

They get ten days for small offenses, such as soiled clothes, non-regulation shoes, socks or underwear. For failing to polish brass to suit officers or leaving finger prints on incandescent lamps. For buying from fellow-sailors.



PEELING SPUDS ON THE ELCANO.

Potatoes Are Served Three Times a Day, Sometimes with Rotten Sausage or with Rice and Curry, or with "Canned Bill" (Canned Corned Beef).

mocks close to the ceiling and sleep there. Imagine the condition of the air with hundreds of men sleeping close to the ceiling on a hot summer night, the sole ventilation consisting of a few small, widely-interpersed portholes. No wonder thousands of young men have been discharged from the Navy suffering from tuberculosis, the dread, white plague. Hundreds have been treated at the U. S. Naval Hospital for Consumptives at Las Animas, Colorado.

The recruiting officers don't tell you of this side of naval life. Leyendecker doesn't draw attractive posters of consumptives tottering around at New Fort Lyons, Las Animas, young men stricken in the very prime of life.

MY STORY.

While serving on mess duty, I accidentally broke some cups and was haled before the mast for judgment. I was given two weeks' "extra duty" for this heinous offense. Eight of us on the "extra duty gang" were forced to clean out the bilge-water in the narrow spaces between the double-bottoms, and do paint work there. After some time at this, the eight of us were overcome by the turpentine fumes in the paint and were

hauled out raving in delirium. The hose was delicately turned on us and in the chill night air I caught pneumonia. Tuberculosis followed, and I soon found myself among the several hundred physical wrecks of young men in the Naval Consumptive Hospital at Las Animas, Colo.

For months I hovered between life and death in the "Death Ward," men dying around me like fleas. Consumptives and syphilitics—we were indiscriminately thrown together, and the stench from the rotting flesh of the poor syphilitics was unbearable. There were some consumptive officers there, too, but they lived in beautiful cottages, dined off clean napery with solid silver services; ate delicate viands and luscious fruits, drank delicious wines, and lived generally on the fat of the land; while we poor duffers ate the coarsest foods off tin dishes with tin utensils, and storage eggs for delicacies. But the Navy medical officers, let it be said to their credit, are about the finest body of officers in the service. Which is not saying much for the other officers.

My friends took me away from this hell-hole and sent me to Denver Sanitarium. With a year of decent food and kindly

treatment I so far recovered that now I am able to go around a bit. I am at present drawing a miserable pittance, a pension from the government and so must write under a pseudonym. I joined the Socialist Party some time ago and am devoting the short time I have to live to the great cause.

A WORD TO YOUNG MEN.

Young man, think twice before joining the Navy.

Young man, you from the inland farm, be not deceived by the bright pictures of sea life and foreign countries. If you seek travel and education, join the party which will ensure an opportunity for travel and education to all young men.

Young man, you from the mill or factory, be not misled by tales of a sure job, or by the glamour of a pension after a life-time of dog-like servility. Talk to the long service man who bitterly refers to his enlistment stripes as "hash marks." If the future looks dreary to you, if you are not sure of a steady job, join the party which is fighting, not only that all men should have steady jobs, under decent conditions, short hours and the best pay possible, but that all men should own the industries in which they work, own their own jobs, and get the full product of their toil.

Young man, you who are out of work,

do anything but join the Navy. Beat it; become a hobo; break into jail, but if you love your body, if you value your life, do not join the Navy.

Scores of Navy men have been sent to the U. S. Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., stinking wrecks of rotting flesh, suffering from incurable syphilis.

Hundreds of Navy men have spent their last days in the "red house"—the U. S. Asylum for the Insane, at Washington, D. C.

Thousands of young men have been discharged from the Navy suffering from that dread disease, consumption, incurred while in the service.

BEWARE OF THE NAVY!

FROM B.

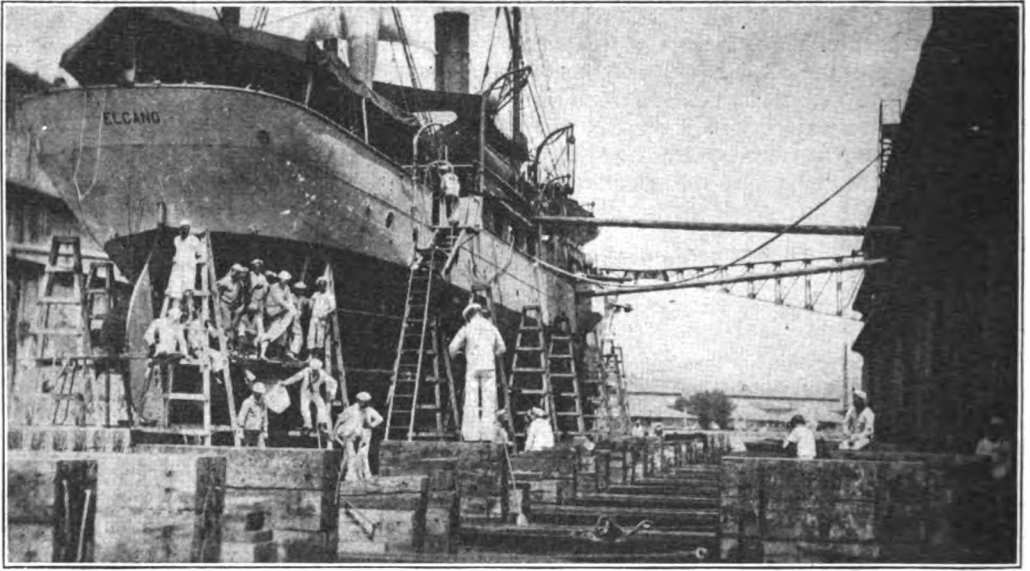
I AM an ex-sailor of the U. S. Navy. Discharged on account of physical disability. Refused a pension, as per agreement with the U. S., should a man become disabled in the service of the U. S.

For eight and one-half months I was compelled to do the work of a first-class fireman at a coalpassers pay, \$22.00 per month; have had to donate out of my pay to the mess fund and then not have enough to eat. Would have to get up at midnight and stand a watch on the fires without anything to eat, and when I came off watch, must stay up until after 7 a. m. or get no



THE ELCANO'S TAILORS AT WORK.

The Salary Received Is Insufficient for Married Sailors, So They Make Clothes for Unmarried Fellow-Sailors in Order to Make Enough Money to Support Their Families.



THE ELCANO—ONE OF DEWEY'S PRIZES FROM THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

breakfast. The Captain or Ship Commander bragged he would not give me a rating of fireman if I stayed on his ship a lifetime, so I applied for a transfer and received the same. But did not better my condition much.

As per the article in this month's REVIEW, a man must be in the best physical condition to pass the medical examination to get in the Navy.

I am now a physical wreck; cannot compete with sound men, but am denied my pension, "as provided for by the United States Navy?"

Trust this will be of benefit to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Dare not sign my name in full as I am soon to start proceedings again to see if I can get what rightfully belongs to every soldier and sailor.

FROM Q.

JUST a few words for that Navy Recruiting Officer, and plenty will be forthcoming, if he needs it.

Ask him if he learned of any American soldier getting the WATER-CURE while serving his country in the Philippines. If not, let him write and ask for the present address of Lieut. Henry Wygant, who was in command of Co. B., 3rd, U. S. Infantry, while it was stationed in Malabon, P. I., in 1899-1900, the *gentleman* (made so by Act

of Congress) who gave the water-cure to Private Campbell of Co. B. by tying a 35 lb. stone to the soles of his feet, his feet and legs tied together, his hands tied behind his back, a rope with a towel around it in his mouth, tied at the back of his head; a rope around his waist, in which condition he, WYGANT, kept hauling him up and down in the dirty channel water, about thirty feet deep, for about forty minutes, which caused Campbell to be on the sick-list for about two years after, with inflammation of the lungs.

Then ask him to repeat the remarks that our present President, Mr. Taft, made while speaking at the banquet given him by the Manila Commercial Club, when he made the following statement: "I hope you Philipinos, you gentlemen, will not judge the American people by the Soldier, the soldier is the SCUM of the country (in fact the SCUM of the world)" and he, Mr. Taft, was the Governor General of the Philippines at that time.

If you will find out the date of that speech for me, I will give you all of the dope you will want for your Navy Recruiting Officer. I served eleven years and know what I am talking about, but I don't think he will need very much to stop him. I have been trying to find out the date of that speech of Mr. Taft's, but cannot. I was in

Manilla at the time, and kept the Manilla Times and Freedom, both papers contained his full speech, but they were stolen from me afterwards, and so have forgotten the date, and I hope you will get it for me. The date and speech are well known to the New York papers if they will give it to you, as they had it published at that time, *but so small that it was not noticeable.*

If the Navy Recruiting Officers want any more facts about how the Navy Boys learn a trade and see the world, I will tell him enough to make *even him* blush, and all facts that happened while I was on board one of the U. S. war ships, 1893-94-95. Morally, it is not nearly as good today.

FROM K.

HAVING read the two articles in the October REVIEW, one "In the Navy, or the other side of the Paper," and the other a "Defense of the Navy," I will make a few notes from my experience in both the Army and Navy.

Marion Wright's article "On the Other Side of the Paper" is a true expose of the service into which hundreds of young men

are being induced to enter by means of flaring posters all over the country.

If the boys could only see the other side of the paper, most of our floating fortresses of destruction would soon go out of commission.

If would-be recruits would ask to see the other side of those enticing signs, about fatigue duty, the wood pile, the water cure and many other pet amusements known only after they enter the service, they would look before they leaped. They should ask the recruiting officer to explain some of those diversions which are kept in the background in the recruiting office. Ask them to explain the great gulf of social difference between officers and enlisted men, why an officer can do things an enlisted man would be thrown into the guard house or brig for. They should ask about the shovel gang. They should ask to have the different modes of administering the water cure explained to them. There are many other modes of disciplining men practised in the Army and Navy. I might mention the wagon wheel treatment as given by the



CIVILIZING THE FILIPINOS
The Sixth and Nineteenth Infantry After the Battle of Mt. Dajo, Jolo.

famous Gen. Lawton to men who had imbibed too much. That noted general had many other original modes of discipline.

The Pittsburgh recruiting officer or some other might explain whether they had anything to do with his death at the Battle of Mariquima. Many soldiers in the Philippines had an idea they did.

FROM C.

HAVING noticed your request for data regarding how our common soldiers are enslaved, and how easily a young man's whole life may be blighted over some trivial circumstance, I submit the following facts:

During the winter of 1902-3, I was in Fort Ethan Allen, Vt., serving an enlistment of three (3) years in the 23d Battery, U. S. Field (or light) Artillery. During the previous fall we had received quite a bunch of recruits, mostly southerners, and among them was a particularly fine specimen of young manhood from a small Kentucky town (I can't recall the name of it), whose name was Fulton.

I don't suppose he had ever been fifty miles away from his home previous to his enlistment, and the novelty of the 1,000 mile trip to Fort E. A., and the possible prospect of a trip to the Philippines (where the insurrection was not yet ended), had him and the rest of us keyed up to concert pitch.

The period of which I write was shortly after the W. C. T. U. had succeeded in abolishing the "Canteen." The generous "Mess Funds" which had accumulated under it (the canteen) had now become exhausted, and we were beginning to learn what was meant by "government straight."

In our case it had meant sour bread and canned soup, meal after meal for several weeks, and naturally pay day was looked forward to anxiously and welcomed, as it gave us an opportunity to go to Burlington, get a square meal or two, load up on "squirrel whiskey" and come back (a good many of us) sore at everything and everybody over the prospect of another month of sour bread and canned soup, and trying to be "heroes" in that godforsaken post, where five or six feet of snow, and twenty or thirty degrees below zero, was the rule rather than the exception. One night right after pay day Private Fulton, whose seat was next to mine at mess, accidentally knocked my coffee bowl onto the floor with

his elbow, ordinarily such a trivial thing would pass unnoticed, and I was stooping over to pick it up and quietly put it back on the table, when I was peremptorily halted by a 300-lb. bundle of exaggerated ego (Sergt. Henry by name), and told to leave it alone, and Fulton was ordered to pick it up. Of course, by this time the attention of everybody was directed to our table and several of Fulton's friends from his own neighborhood, who had enlisted with him, were breathlessly watching him, and he foolishly decided not to pick it up. Sergt. Henry, had he wished, could have closed the incident here, by letting Fulton down with a reprimand, or, have put him "under arrest in quarters," and inflicted some petty persecution on him and let it go at that. But no! The U. S. Government, embodied in the carcass of 300-lb. Sergt. Henry, had been outraged, *justice was demanded*, call in 1st Sergt. Parker, Private Fulton had refused to, what, go into battle? No, to shoot some enemy of his country? No, Private Fulton *had refused* to pick up a coffee bowl. The 1st Sergt. was hastily summoned. He, sensible man, didn't take his meals with the rest of us and after listening to Sergt. Henry's tale, Fulton was ordered to "get his blankets" and accompany Sergt. Henry to the guard house.

The next morning Fulton was brought back to our quarters and asked by our battery commander, Capt. Jno. Conklin, if he realized the "enormity" of his offense. On being answered in the affirmative he was ordered to apologize to Sergt. Henry. This he refused to do, and the subsequent conversation resulted in Capt. Conklin threatening to run him (Fulton) through with his sabre. To conclude briefly, Fulton was taken back to the guard house, where he refused to work, and the result was, when he was brought up finally for a general court martial, he was found guilty of various offenses, and sentenced, if I remember correctly, to ten years at hard labor at the military prison on Governor's Island, N. Y.

Of course, many will say he got what he deserved, for he certainly was guilty of insubordination. On this side of the question I have nothing to say, but have written this in the hope that it may catch the eye of some young man who is contemplat-

ing enlisting in our glorious U. S. A., and becoming a "hero," and to warn him that when he enlists in the Army or Navy he must pocket all pride and tamely submit to insults of all kinds from his "superior" officers, for which in ordinary life he would promptly knock a man down. Fortunately,

Private Fulton didn't strike anyone, or, I presume, he would have been taken out and shot at sunrise.

This is only one of a dozen outrages which I could mention, and if you should care to hear of more, just drop a card and I will be glad to comply.

The Trial of the Timber Workers

BY

JACK MORTON

ON OCTOBER 8th, A. L. Emerson, president of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, Lehman, Helton, Chatman, Hollingsworth, Brown, Payne, Ezell, and Havens were brought to court on a "conspiracy" to murder charge, in connection with the Grabow shooting at which time the gunmen of the lumber trust attempted to kill men prominent in that fighting organization.

The first sensation of the trial came when Judge E. G. Hunter, of counsel for the defense called the attention of the court to the manner in which the Burns' detectives were meddling in the case. He accused them with tampering with veniremen, endeavoring to find out where their sympathies lay and informing attorneys for the prosecution so that those favorable to the defense could be peremptorily challenged.

It was evident that the manager of the local Burns force was passing notes to the prosecuting attorneys, notes of comment upon the desirability of the veniremen from the lumber company viewpoint. It was claimed that at his instance jurors were challenged.

Counsel for the state (?) Pujo and District Attorney Moore, wildly denied the charge, of course, and as the counsel for the timber workers cannot keep tab on fifty or sixty Burns detectives, it is certain that they will have ample opportunity to "see" the jurors and make sure that things are "right" for the lumber trust.

Still workingmen, farmers and known sympathizers with the defense are challenged. And the lumber trust (we mean the district attorney, or the state), rejects all men who admit to having read the *REVIEW*, *The Rebel*, the *Rip Saw* or other labor papers. All brands of union men are

challenged, peremptorily, if possible. One juror was refused because he admitted to having read a single copy of the *Rip Saw*.

Prosecuting Attorney Pujo claims that Detective Burns is a saviour of society, but at least the counsel for the defense has stopped the obvious consultation of lists as jurors are called.

Seven jurors have been accepted, five farmers, one salesman and one restaurateur. The state was "willing" to accept men in the employ of the lumber trust, but refused all having ever had dealings with or information on the timber workers.

The last act of the grand jury that indicted the workingmen was to report no true bill against John Williams who attempted the life of H. G. Creel, evidently on the theory that it is no crime to kill Socialists or unionists in Louisiana.

The boys on trial for their lives in Louisiana are in need of funds to carry on the fight. Don't forget to send remittances to Jay Smith, Alexandria, La. Watch the trial if you want to know what the courts, the prosecuting attorneys, the law, the state, the police and detectives are used for.

Just now the state is doing the work of the lumber trust. It is persecuting and prosecuting union leaders in order to break up the timber workers and in order to force the members of this organization into slavery to the lumber kings. The lumber companies have stooped to hire thugs to do murder and the state is trying to put the blame upon their victims. But the whole South, and the workers in the North and from Maine to California are waking up to the crime against their comrades. They have decreed that Emerson and his fellow workers shall be freed:

AUTOMATIC MACHINERY

In the Glass Bottle Industry and Its Effect on the Employment of Skilled Craftsmen

BY

ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

Note—This is the first of a series of articles on the Introduction of Automatic Machinery into the basic industries. The industries covered by the series will be Glass, Coal, Iron, Steel, Cement and Agriculture. The purpose is:

1. To show to what degree automatic machinery has invaded the great industries.
2. To prove that automatic machinery is a progressive factor in industry and that its general use will necessitate a new mode of production and distribution.
3. That our new educational system conceived with the idea of making craftsmen more adaptable and, therefore, more efficient, being based upon the assumption that the present system of production and distribution is permanent, will be radically influenced by the advance of the automatic machine, since craftsmanship is being abolished.
4. To present the proposition that Industry is now ready to provide the material means to forever lighten toil and destroy poverty.

These articles are being prepared at the request of the Committee on Industrial Education, of the National Socialist Party. As far as lies within the reach and ability of the writer, they will be comprehensive and scientific. Since no money is available for such work, the investigations necessary will have to be carried on at such times as it is possible for the writer to travel and study the subject at first hand. Comrades in the industries mentioned and Comrades everywhere who can obtain data, pictures and information of value bearing on the subject will do the writer a great favor and the Party a service by sending any material to 611 N. 16th street, Allentown, Pa.

These writings will not appear in regular order. While the Glass Industry will be presented under three separate headings—Bottle, Flint and Window Glass, these subjects will not follow in order. The next article will deal with the Automatic Process in the Cement Industry.

GLASS making and manufacture is a very old art. History has no definite record of its origin. Myth has it that some ancient eastern potentate, on a warlike errand, halted with his followers on the seashore. A fire was built of drift and seaweed. When the expedition prepared to resume its march, it was found that the heat of the fire had caused a fusion between the ash of the seaweed and the sand of the beach, producing a semi-transparent substance. This is said to be the origin of glass.

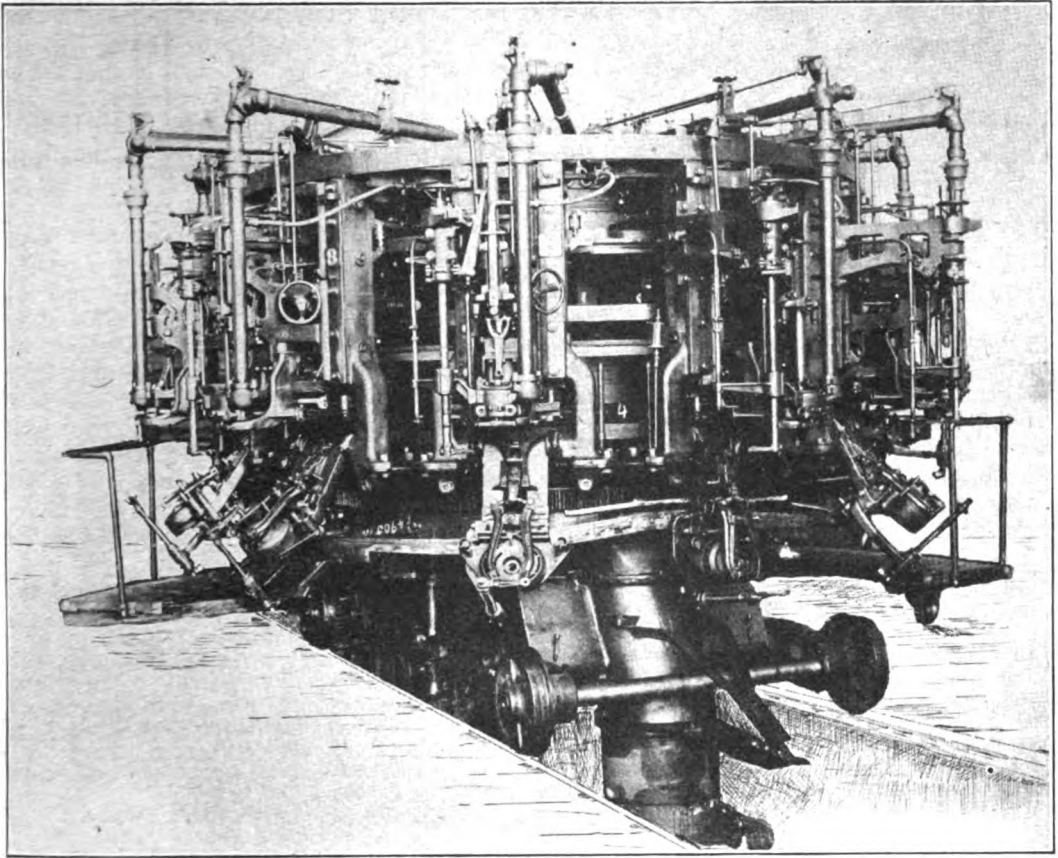
Civilization could not get along today without this wonderfully beautiful and necessary metal. Modern science could not exist if it were not for the aid of glass. The chemist, the biologist, the astronomer—these would still be groping in doubt and perplexity, depending on the limited power of the human eye. While in the arts, in industry, in society in general, what would we do without it?

Because of its universality of use and the fact that glass is indispensable to industry, society and science, glass making is one of the basic industries.

The Census Bulletin on Manufacturers give \$92,095,203 as the total value of all products in the glass industry. The industry is divided into three parts, building glass, pressed and blown glass and bottles and jars. The latter is the most important division, having a value of \$36,018,333.

Naturally then, it is to be expected that the inventor would have made the most progress in this section of the industry, since here the greatest inducements offered.

While machinery has been working in the bottle trade for many years, it was not until 1903, that an automatic machine was developed. In that year, Mr. M. J. Owens, manager of the great Libby Flint Glass Works, of Toledo, Ohio, perfected the Owens Automatic Bottle Blowing Machine and began to sell the ware in the general



THE NEW TEN-ARM OWENS AUTOMATIC MACHINE.

market, merely to test it at this time, however.

Not much attention was paid to the machine by blowers or manufacturers until 1904, when Pres. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, made it a point to discuss the automatic in his annual report.

In 1905, the machine was admitted to be a success and the Ohio Bottle Co. was formed to take advantage of the invention. This company leased the right to make beer and soda bottles. Since that time, many other companies have acquired the right to use the machine, each company being limited to a certain line of ware and competition between the different companies thereby prevented. At this writing, the machine is making almost every kind of a bottle from $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., to 12 gallon demijohns, and a number of big companies, including companies owned wholly or in part by the

Owens Company, and having an aggregate of capital amounting to more than \$100,000,000, are in a most commanding position in the bottle market. These companies are building new factories and preparing to take over the entire bottle industry. The small independent manufacturer with his old style factory and methods; and the hand blower with his skill are facing a desperate situation.

The Census Bulletin also says the production of bottles and jars for the year 1909 was 12,429,861 gross, and that while primary horsepower increased by 40%, the number of glassworkers increased by only 7%. This indicates that machinery had already made serious inroads on the handcraft of bottle blowing.

In the year 1909, 49 automatic machines, having a producing capacity per machine of 111.5 gross per day of 24 hours; or a yearly production of 1,700,824 gross, based upon

a year of 300 working days, were at work in the industry. It would require 440 shops, or 1,320 skilled blowers to produce 1,700,824 gross. The Census Bulletin says that there was only 493,341 gross more produced in 1909, than in 1904. Therefore, since the machines were working, a large number of skilled men must have been idle. And it is so. In 1909, there were 8,501 journeymen and 1,840 apprentices under the jurisdiction of the union and about 900 non-union blowers outside the union. In the month of December of that year, the union had 2,395 men idle.

During the last three years, the machines have been increased very fast and the number of idle men greatly agumented thereby. The following chart will illustrate the advance of the machine. The figures for the machine are quite accurate. The figures for the workmen are only approximate, though sufficiently accurate for the purpose to be served.

Increase of machines by years.	Increase of machine prod. by years. Gross	Decrease of blowers by years.	Decrease hand prod. by years. Gross	Increased idle men by years.	Estimated increase consump't'n
1915.....	350	21,000,000	*.....	***.....
1914.....	250	15,000,000	453	450,000	9,659
1913.....	150	6,750,000	4,999	6,450,000	5,113
1912.....	136	4,549,200	6,439	8,650,600	3,673
1911.....	103	3,575,200	7,396	9,624,798	2,716
1910.....	65	2,256,968	7,948	10,343,035	2,164
1909.....	49	1,700,824	8,823	11,499,176	1,289
1908.....	36	1,249,585	9,166	11,150,415	946
1907.....	18	624,793	9,639	11,775,207	473
1906.....	8	277,686	9,902	12,122,814	210
1905.....	1	34,710	10,086	12,365,290	26

1. Up to the year 1913, the advance of the machine was slow, due to the fact that the machine shop of the Owens Company was limited to 50 machines a year. This year, the company is building a new shop, which will be ready Jan. 1, 1913, and will have a capacity of 100 new style ten-arm machines a year. These new machines are almost double in producing capacity over the old six-arm machine, being able to produce 400 gross a day of small bottles, 200 gross medium size, and 100 gross gallon size; or an average daily production per machine of 200 gross.

2. It is not likely that the Owens Company will turn out more than 100 more of the new ten-arm machines for a number of years, as the number of machines made and in use by 1914 will be able to supply almost the entire demand for bottles in

the United States, Canada and Mexico. The yearly consumption of bottles only increased about 400,000 gross from 1904 to 1909. While there has been some increase since that year, it will hardly reach 15,450,000 gross, the estimate given in the chart, unless a more rapid increase can be induced by a greatly lowered price.

*Since the increase of consumption of bottles is slow, with the use of machines greatly on the increase, the number of skilled workmen who will be allowed to work must decrease rapidly. Absolute accuracy is not claimed for the figures as to the decrease of workmen, but they are fairly estimated by deducting the machine production given for each year and dividing that amount by the number of gross one man could produce in a year. The result is the number of men displaced by the machine each year.

**The figures in this column show the number of possible idle men from the year

1905 to 1914. There will not be this number absolutely driven away from the industry, because some will work as "spare men," or men who work in the place of men who lose time for sickness or other causes. Some will be allowed to work in the places of men who are willing to divide the work with them; many will work part time. But there is no doubt but the greater number of the men now working at the trade will be idle most of the time by the end of the year 1914.

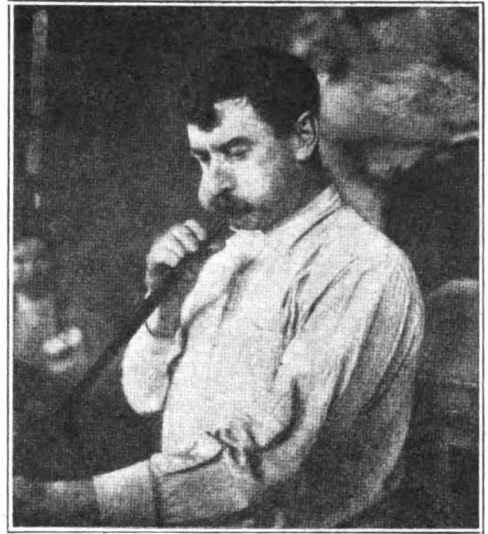
Beyond that time, the future belongs to the automatic machine. Bottle blowers will have to find other jobs. Of course, there will be bottles blown by the hand method indefinitely. There are certain classes of ware which may never be taken over by the machine. These lines of ware will continue to be made by blowers, unless they

go out of use because of cheaper substitutes made by the machine.

***The machine company is thoroughly informed as to the consuming capacity of the bottle market and is likely to seek to induce a faster rate of consumption by lowering the price of bottles until the consumer finds it more economical to buy new bottles than to trouble himself trying to get back the old ones. Also, it is possible that a large increase of consumption will be noted when the price of glass containers is made low enough to induce users of containers to choose glass instead of tin or stone or other kinds of containers.

Since the year 1910, great improvements have been made in the machine and the factory. The factory is a wonderful machine in itself. The new ten-arm machine which has been developed since 1910, almost doubles the productive capacity of the old style six-arm. The new one has many improvements. The frame is strengthened and the whole thing is greatly enlarged. In general principle, it is now complete. The inventor believes that while he may make minor improvements as time goes on, the machine is like the locomotive, or the sewing machine or the clock; perfect in principle, highly efficient, and for all practical purposes, standardized.

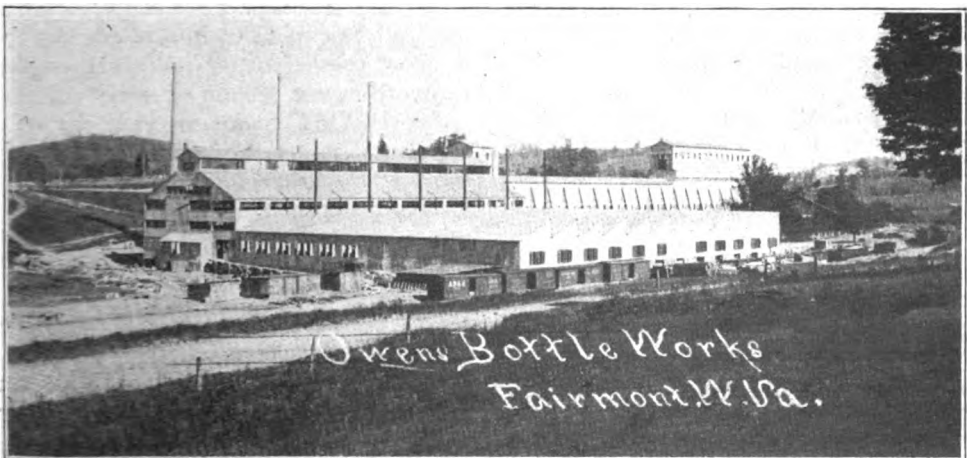
From the point of view of the political economist, this is the most wonderful machine in all industry. It is the first machine to take over the entire work of production in a great and growing industry and do away entirely with the skilled workman. More than that even, with the improved factory, built by expert efficiency



GLASS BLOWER IN ACTION.

Notice the Cheeks of This Blower. They Become Thin and Often Are Sore. There Are Two Ways of Blowing. One Manner Is from the Throat, Which Is Harder Than the Cheek Blowing. In Blowing the Glass, the Cheeks of the Operator Are Made to Perform the Service of Bellows.

engineers, working under the instructions of Mr. Owens, most of the unskilled men have also been dispensed with. It is the ambition of the inventor to so improve the factory as to have employed as many men as are needed to care for the machines and handle the finished bottles. When he has eliminated the last man who can be taken away and efficiency maintained, then perfection will have been reached—the automatic machine and the irreducible minimum



of human labor. In no other industry in the world has such perfection been attained.

It has been shown that the automatic is soon to absorb the bottle industry. The question arises now: "What of the workmen who are and will be thrown out of employment?" The old school economist will say, "They will be absorbed by new industries which constantly spring up." But I contend that this is no answer, because the new industry WILL USE AUTOMATIC MACHINERY and endeavor to begin with the MINIMUM of human labor.

The effect of success with the automatic in the glass industry is certain to stimulate other capitalists to seek like inventions in their line.

The automatic solves the problem of the

"Conflict between Capital and Labor" by getting rid of the laborer.

Automatic machinery, increasing in all industries, limits the opportunities of the youth of the next generation.

The automatic machine takes no apprentices.

The automatic does not eat nor wear anything.

The automatic has no wife or children to support. Who will buy its products, in the coming years, when the workers are done away with?

Who will feed and clothe the millions, workless because of automatics?

Shall man cease to exist because he has perfected tools of production, or shall society decide to own the automatics?

CITY BROKE WORKERS

A FRIEND in Detroit sent us, a few days ago, one of the circular advertising letters sent out by the K. Employment Agency in that city to the many automobile manufacturers.

Many workingmen and women have been shrewd enough to discover for themselves that the employers of labor regard them as just so many commodities to be bought and sold on the open market just as they buy machinery or horses or cows. We know that the man or woman who can deliver the strength to work, at the lowest price will get the job. But few of us have realized that business is, after all, just the buying and selling of commodities and that workingmen or women are only purchased while they are strong, efficient and cheap.

Say the K. Employment people:

"We do not accept applications from flip, indifferent, careless or drinking workmen. All men we send you have been tested as to their ability." (Note they are not referring to testing boilers, but to testing MEN.) The circular continues:

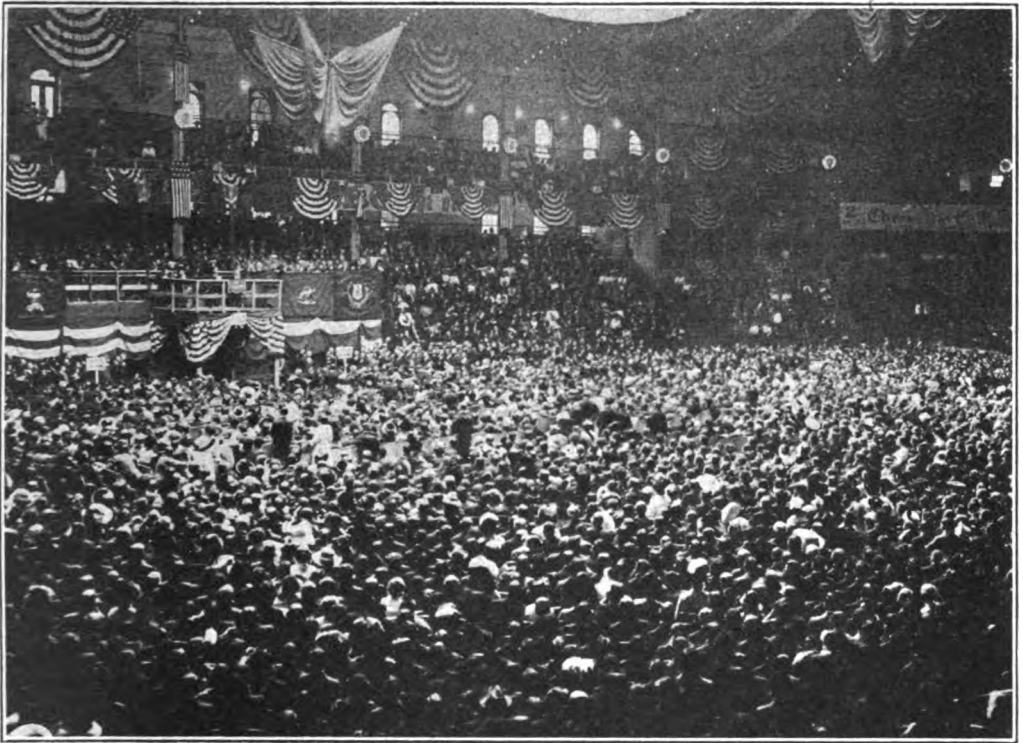
"We offer you the following clean-cut workmen for inspection and approval. Deliveries can be made in nine hours. Phone

or write your requirements. WE serve YOU free. Motor builder, full of ginger, machinist, just passed inspection; 3 reliable, clean-cut, pick-ups, age under thirty, CITY BROKE, at 27 cents. Can give you any part of 40 apprentices—19 to 21 years; *corn fed*, direct from country, at 18 to 20 cents. Let me send sample."

No intelligent worker who goes up against a proposition like this would hesitate in becoming a Socialist if he knew what the Socialist movement means. It can't all be explained in a word, but this is the root of the matter. We are organized to overthrow a system of society that produces PROFITS for the owners of factories and forces the buying and selling of those who work.

We propose that the workers in the mines and factories shall collectively OWN the factories, so that every man will be certain of a job and sure to receive the full value of the automobiles or coats or chairs he makes. If it sounds good to you, send \$1.30 for this magazine a year and we will send you free 10 booklets on Socialism.

If you are *not* a Socialist, WHY NOT?



GREAT SOCIALIST MEETING, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY.

On the Road With Debs

By

ELLIS B. HARRIS

We Are All Optimistic

HOW can we help it after the realization that not only this is our year, but that all the years to come are to be the fulfillment of Marx's promise to the working class, inevitable Socialism. And Socialism means the system of co-operation in which man's inhumanity to man can no longer prevail. Then the countless millions that now mourn shall stand free men erect and smiling in the glorious vision of a universal brotherhood that they, the tireless and unconquerable working class have at last brought to practical realization; a condition in which the evil star of exploitation has set to rise no more. Not only this notion, but the whole world shall be consecrated and glorified in a service of justice, truth and love;

when property right shall be the right of all the workers to possess all property in the means of production and distribution; and then control it so that man may freely enjoy life and liberty.

Time was when nearly if not quite all of the people could be fooled most if not all of the time by a system of education that teaches that capital is prior to labor; that it belongs to a sort of philanthropic organization that gives employment to the working class and is therefore necessary as an initiative to labor; that being based on private ownership and being the source of the very existence of man, it is therefore more than man and man must be subservient to it.

On this sort of education we have builded a heartless commercialism that is sapping

the life blood of the nations to fertilize and make more productive the private property of a master class, property held to be more sacred than the mothers and children of all the races of men on whom this ruling class subsist.

Comes the propoganda of Socialism with the new education based on history, evolution and a true political economy; teaching the unimpeachable laws of value, industrial evolution and economic determinism; making plain to the workers the ages of class struggle that have forced them continually to fight for life against the ruling class and that shall ultimately unite the toiling masses into one great union and a solidarity of comradeship that shall win a final and lasting triumph for all mankind.

To fully realize and appreciate the success of our ceaseless campaign, one cannot confine himself to a view of any particular locality. He must have every opportunity to come in direct touch with it throughout all of the states. One must see the awakening and hear the collective voice of the masses assembled as we have seen them, east, west, north and south; and mingle with them amidst such inspiring scenes as that of Madison Square Garden, New York, and Philadelphia Convention Hall, where twenty thousand people stood beneath a very sea of waving scarlet banners and shouted themselves hoarse for the revolution and Socialism.

Heartily I wish that every comrade might share this trip with the Debs party. That they might touch hands with and feel the heart throb, through that touch of the na-

tion's working class. Spirits in revolt, thousands of them, class conscious, self-sacrificing and indefatigable.

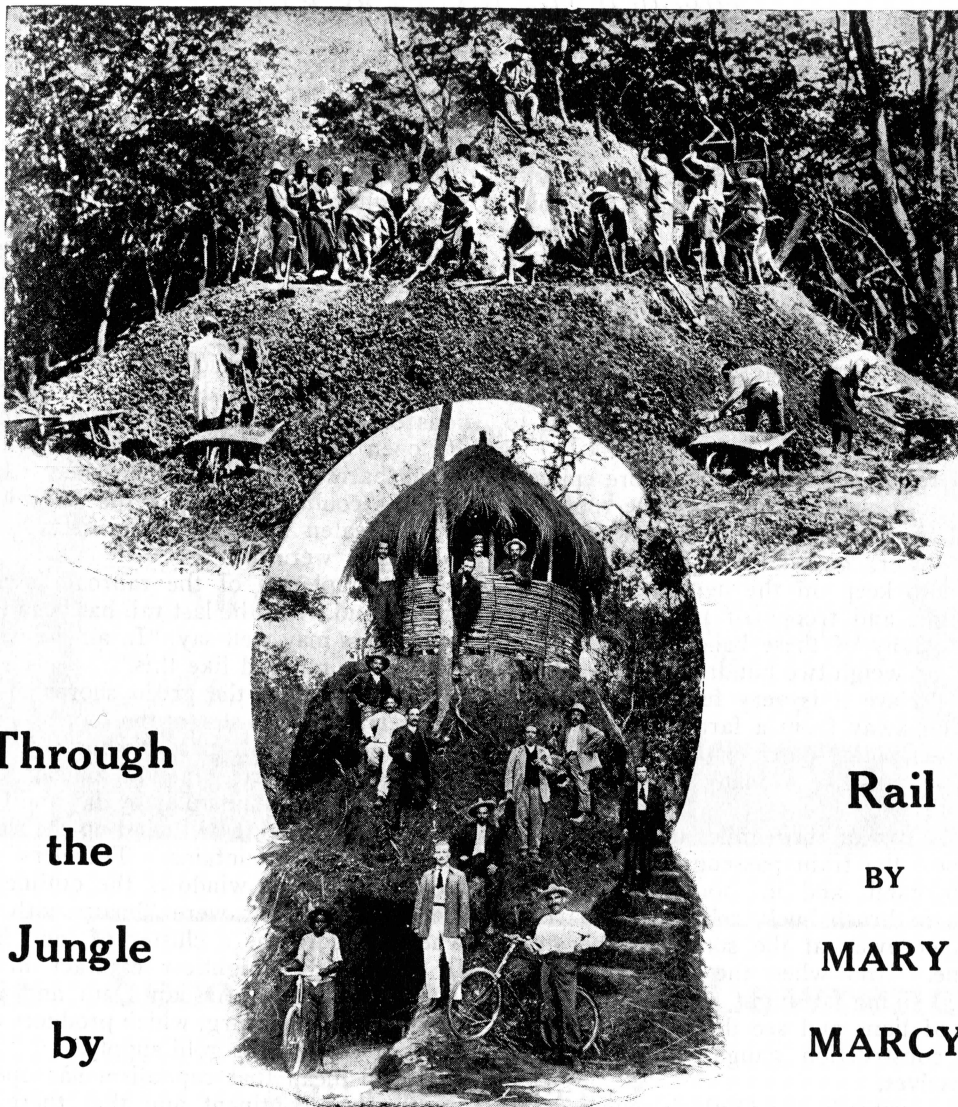
"One fact in which we may all find comfort, no matter how dark our skies may seem, is that the common heart of humanity is sound and beats true," asserts Debs. And nothing proves the assurance so well as the experiences of our campaign tour, where the rhythmic pulse of the collectivity is made manifest in the desire to hear some message of Socialism.

Here is the rush and the crush of the common fellowship; the good natured crowding of happy men and women that feel they are akin in this, the lobby of a brighter future. I say happy, for here at last they seem to realize that in their unity lies the achievement of every desire and effort for an abundant and happy life. They are not all Socialists by any means, but they are all interested in our message. They are all responsive to the principles of our party as they fall from the lips of its eloquent advocate, comrade Debs.

This is what we see on every hand, a thoroughly dissatisfied working class in every state in the Union, exploited by a plutocracy of wealth, which commands all the powers of government. The struggle for existence has at last become unbearable to the great majority.

The seed of Socialism that we have sown and are still sowing is coming to blossom in the great heart of working man and woman and no one who has seen it in all its phases of development can ever doubt the harvest yield.





Through
the
Jungle
by

Rail
BY
MARY
MARCY

Photo by Courtesy of Popular Mechanics.

Upper View—Laborers Tearing Down a Great Ant Hill on Level Plain in Congo to Make Way for Cape-to-Cairo Railway Roadbed.
Lower View—Monster Ant Hill on the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad, Near Elizabethville, Congo, Which Is Being Used by Surveyors as an Observatory.

BY 1914, there will be a railroad in operation from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, straight through the heart of Africa. It is owned by the British and will be able to pick up trade all along the line.

The discovery of the great diamond fields brought the English railway lines as far as Kimberly; the finding of gold carried it to the Rand. The opening of Rhodesia led the iron highway on to Bulawayo.

In the beginning, the railroad was, in Africa, as elsewhere, only a means to an end—a monstrous artery through which England and English capitalists desired to suck the wealth of the new land. But the time came when the opening of more new land served as an inducement. The railroad, serving as a short cut from the coast to the Mediterranean, was destined to become the great carrier for the whole interior of Africa. In itself it promised enormous dividends.

Economic interest, in other words, the natural resources, the wealth and profits to be won, was the basis of the new civilization in South Africa.

From Bulawayo the building of the British African railroad lay through 5,000 miles of unmapped forest, desert and jungle, filled with hostile natives, savage beasts and deadly fevers.

The railroad crosses Zambesi at Victoria Falls on the highest bridge in the world. From Capetown to the Zambesi the country today resembles our great northwest. North of that is still frontier—the last to be conquered.

A trip from Barotseland is more enlivening than a circus. All along the route are fields of corn. Dotted here and there are rude towers on the top of which sits a native to keep off the herds of wild pigs by night and troops of huge baboons by day. Many of these baboons are six feet high and weigh two hundred pounds. Travelers declare it is very funny to see them slipping away from a farmer's mealie field or sweet potato patch with the loot tucked in their arms like so many small marauding school boys.

Only two or three miles up or down the Zambesi the train passengers can still see hippopotami and in northwest Rhodesia herds of brush buck, zebras and ostriches scamper away at the sound of the steam engine. And when the train stops at a lonely siding at night you can hear the roar of lions and see the fires of the railway construction gangs, built to protect themselves.

One writer in the Outlook reported that one day he saw a herd of five giraffe craning their ridiculous necks and another time their engine struck a bull elephant which had decided to contest the right of way.

In reporting on the work of construction, one of the engineers claims that not the least of the difficulties they were forced to overcome, were the gigantic ant hills that dotted the land. Many of these rose to a height of from thirty to sixty-five feet.

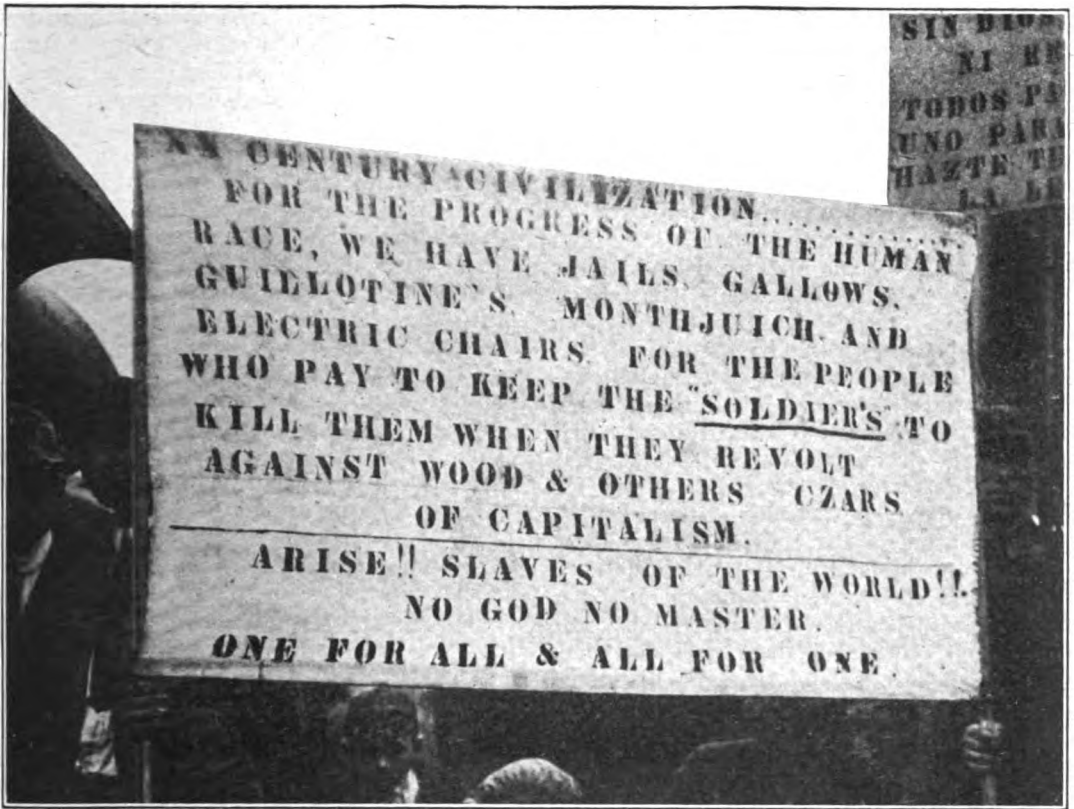
The ants are of a very destructive variety, white and less than an inch in length. They ruin almost everything they touch except metal and they often travel in great armies that do great damage. In a recent write-up, Popular Mechanics makes the statement that these ants destroy only the portions of articles which are not exposed to the open air, so that the surveyors have found that when they left their shoes where the ants could reach them, the soles were entirely eaten away by the insects while the uppers were left.

The completion of the railroad is near at hand and when the last rail has been laid, its builders may well say, "In all the world there is no railroad like this."

It will start on the green shores of the Mediterranean and stop at the foot of Table Mountain. It will pass through jungle, swamp and desert. It will zig-zag over plains where elephants play by day and lions roar by night and it will wind up the slopes of snowclad mountains. Travelers can see from the car windows the outlines of the Pyramids that were "hoary with age when London was a cluster of mud huts. It crosses the mightiest cataract in the world, passes the Assuan Dam and runs through Johannesburg, which produces one-third of the world's gold supply."

It will mean that capitalism has opened up the last continent and that there are no more frontiers to conquer. It will mean the modernization of Africa and the ultimate rise of Socialism on the dark continent.





The Second Battle of Lawrence

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

“THE proletariat, the lowest stratum of society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole of official society being sprung into the air.”

When Marx put that in the Communist Manifesto he certainly knew what he was talking about. It's the truth; for the proletariat around historic Lawrence has been stirring again, feeling its muscle and testing its power, and the result is that the upper strata have not only been sprung into the air but have hit the ceiling with a loud bang.

This article has to be written here in

Lawrence on the eve of the Columbus Day “parade of patriotic citizens,” which has been gotten up and arranged by Mayor Scanlon, the Catholic priesthood, and the American Woolen Company. None knows what the morrow may bring forth. There have been ten days of tension and everyone who is alive to the situation is aware that Lawrence is sitting on a volcano whose repressed forces may break out at any moment. The suspense will last until Monday morning when the Ettore-Giovannitti trial is resumed. Before that time there may be violent scenes in the streets; or the whole affair may blow off in the cheers, music

and speeches of tomorrow. There is no veil over the class struggle here tonight. The chasm between the bourgeois and the working class is wide and deep and there is no disposition on either side to bridge it or to smooth it over.

No one who has not seen a situation of the kind before can imagine into what a frenzy the highly respectable business and professional element in their hatred of the I. W. W. have worked themselves into.

All this murderous hatred has been aroused because trade has fallen off, because business has been interrupted, because profits have been cut into; in short, because the capitalist system of this locality, the whole profit-grinding machinery, has been seriously upset, disarranged, and for a time put out of order. There is no blacker crime in the eyes of the capitalist class, from the petty tradesman to the head of a great corporation. Consequently war to the death has been declared against the Industrial Workers of the World, and there are threats of tar and feathers, of forced departures from town, of torture and assassination.

A strike for improved conditions is not new in this country. It is comparatively easy to enlist a host of workers in a war for bread, but a strike for an immaterial thing, a cause, an ideal, is a horse of another color. Is there any considerable body of workers in the United States who will go on strike for a principle? A month ago this question might have been answered skeptically, but not so now.

On the 30th day of September last the mill workers of Lawrence came out in the first mass protest strike we have had in this country, thereby marking the beginning of a new era in American labor history. From now on Revolutionary Unionism is a fact that the capitalist class of this country must consider and deal with.

The second Lawrence strike was called as a protest against the imprisonment and trial of Ettor and Giovannitti and broke out spontaneously in the Washington mill on Thursday afternoon, September 26, despite the letters sent from jail by the two agitators advising the workers against such a strike. It grew in volume until by Saturday 12,000 people were out, crippling the Wood, Ayer, Everett, Arlington and Lower Pacific mills.

By a vote taken at a general open-air mass meeting held on the following Saturday afternoon it was decided that all should cease work until Tuesday morning.

Sunday a memorial parade was held in honor of Anna La Pizza and John Rami who lost their lives in the strike of last winter. Sunday morning a special train brought several hundred workers from Boston and nearby towns. A huge throng was at the station to meet them and as banners were unfurled, one of the bands struck up and the great mass of workers moved up the street towards Lexington Hall where the parade was to be formed.

Up to this time there had been no disorder, no disturbances of any kind whatever. Such a state of affairs, of course, could not be permitted to continue. The I. W. W. had the name of being a violent organization, therefore it must be made to appear violent. The police had already made objections to the music and to the banners, but to no avail.

Now it might have been better if no bands had played and if no cheers or yells had been indulged in. It might have been more impressive to proceed in silence through the streets; but the fact is the bands played, and the respectable New England eye and ear, not knowing that bands of music for funerals are not uncommon among the people most numerous in the throng, was revolted by the spectacle. The police sergeant on duty was shocked. The turning of the marchers from Broadway into Essex street, which the police claim was not permissible, furnished an excuse.

We were all leaning out of the windows of the Central building watching the advancing host when suddenly a big squad of police ran hastily out of a side street, deployed, and spread in a solid line across Essex street squarely in the path of the scattered mass of approaching workers. It was perfectly evident that there was going to be trouble and it was going to occur right beneath our windows.

I never saw a worse scared bunch of cops. Many of them were young fellows and this was probably their first dirty job. Their faces were white, they gripped their clubs nervously. The advancing crowd no doubt looked mighty dangerous, with their red banners flying, and Carlo Tresca, a bull of a man, at the head.



"ON DUTY" FOR THE AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY.

The gap between the line of police and the marchers steadily lessened and then closed. There was a moment's hesitation as a police sergeant shook his club furiously in Tresca's face and shouted something at him. Tresca evidently did not understand and threw up one hand as a signal for the crowd to stop. It was useless. The pressure from behind was too great. In another second Tresca was

forced through the line of bluecoats and two of them closed with him. Instantly the police line was ripped to pieces like a rope of sand and the old, old, sickening spectacle was presented of burly and well-armed policemen raining vicious blows down upon the unprotected heads of uncomprehending workingmen. Blood was soon flowing, but it was not all confined to one side. Tresca was taken into



CLUBBING THE WORKERS IN LAWRENCE.

custody twice but for some mysterious reason was never arrested or taken to the station house, and while all the capitalist papers had him fleeing the city "in terror of the vigilantes" he was walking the streets as if nothing had happened.

Sunday afternoon the memorial parade contained perhaps 15,000 workers. Innumerable flags and banners were carried, one of which was the subject of much controversy. This was a sign in black and white headed: "No God, No Master," and furnished the theme for violent sermons by the local clergy afterwards.

The next day Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso were placed on trial for their lives in Salem because their "inflammatory speeches" are alleged to have caused the death of Anna La Pizza in a street disturbance last winter. That day the work-

ers had tied up the American Woolen Company's mills as a protest. Police and hired strong-arm men were on the job as usual and trouble followed, also as usual.

Nothing unusual occurred when Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso were summoned before the judgment seat of High Capitalism, the only feature being the extraordinary number of excuses that the 350 talesmen gave for not serving on the jury. As the weary examination of jurors proceeded, there was but one thing that impressed the spectator and that was the fact that in their courts the capitalists have erected an elaborate and intricate piece of machinery that the working class never can use. Thank whatever gods may be, the time is coming when the rising workers will sweep the whole miserable business out of existence.

Wednesday afternoon the trial was halted until new talesmen could be summoned and as we came out of the courthouse City Marshal Lehan was showing to the reporters a telegram from Vincent St. John, general secretary of the I. W. W. at Chicago, informing Lehan that he would be held responsible for the safety of Bill Haywood on account of the fact that a gang headed by one William Seil or Seiden had left New York that day for the purpose of doing him injury. Lehan scoffed at the telegram but he was careful to assign a plain clothes man to keep near Haywood, who had been watching the trial all day. The information that St. John sent was circumstantial and came from a source that ought to be reliable. When Haywood returned to Lawrence that night he found a body-guard waiting for him that insisted upon taking him in charge. It was composed of two Italians, one Portuguese, and one Syrian and they never left him out of their sight until he announced that he thought he had been guarded enough.

It was evident that a change had taken place in Lawrence. Cops stood guard at every corner and plain-clothes men and "bulls" of every description sauntered about the streets. Groups of men stood in the shadows and conversed in low tones. The Lawrence papers, which hitherto had maintained an appearance of impartiality, now carried double-column editorials on their front pages demanding that the "cancer of anarchy" be cut out of their midst, with demands for the formation of vigilantes' committees. "They did it in San Diego," said one paper, "and we can do it here in Lawrence"

The Boston papers which had given many of the actual facts about police brutality during the protest strike were loudly denounced and an official statement by Mayor Scanlon was given great prominence. This was as follows:

"I approve most heartily every action of the police today. They did nothing more than the conditions warranted. They were perfectly justified in using their clubs as they did. Are we going to allow our city to be run by outside thugs? The police did not do half enough. The papers have lied about us and continue to tell false statements about our city. I am proud of the actions of the police.

We who live in this city cannot longer bear the conditions now existing. This thing will be cleared up if we have to get 100 more "clubbers."

Mayor Scanlon afterward became frightened at the sound of this and tried to pretend that he said "100 more coppers." But what he said was "clubbers." There were plenty who heard him.

Thursday night a "citizens' massmeeting" was held in the city hall, and if I. W. W. speakers had used half the language indulged in by these "foremost" citizens the entire country would have arisen the next day and demanded that these bloody agitators be hanged. Among the orators were a mayor, a Catholic priest, a Protestant preacher, a school-teacher, a congressman, an assistant municipal judge, a clubwoman, and a prominent business man. More vitriolic, more venomous speeches, more vindictive appeals to class hatred, were never made by the most rabid throng of so-called anarchists. Listen:

Mayor Scanlon said: "We will not countenance this red flag of anarchy in our midst."

Mr. Bradley, who acted as chairman said: "The war of 1776 began this union. The war of 1861 was to perpetuate this union, and the war of 1912 is to protect the interests of this nation."

Postmaster Cox said: "Men have come who have filled these people with riot and anarchy. Now that business has got to stop, and it's going to stop right now."

Mr. Chandler said: "If the militia cannot put this down, they know where they can get others to help them. And also, I say to you, these people must be ejected, legally, if possible, but ejected from our doors."

Congressman Knox said: "These conditions remind me of Captain Parker in the Revolutionary War. He said, If they want war, let it commence right now, and that is what I say."

Mr. Chandler is also quoted as saying: "We are ready to assist in the annihilation of these malefactors."

The Rev. Lovejoy, pastor of the So. Lawrence Congregational Church, said: "There is no room for the red flag in this country, and we will not tolerate it."

Father O'Reilly, shouted: "Those who do not want to work better take a hint and go. We will drive the demons of anarchism and socialism from our midst."

Mayor Scanlon then announced that Columbus Day had been selected for a "God and Country" parade in which all patriotic citizens would be expected to

join. He issued a further ukase to the effect that all good citizens should wear an American flag on their coat lapels until Thanksgiving Day.

When the crowd poured out of city hall late that night it was plain that they needed but a spark, a wave of the hand, or a leader, to turn them into a mob of murder and riot. They had been cunningly worked up into a fury of excitement and the small knots of people whom one passed on the street talked gloatingly of tar and feathers, of red-hot poker, and lamp-post lynchings. Evidently the class struggle as it becomes sharper from now on is to be no tea-party affair.

The I. W. W. was not slow in taking note of these threats and issued a statement in reply, saying that if the least of its members was injured or killed, the speakers named above would be held responsible.

At the same time Lawrence entered upon such an orgy of patriotism as few cities have passed through. The American flag was put to all sorts of ridiculous and degraded uses, from being worn as the cover of an umbrella by a grafting politician to being stuck on the tail-board of the city dump carts. American flags, large and small, were imported into the city by the thousands and all that could not be sold were given away. Any man seen without a flag on his person was likely to be stopped and insulted by street hoodlums.

The most alarming and impossible stories were set afloat. Haywood was an especial target. The *Boston Journal* appeared one day with a picture of Haywood wearing a U. S. flag on his coat lapel. It was a pure fake and so aroused William that when the reporters came round again he told them with considerable vigor that while he was not opposed to the American flag, that he was not going to be forced to wear one at any politician's dictation, particularly when said politician's citizenship was in question. This was a back-handed slap at Mayor Scanlon whom common rumor says has never even taken out his naturalization papers. Another local paper announced that Haywood was known to be worth \$250,000, which piece of information so pleased his friends that they all gathered round and requested a loan in concert. The

flag fever continued unabated but without noteworthy incident until Mayor Scanlon came out with a new statement saying that not only was the I. W. W. not wanted in the parade of patriots, but would not be allowed to take part at all.

The I. W. W. was so hurt by this that they went off in a huff and announced a little affair on their own account, this being a picnic at Pleasant Valley on the day of the patriotic parade.

So if there are any more street clashes it will be up to the respectable citizens of Lawrence to explain.

Later Note—Up till an early hour on Saturday night, October 12, Columbus Day has passed without any disturbance. The patriots paraded gloriously today to the number of 30,000, according to claims, but if it had not been for the army of school children it would have been a sorry showing. Every parade carried an American flag and some a half dozen. No other flag was allowed in the parade, not even an Italian one, though it was Columbus Day. Across Essex street, near the Central building, an arch of banners was spread with the following inscription, written by Father O'Reilley and Attorney Dooley, in big, black letters:

FOR GOD AND COUNTRY.

The Stars and Stripes Forever
The Red Flag Never,
A Protest against the I. W. W.
Its Principles and Methods.

This is the greatest compliment ever paid to a labor organization by a municipality in the history of the world. The I. W. W. ought to be proud of itself

The day was cold and rainy, but early this morning a little band of 200 of the faithful made the long hike, three miles, out to Pleasant Valley and resolved to have a picnic or bust. By noon the crowds began to come and by 2 o'clock there were 4,000 revolutionists present despite the rain, and the muddy roads. Haywood, Fred Heslewood, Gurey Flynn, Archie Adamson, Tresca, Ex-Mayor Cahill, and several speakers in foreign languages addressed the throng and none of them ever made better speeches in their lives. Every nationality was represented and all pledged themselves anew, with a mighty shout, to One Big Union.



Carlo Tresca—Comrades—William D. Haywood.

THE SEVENTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

BY

J. P. CANNON

I N reviewing the proceedings of the seventh annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which convened at Brand's Hall, in Chicago, September 16, and continued for ten days, little need be said about its parliamentary enactments. There were but few unimportant changes made in the constitution and no great departures from the policy adopted at the last convention and which has proven adaptable to conditions faced by the organization during the past year.

Unity of purpose and absence of discord were manifested in every act of the delegates. Strife and dissension, which has so hampered the constructive work of the organization in the past, has quite naturally been eliminated by the growth of the organization. Viewed in the light of the past year's events, this spirit of discord seems to have been engendered more by the apparent unresponsiveness of the workers to the propaganda carried on by the I. W. W., and the consequent discouragement and inactivity of a part of its membership, than by any wide divergences of purpose or opinion.

The delegates from the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, seven in number, came to the convention with instructions to amalgamate with the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the I. W. W.; thus becoming an integral part of the General Organization. By this combination of forces much is to be gained for all concerned. The Timber Workers will secure the advantage of the experience of the older organization, while the I. W. W. will have added to its ranks a potent fighting force. This splendid band of militants, which has sprung up in the Southland within less than two years, and is successfully combatting the Lumber Trust, is a truly en-

couraging development in the American labor movement.

Despite the fact that a large percentage of the Timber Workers are Socialist Party men, and have had the active co-operation and assistance of the party since the inception of the union, information was imparted by their delegates that not the least effective method of harassing the timber Wolves is the judicious use of a weapon which is frowned upon in a certain Article Six, Section Two. Rumors that Kirby and Long intend to call this matter to the attention of those who sit in the high places are as yet unconfirmed.

It is a significant proof of the sound base of the I. W. W. philosophy that the tremendous growth of the past year has not brought with it the germ of opportunism. There was no suggestion of a desire on the part of any of the delegates to swerve from the uncompromising and revolutionary attitude of the organization; nor was there any reaching out for "respectability." Every man was a "Red," most of them with jail records, too.

The oft-quoted sentence in the Preamble, "We are building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" was well exemplified in the personnel of the convention. Here was an assemblage which, to a man, rejected the moral and ethical teachings of the existing order, and had formulated a creed of their own which begins with Solidarity and ends with Freedom. In the strictest sense, it was a Proletarian Congress; an "Internation" in embryo. Representatives of more than a score of nationalities, including the Negro race, met there upon common ground. All united in a common cause; all swayed by the same ideal; all striving, with earnestness and zeal, to hasten the day when "the whistle will blow for the Boss to go to work!"

The Great Falls Strike

BY

JAMES B. SCOTT

THE working class in the State of Montana are awakening, the battle cry for industrial freedom is resounding; the state is full of proletarian agitators and the masters of the bread are afraid of the rising "mob" that threatens the destruction of their profits.

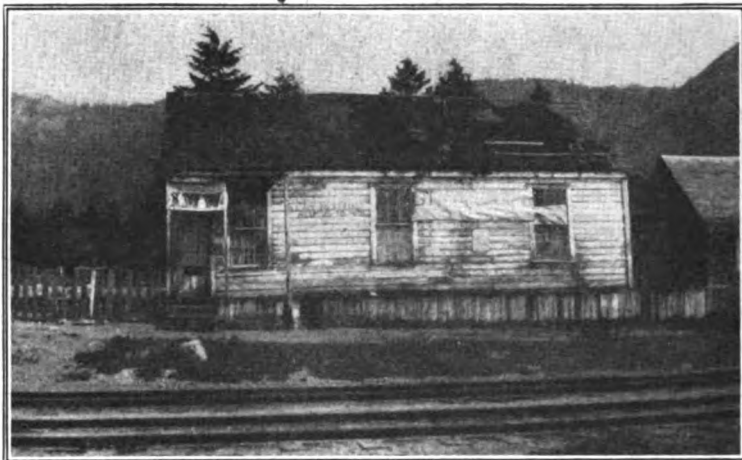
In the peaceful little city of Great Falls, a city that is in the hands of the Amalgamated Copper Co., the spirit of revolt is in the air.

For four long months the teamsters have been on strike for an increase of 50 cents a day, the owners of the jobs have refused to give the slaves the raise and the fight is on. The other day one of the striking teamsters carried a banner in front of one of the largest stores in the town with this inscription, "STRAIN BROTHERS, BOTH STORES—ARE UNFAIR TO ORGANIZED LABOR." One of the brothers of the merchant, a prominent ear, eye and nose doctor, one of the most prominent church members and "reputable" citizens, assisted by another three respectable business men attacked the banner carrier. Two were arrested, one of them was the striking teamster. We bailed him out and inside of ten minutes he was again out on the street with another banner. He had scarcely gone two blocks when the tools of the master class—the police—re-arrested him for carrying the banner and fixed his bail at \$100. The trial came up in the police court, Louis J. Dilno, the Socialist candidate for the legislature, defended the teamster. On the first charge he was found guilty and fined \$5.00. The case was appealed to the District Court. The second charge was "creating a nuisance." The carrying of the banner was certainly a nuisance to the business men, but as the working class make up 90 per cent of the population of this town it couldn't be a nuisance to the working class. The court was packed with working men and the

Justice of the Peace sat there and hardly knew what to do with himself. Upon "hearing the evidence" he discharged the striker.

The Mayor of the city, Ex County Attorney and corporation lawyer, issued an order to arrest the first one who was seen on the street with an "unfair banner." A mass meeting was called, Tom Lewis was there, he took the 1,500 men and women by storm. Never in the history of Great Falls was there such an enthusiastic meeting. The crowd went wild over Tom's speech. Mrs. Jeannie Teague, a daughter of the late Freeman Knowles, got up in the meeting and told them that the women of the Women's Mutual Improvement Club, an auxiliary of the Socialist Party, would carry all the banners they wanted carried. Tom Lewis suggested that they take the Council Chambers by storm the following evening and stop the passage of an ordinance that would prohibit the carrying of banners.

The following day thirty women walked up and down the streets in front of the scab stores carrying banners, declaring that the stores were unfair to organized labor. The police tried to stop them but failed; the working class lined the streets for seven blocks and the police retired to the alleys, and the Corporation Mayor failed to put in an appearance. The City Council convened the same evening for the purpose of passing the ordinance to stop the carrying of banners; the Council Chambers were flooded by the women of the Mutual Improvement Club—Mrs. Livingstone, who is editor of a magazine called "The White Slave Review," got up to address the Council, but the Mayor rapped the gavel and adjourned the Council. The women are fast coming to the front in the State of Montana, and it will only be a matter of a few years when the women will be everywhere in the foremost ranks on the industrial battlefield.



HEAD OFFICE OF I. W. W. STRIKE CAMP AT YALE, B. C.

REVOLUTION YAWNS!

BY

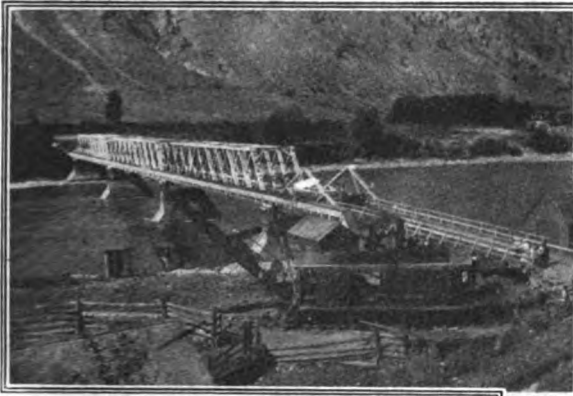
AGNES C. LAUT

NOTE—By courtesy of the Technical World Company we take pleasure in reproducing the greater part of an article which appeared in the October number of the Technical World Magazine, feeling sure that our readers will appreciate same.

WHEN Sir William MacKenzie, President of the Canadian Northern Railway, heard that strike organizers were at work among the construction gangs of his crews in the Rockies, he literally did not know who the Industrial Workers of the World—or the “I. W. W.’s,” as they are commonly known—were, and is credited with having expressed absolute contempt for any action that could possibly come. Let them agitate their heads off! Let them strike till the crack of doom! He had no more love for the contractors than for the walking delegates. Let them dog eat dog and tear at each other’s throats till nothing remained of either side! The railroad was paying the highest wages for unskilled

labor (\$2.50 to \$3.50 a day) ever known in construction work. There would be no lack of laborers to come in. There were no grievances. The men presented no demands until after the walkout. The railroad thought it could defy all the walking delegates on earth and refused to listen to any advice about counteracting agitation.

At a word, at the drop of the hat one night, without any demands whatsoever of the contractors, 7,500 men stopped work. Every pick was dropped where last used. Not a wheel turned. Teamsters getting \$3 a day and board turned horses loose and quit. Walking bosses at \$5 a day stopped as readily as shovel stiffs at \$2.75. It began at Ashcroft one night, the men crossing the river to the Canadian Pacific Railroad



CONSTRUCTION WORK—SPENCES' BRIDGE ON THE LINE OF THE CANADIAN NORTHERN.

It Was Necessarily Dangerous Work in Which Six Lives Were Lost Ferrying Machinery Across the Wild Tracts of Frost Canyon.



AT WORK ON CONSTRUCTION CAR ON THE CANADIAN NORTHERN.

side of the narrow mountain canyon, marching down the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks to all the Canadian Northern camps, pulling the men out of the shanty berths and practically sweeping every man off construction work for a distance of nearly three hundred miles—"a mania in perfect unison," as one observer described it. Men asleep down at Hope and Yale were wakened, told the strike was on, taken across the river and marched on down the river to the next camps. At a word, at a signal which Indians would describe as "a mocassin telegram," the walkout was complete from end to end of the line under construction. The thing was done without disorder and with almost military precision. On one side of Fraser Canyon are the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks. On the other side sheer against the face of rock, tunnels and grade are being blasted and picked out for the Canadian Northern tracks. The men ferried across the river and took up quarters on the Canadian Pacific Railroad side, where a commissariat had been arranged and sleeping quarters were easily put up by the blanket gangs. In most of the camps were fifteen or sixteen different nationalities, men who had been in America only a few months and who had come from lands where the daily wage was from fifty cents to eighty cents a day.

After the walkout, a statement of grievances was drawn up. A minimum wage of \$3 a day for a nine-hour day was de-

manded. The contractors had been charging the men \$6 a week for board. A reduction was demanded on this; and complaint was made of both the fare and the

shanty camps. I may say I visited these shanty camps, and they were much better than many shanty camps where I have spent holidays. One of the chief complaints was against the piece-work system, or what is known as station work, where sections of tunneling and grading are let to sub-contractors at a lump sum, the men buying the dynamite from the contractor and making profits only according to their own speed and judgment. Perhaps, too, luck plays an important part. One man may put in \$10 of dynamite and bring down \$1,000 of rock and gravel. Another man may put in \$1,000 of dynamite and fail to blow out more than \$100 worth of rock. On one bit of piece work, a man had left less than fifty cents for a week's work over and above board. On another stretch of station work, a gang of men from Montenegro, who worked well together, each cleared from \$4 to \$11 a day.

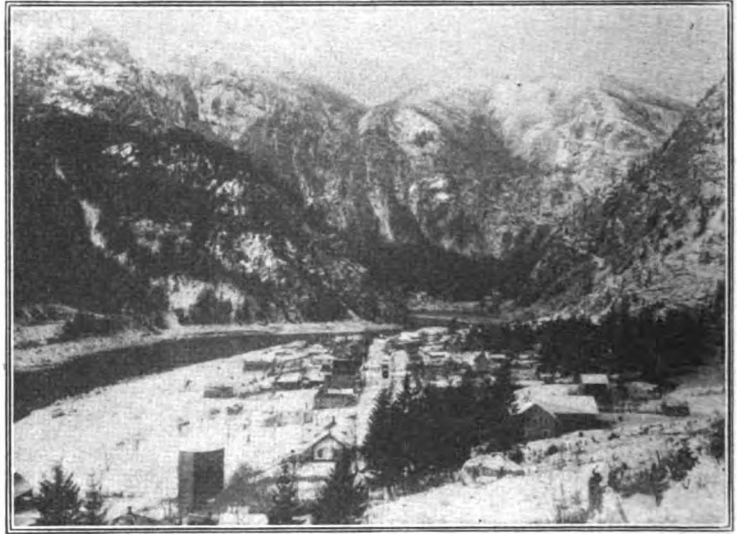
The railroad officials were first dumfounded; then, furious. Constables at a cost of \$1,100 a day to the province of British Columbia were rushed in to prevent violence. Here, too, the strike was a new kind of demonstration in the annals of labor. *There was no violence*, no attempt at violence, except what the constables or

contractors themselves perpetrated. The I. W. W.'s had appointed their own police, their own pickets, their own constables. Strikers were forbidden to take more than one drink in a day and a striker's constable stood on guard at each saloon to enforce the rule. A delinquent would be taken to the strikers' tent, tried, fined and relieved of his money. If perverse, he would be given commissariat duties till disciplined. Before the strike, the saloons had been taking in \$300 a day;

\$1,200 on holidays. After the strike, the saloons complained to me that they could not sell a single drink. At one place, a compressed air pipe was blown up with dynamite and the news heralded through the press as "an outrage." As constables guarded both ends of the narrow canyon and the strikers were forbidden to cross the river, one can draw one's own inference as to the authors of that "outrage," and the motive. At another place, two or three strikers stood in the way of a construction engine driven by a non-union man. They—not the non-union man were smashed to pieces; and in a strike that lasted for two months, those were the only acts of violence that are reported as having occurred.

At a cost of \$66,000 to the province, the constables waited for something to happen that would force a crisis. The strikers took good care that nothing happened. It was "the direct action" of what is called "passive resistance" with a vengeance.

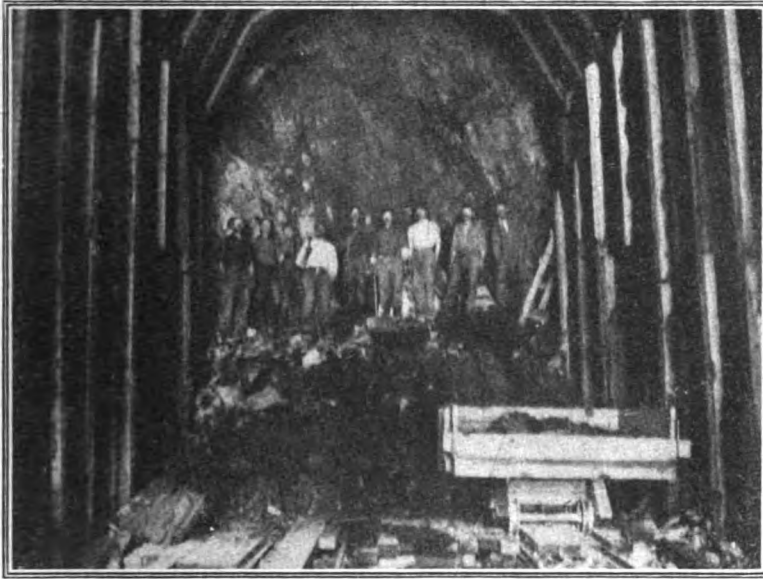
The contractors rushed down to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, hired new men, paid their way and put them on the train to go in to the construction camps. The new men, somehow, never reached camp. Shadows sat down in the train with them, and talked; and the newcomers dropped off and joined the strike camps.



YALE, B. C., WHERE STRIKERS CAMPED 1,500 STRONG—THEY WERE FORCIBLY RUN OUT BY B. C. CONSTABLES.

This went on for two months. Then the railroad and the province and the public began to wake up from a hide-bound indifference and ask questions. What kind of a strike was this, anyway, where no demands were made till after the walkout? Hadn't Canada the best arbitration law in the world? Why didn't they arbitrate? If each side denied there was anything to arbitrate, why not go back to work? Then, the public wakened up to the fact, it wasn't a strike they were dealing with, but a deadlock. A new era had come to the labor world, an era that repudiated arbitration and spat on the word "contract" and loathed compromise.

It was about this time that arrests for "unlawful assembly" and "free speech" began all along the Pacific Coast from San Diego to Prince Rupert; and in every strike center, two and three hundred strikers went cheerfully to jail. Three tiers to a cell they had them in British Columbia; and every striker, who went to jail, was paid \$30 a month by his organization for his service to the common good. It was easy to make these arrests for unlawful assembly; for in order to hold their men together, the leaders nightly had concerts and speeches in their assembly halls; and with free speech among 7,500 men on strike, it is not surprising that cause for arrest could be found. Here, a man advocated "accidental slides of rock"



TUNNEL MEN ON PIECE WORK AT YALE, B. C.

The Men Buy the Dynamite from the Contractor, Profits to the Workers Depend Upon Their Own Speed and Judgment and Luck.

down the embankment on the grade. There, another speaker advocated a cordial reception to non-union strike breakers. "Bring them to camp," he said. "Treat them well! Give them a cup of coffee,"—a pause—"there may be something in that coffee—sugar of course." Where such speeches were made on the streets, and the police charged, there were, of course, riots. "Men," another man was saying, when arrested, "if a policeman taps me, it is the undertaker for him!" Well, two or three hundred of him *were* tapped in British Columbia, alone; but when the government learned that every man going to jail received \$30 a month, that the keep of the men was costing the province \$100 a day, that constables were costing \$1,100 a day, and that the loss in wages had already amounted to \$700,000—no more arrests were made. Down in San Diego, the hose was turned on strikers and the men were run out of the city. Up in British Columbia, the constables waited for the bread line to form one afternoon, and ran the men out mealless for a hundred and fifty mile tramp out of the country at the end of a gun. Both acts, I need not state, were utterly lawless. The I. W. W.'s had tried lawless passive force. The government had recourse to lawless active force.

"They think they have us beaten," said one of the leaders, who had escaped with the account books through a back window into the woods and had come to the hotel after the constables were in bed to explain the men's side of it to me. "They think they have us beaten; but we have only begun. We are not striking for this, that, or the other little paltry request as to hours and wages. We are striking to educate the workers to their power—to show

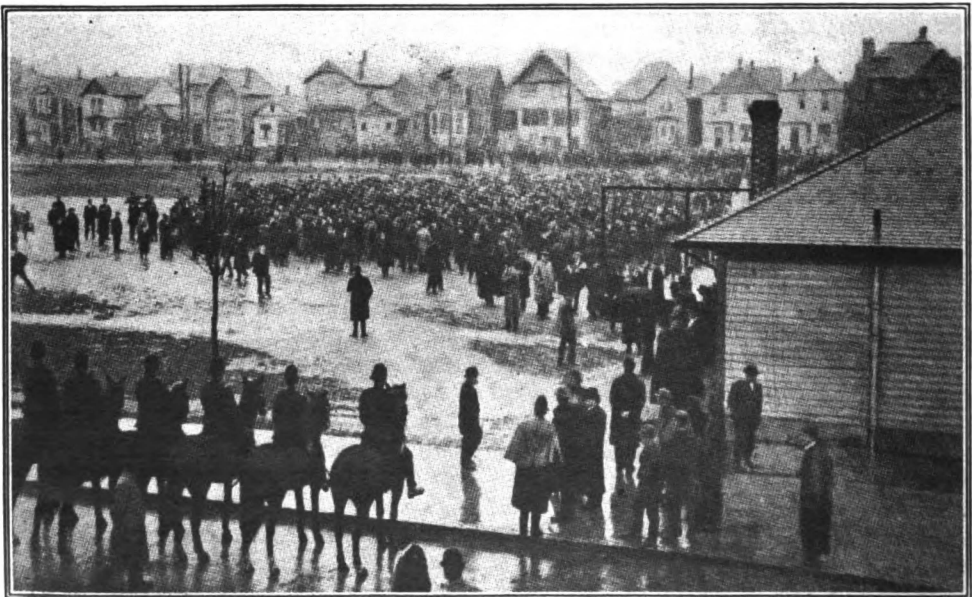
them if they unite that they can paralyze every wheel of industry and compel the expropriation of all industry from that side of the line to this side of the line; from capital to labor. That is where our organization differs from all other organizations. You think we are beaten? We will go back to work and accumulate funds; and strike yet again, till the public finds it cheaper for us to operate all industry than to tolerate the recurring deadlock. We are striking solely to overthrow the capital system. First, in England, it was the railways. Then, it was the coal mines. Now, it is the docks. Here we have begun operations because labor is so scarce that we can show our power. We have tied up one road for two months. Next time, we'll tie up three roads for three months; and so we'll go on and educate and educate and educate labor to a knowledge of its own strength and solidarity till it realizes it has only to unite in order to take over all industry and overthrow the capital system. Of course, I will be pinched when I go out tonight; but that is nothing. What is one man's loss in a great fight? There are thousands ready to take my place; and there will be ten thousand ready to take their places. We can fill their jails to over-



AN ADVOCATE OF FREE SPEECH ARRESTED FOR EXERCISING WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE HIS RIGHTS, AT VANCOUVER.

flowing. They will find it cheaper to make terms with us than fight us. 'I won't Works' they call us. They are right. The Industrial Workers of the World are "I Won't Works" for capital. We work only for the laborer; and the laborer is worthy

of his hire; and our hire is all that labor produces; not just half of it, with the other half going for profit. In overthrowing capital, we shall eliminate the profit system. No more shall be produced than can be used by the producer."



DEMONSTRATION OF I. W. W. FORCES AND ALLIES—"ALL LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE"—FOR FREE SPEECH IN VANCOUVER, B. C.

"We do not want," says one manifesto, "to build a job trust" (speaking of the old trades unions), "we aim at a *big all inclusive labor trust.*"

"Listen men, the day is once more at hand when treason is the supreme duty of

every man and mutiny a soldier's highest obligation."

"We advocate doors wide open to *all* wage workers, whether white, yellow, red, brown or black. The I. W. W. stands for no country, but the world, no interests save those of the toiler."

A NEW ZEALAND LETTER

BY

SCOTT BENNETT

THE Federation of Labor, during the closing days of its conference, disappointed many of its supporters and well wishers. After adopting the preamble of the I. W. W., and making provision for the organizing of the workers in industrial departments, a resolution was carried which will have the effect of causing the federation to function both on the economic and political fields. That, assuredly, was a tactical blunder of no small magnitude but, to make matters worse, a further decision was arrived at, viz., that the candidates put forth in the name of the federation need not necessarily be Socialists! What the outcome of the quite contradictory work performed by the conference will be, it is not easy to forecast at the present juncture of affairs. It is, however, greatly to be deplored that the Federation did not restrict itself to the economic field, allowing the Socialist party to carry on the political fight. As a setoff to the foregoing it is only right to add that the one big union proposition is daily gaining ground amongst the workers—it is here to stay.

The "United Labor" party continues to cut all sorts of peculiar capers. Its organizer, Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, spends most of his time writing for the capitalist press, and attempting to organize branches of the "Labor" party in opposition to existing branches of the Socialist party. As for the party itself it has already, through its spokesmen, earned some notoriety for itself as a would-be strike breaking outfit at Waihi, where a strike is in progress at the present time. The capitalist press continues to boost this heterogeneous organization as is only natural under the circumstances.

Speaking of the strike at Waihi reminds me that New Zealand is frequently referred to abroad as "a country without strikes." Needless to say this is very far from being true. Two strikes, one at Reefton and another at Waihi, are now in progress, and the industrial atmosphere is so charged with electricity that further marked manifestations of the class war may be expected at any moment. Compulsory arbitration has proven itself an absolute failure in this country from the worker's point of view—but the bosses seem to like it, as may be gathered from the following facts.

The majority of unions connected with the Federation of Labor have broken away from the jurisdiction of the arbitration board. A number of agreements (we still have "agreements" here, you see), have recently expired, and in every case the bosses are stipulating that future agreements shall be ratified by the arbitration court. It is just this question that is back of the trouble in Waihi. Yes, the bosses like it, sure enough. Why shouldn't they? The court always sees to it that they are first at the end of the home stretch!

A commission to enquire into the "high prices" question is at present touring the Dominion. It was set up by the government to "solve the question," but so far evinces a determination to end as previous commissions have done. "Nothing doing" sums the situation up, as was, of course, intended by the government.

The New Zealand Socialist Party held its conference this year a month or two before the Federation of Labor. Two important decisions were arrived at. The first was a unanimous endorsement of industrial

unionism, and the second the elimination of "immediate demands." Both decisions are good; the abandonment of "immediate demands" being imperatively called for by the conditions existing here.

Overrun, as we are, with "Liberal" parties, "Labor" parties, in short, with reformers of every stripe and hue, all willing to go "one better" in the hawking of reforms, there is really no excuse for a Socialist Party to dangle a "palliation" sign in the political wind. In every case the getting of something "here and now" is primarily the work of the economic organization, not the function of the political party.

Comrades here are frequently in receipt

of letters from fellow workers in the states, enquiring as to the advisability of settling here. Let it be placed on record for the nth time that capitalism is *Capitalism* in New Zealand as elsewhere. In the past it is true, owing largely to certain peculiar local conditions that cannot now be set forth, the wage earner here did enjoy conditions somewhat superior to those existing in older lands. But those days have passed, with the result that the average worker is "up against it" here as elsewhere. Yes, the old story about New Zealand being a paradise for the workers is badly punctured. It has been shattered by the onward march of capitalism.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

BY

HERBERT STURGES

WHATEVER old party ticket is elected at the coming national election, the administration is bound to be progressive, meeting the interests of the small capitalists to the extent that this can be done without harm to the big capitalists and to whatever further extent the small capitalists may be able to enforce their demands. It will be still a capitalist administration. One measure which will be approved by all the capitalists is the abolition of the right to strike.

This right was taken away from the working class in New Zealand, and other methods substituted for the settlement of labor disputes. It was sugar-coated for the workers by all kinds of welfare laws. Apparent justice was done by making every prohibition of strikes by the workmen apply word for word to lockouts by employers. Under any capitalist government the employees get far the worst of this deal and the employers far the best of it.

Whatever party administration gets into power this fall, except the Socialists, will probably do its utmost to enact meas-

ures for the quieting of unrest among the laboring classes, but at the same time safeguarding the capitalists from the revolutionary attacks of labor. Under the form of what may be called Benevolent Capitalism, the capitalist class will try to establish a rigorous Economic Despotism.

In the struggle of labor to prevent this, and above all to preserve the right to strike, there is one blow which can be struck now. In the states where it is possible to initiate amendments to the constitution, and pass them by popular majority, labor may petition for an amendment preserving the right to strike inviolate. In circulating and filing these petitions the comrades should take care to observe every form and procedure provided for the case. They should create as great an amount of publicity as possible, in order to promote the solidarity of labor as a result of the movement whether it fails or succeeds of its immediate purpose. The proposed amendments should be written by lawyers conversant with labor laws and especially with recent labor legislation in Australia and New Zealand.

EDITORIAL

The Presidential Vote.—We go to press with this issue of the REVIEW three weeks before election day. The Socialist campaign, which was unusually late in gaining headway, is fairly on at last, and it looks like a whirlwind finish. Three states have already voted. Figures for Maine are not yet at hand. Our ratio of increase in Vermont indicates a vote of three-quarters of a million; the ratio in Arkansas indicates over a million. Two or three weeks ago it looked to the present writer that we should do well if we held the 1910 vote; today it looks like a million. And the best of it is that the quality of the vote will be better than ever before. It will not be a "public ownership" vote. Those who think that Socialism means nothing more than government ownership of railroads and other industries will vote for Roosevelt. Our writers and speakers, no matter how opportunistic they may have been in the past, are OBLIGED to take the revolutionary position in order to show the doubtful voter why he should support our party rather than the Progressives.

One Final Spurt.—A few days will remain after you read this paragraph before election. You probably know one or two voters who are still "doubtful." Talk with them and give them something to read to clear up their ideas. Make them understand that we want their votes if they are for Revolution, not otherwise, and they will respect us more than if we were begging for votes on any terms. Join in with the other comrades of your Local to make a big success of every meeting yet to be held before election. Word comes from California that at a single meeting a collection of over \$500 was taken up for the campaign. Debs is talking to bigger crowds than ever before, and the ice of apathy which has shielded the voters' heads from any intelligent discussion of social questions seems to be breaking at last. Let us make the most of every day until election.

The Unending Campaign.—The election, after all, is but an incident. Its figures will in a sense be a measure of our progress; otherwise they will mean little.

Unless all signs fail, Wilson will be the next president, and a most ineffectual president. The policies of the Progressives are in line with industrial evolution, and they are certain to mold the legislation of the next eight years; if Wilson obstructs them they will only triumph the more completely after his term. These policies are the same for which the Socialist party has contended whenever and wherever it has been influenced by small property holders and has been out of the current of the class struggle. They are good as far as they go, but they stop with the industries still in the control of a class of owners. The essence of Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of producing wealth. Half the battle is won; henceforth our unending campaign must be for **democratic control**; in other words for the right of the workers to decide as to the conditions under which they shall work. Our speakers and writers, and our elected representatives in Congress and the state legislatures, should indeed favor the transfer of industry after industry from private corporations to the State. But their most important task, so far as legislation is concerned, is to assert the right of wage-workers, whether employed by corporations or the State, to **organize** and to **fight** for better working conditions and a larger share of the product.

Our Socialist Publishing House.—A booklet has lately been mailed from the REVIEW office to our yearly subscribers and a few others, explaining our plan of organization, and asking each reader to subscribe for at least one share of stock, in order to assure the permanency and growth of the publishing house. Several thousand extra copies have been printed, and we shall be glad to mail one to any comrade requesting it. With a capital of only \$37,000, we have already circulated more of the standard literature of Marxian Socialism than any other publishing house in the world. With the additional \$13,000 which it is proposed to raise at this time, we shall soon be able to double our output.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

..France. C. G. T. Perfecting Its Organization. The twelfth congress of the **Confederation General du Travail** met at Havre Sept. 16-21. The impression one gains from reading the accounts of its proceedings is one of steady, regular development. All sorts of resolutions were debated; there was no lack of dramatic moments. But the discussions of most importance had to do with matters of organization. And the tendency plainly evident was in the direction of industrialism, order and efficiency.

With regard to war and militarism, the resolution accepted at Marseilles was reaffirmed. The *Sou du Soldat* received enthusiastic support. A strong resolution in support of the union of teachers' *syndicats* was unanimously adopted. The case of Ettore and Giovanitti was presented and the congress went on record in recognition of the international importance of the fight in defense of these comrades.

The action most widely advertised in the capitalist press was that on the relation to the Socialist party. A motion in favor of the establishment of organized connection between the two great organizations of the working class was voted down by a large majority. Of course, this means merely that the two go on developing autonomously as they have done heretofore. In the discussions on this point emphasis was constantly laid upon the possibility that the unions might be used for political purposes to the detriment of their activity on the economic field. The ancient history of the railway strike and the part played in it by certain Socialist leaders will not do. In this connection it is worthy of notice that the C. G. T. itself seems to be going in more and more for work which is of a political character. For example, it has fought the industrial insurance law in a regularly conducted campaign. Certain modifications made in the law it explains as the results of its propaganda work. The congress declared itself dissatisfied with these changes and declared

the purpose of the organization to go with its campaign in favor of further modification. This would seem to show that the opposition to the Socialist party is not due to a fundamental lack of faith in political activity, but rather to a lack of faith in the French Socialist party. Just how an organization can fight for or against a certain law and not believe in working class representation in parliament is rather difficult to understand.

The action which has been received with greatest enthusiasm by the workers of France is in favor of the "English week;" that is to say, a week of five and a half days, ending at noon on Saturday. In France the six-day week is not by any means as common as it is in this country and in England. The workers maintain, moreover, that the one day's relief from wage-working gives little rest and recreation. Especially in families where the women as well as the men are at work in the factories, the one day which is supposed to be given to rest and recreation is necessarily taken up by domestic duties for which there is no time during the week. On this account the chief forward movement in the struggle of the next few years is to be directed toward the conquest of the "English week."

The resolution dealing with the high cost of living will appear curiously conservative to American Socialists. After recognizing that the rise in prices is international, but unnecessarily accelerated in France by the tariff, trust control, etc., the resolution suggests the following means of improving the situation: (1) The giving up of alcohol, tobacco, gambling and the consumption of all unhygienic food products; (2) the boycotting of all unnecessary products the prices of which have been arbitrarily raised by capitalist combines; (3) education of housekeepers in the direction of scientific buying; (4) the creation and support of co-operative societies; (5) an effort to raise wages in proportion to the rise in prices; (6) an effort of the unions to check the tendency to raise the level of

rents. There was some criticism of this program. Comrade Jouhaix, among others, expressed scepticism as to the value of most of the means suggested. "The most effective action," he said, "will be direct action looking toward the raising of wages each time that there is a rise in the cost of living. The other solutions, though they may bring about some relative improvement, are but palliatives. The good results of co-operation are limited; they will not prove a real solution of our problems. The real solution lies in the power of our organization, in the the power of our wills." The resolution as read was, however, accepted unanimously.

But to the student of the French labor movement the most important work done at Havre was that directed toward perfecting the organization of the C. G. T. This great union of unions has had a unique history. Though pledged to working class solidarity, it did not originate, as did our Industrial Workers of the World, with a full-fledged scheme of organization, and a definite, centralized control. In fact, it was started back in 1895 for the sake of unifying all sorts and conditions of labor unions and has been from the beginning one of the freest, most flexible labor organizations in the world. It took in from the start national, craft and industrial unions, regional federations, city federations and local unions of all sorts. All were given the utmost freedom so far as their internal affairs were concerned. This policy proved successful, so successful, in fact, that in 1902 an amalgamation with the great rival organization, the Confederation des Bourses, was effected.

But a great federation thus made up has naturally had difficulties. There have been jurisdictional conflicts and differences of opinion with regard to the representation in the national congress. Imperceptibly the national organization has increased in importance and power, and there has been a tendency to systematize the relations of the various local, craft and industrial units. This tendency never before went so far as it did at the Congress of Havre. Most of the constitutional amendments accepted furnish proof of this fact. It was provided that no lo-

cal or regional federation shall accept a union which is not affiliated with a national craft or industrial organization; it was suggested to the various national organizations that they refuse membership to a union which fails to join the appropriate local federation; it was provided that subscriptions to the national organ, the *Voix du Peuple*, be made obligatory on the local unions. A single form of due-stamp is hereafter to be provided for all local or regional federations. The various *bourses de travail* of each department are directed to form before a specified time a departmental organization which will, in turn, be represented at the national congress of the C. G. T. Provisions were made to assure the easy transfer of members from one local union to another or from the federation of one nation to that of another. The price of due-stamps was raised, with the understanding that the force of clerks in the national office is to be increased. It was provided that the local and regional organizations should annually furnish financial reports to the national office. Various unions which presented jurisdictional conflicts were ordered to end their differences by amalgamating their forces. In the field of transportation there are two important organizations and many others of less importance; a committee was directed to study the situation and submit to the next congress a plan for the formation of a single organization of transport workers.

In a brief account like the present one it is possible to mention only a few of the actions taken. But these few represent sufficiently the temper and tendency of the congress. Though some of the resolutions accepted were far from what we have learned to expect of the C. G. T., it is beyond the possibility of a doubt that this great union of unions is rapidly building up a solid and effective working power.

France. School Teachers Fighting for Right to Organize. Three years ago it was the postal employes; now it is the teachers. By an official order of the Minister of Education they have been commanded to give up their organization. Those who have refused to obey are being criminally prosecuted or administra-

tively punished. So the whole question of the right of government employes to organize has become a great public issue.

The excuse for the government's course is furnished by the congress held at Chambery on August 16th and 17th. This congress took advanced positions with regard to a number of vital problems. It passed resolutions in favor of equal pay for men and women; it set the stamp of approval on coeducation of the sexes. But the actions which called down upon the teachers the wrath of the government were those looking forward toward affiliation with the labor movement. Here is the resolution which expressed the attitude toward the Confederation General du Travail: "The congress addresses to its working class comrades organized in the C. G. T. its sympathy with the work of emancipation and education which they are carrying on. The teachers follow with closest attention the daily struggle of the working class to improve its condition and defend its dignity. Sharing its hopes and fears, they are proud to fight in its ranks and declare once again their solidarity with all the wage-earners united under the flag of the C. G. T." Another resolution which has aroused even more adverse criticism had to do with the "Sou du Soldat." The "Sou du Soldat" is a fund maintained by working class organizations for the sake of keeping alive the proletarian consciousness of the soldiers in the barracks. The congress resolved to submit to the membership the following declaration:

"For the purpose of maintaining the existing relations between the union men serving as soldiers and the unions to which they belong there shall be started in each of our syndicats the "Sou du Soldat," designed to give moral and financial support to comrades in the army."

These resolutions called forth a storm of protest from conservative organizations and newspapers. On August 22d the cabinet directed the Minister of Education to order the dissolution of the syndicats of teachers on, or before, the 10th of September. The reason given for this action is that the syndicats have transgressed the law of 1884, under which all French labor organization unions are organized.

SOCIALISM AS IT IS

A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement by William English Walling.

WHAT SOCIALISTS SAY:

J. G. Phelps Stokes: "The most illuminating work that has appeared on the present socialist movement."

Professor Jacques Loeb: "The best and most scholarly presentation of the subject that has yet fallen into my hands."

The International Socialist Review (in an Editorial Review): "The most important contribution to the history of present-day Socialism that has appeared for years."

James O'Neal in The Chicago Evening World: "One of the most original and suggestive studies of Socialism and the Socialist movement published in recent years. . . . In his criticism of the reformers and revisionists in the Socialist parties he is generously fair, and there is no trace of invective. Most of it we consider sound and in thorough accord with Socialist principles and policies."

The New York Call: "Impartial. . . . Exceedingly useful and informative, particularly to active Socialists. . . . His principal object is to let the reader see what the general opinion in the Socialist movement is at present on these questions. This object he has accomplished effectively and the careful reader can easily obtain a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the actual situation as it exists today."

The New Age (London): "Readers will find in his work the best account yet written of the actual working of the Socialist movement in Europe, America and Australia; an account, moreover, as luminous, as detailed and exact, and as lucid and subordinate to the main purpose of the work as fairminded. For the sections devoted to the exposition of what Socialism is, indeed, no praise can be too high."

Horace Traubel in The Conservator: "Walling makes it more possible for us to diagnose. To distinguish disease from health. To see revolution, syndicalism, trade unionism, reform, State Socialism, insurgency, as they are. To get a fairer notion of the elements that contribute towards our revolt and the elements, sometimes subtly deceptive, that obstruct and threaten to engulf us."

WHAT CAPITALISTS SAY.

Rev. Lyman Abbott: "With the clearness characteristic of a radical, who has no favors to ask and no fears to perplex him, you have made the issue perfectly plain."

The Boston Advertiser: "The latest of several expositions of Socialism by Americans affiliated with the Socialist party impresses us as the best, being most vigorous and thoughtful."

The Indianapolis Star: "Probably contains more solid information about Socialism and its progress throughout the world than any volume that has ever been prepared on the subject."

The Montreal Star: "So far as we are aware, the best exposition of this great movement that has appeared in the English language."

The Washington Star: "Comprehensive, contemporaneous, direct in exposition, consistent in interpretation, this study stands as one of the first rank to the student of Socialism in its present stage."

The Review of Reviews: "He shows, in a temperate, comprehensive way, that Socialism is a living, growing, and ever changing force. His discussion of the relation of the Socialist movement to the Progressive movement on the one hand, and to syndicalism on the other, is stimulating and helpful."

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The teachers answered that if the action taken at Chambéry placed them beyond the pale of the law all the labor unions in France are law-breakers. They drew attention, also, to the fact that in supporting the "Sou du Soldat" they were doing no more than what is done by numerous clerical and patriotic organizations which are trying to influence the soldiers. Moreover, the syndicats of teachers stated their case before parliament back in 1905 and were not forbidden to organize. Since that time they have not changed their character. They have always been in favor of peace and opposed to administrative tyranny. There is at the present time no more excuse for dissolving them than there has been since the moment of their formation. So from the point of view of law and precedent the government has a poor case.

The action of the government was taken at a time when the teachers were on their vacations. Effective resistance was impossible at first. In addition to this, the most discouraging thing imaginable occurred within a few days. The central office of the syndicats was situated in the Department of Morbihan, one of the most conservative regions of the republic. Almost immediately the syndicat of this department dissolved itself and thus deprived the national organization of its official head. There was for the time being no one to organize a resistance or take such steps as were necessary to an action whatever.

Nevertheless the 10th of September arrived and very few of the syndicats had put an end to their existence. The teachers of the Department of the Seine declared formally that they would not dissolve. With remarkable vigor they set to work to save the national organization. They set up headquarters at Paris and called for the support of other departments. Despite the fact that the conservative and clerical papers had already declared the organization a thing of the past, twenty of the departmental syndicats, about half of the original number, were in line against the government by September 13th. In addition, a large number of individual teachers from all parts of the country declared their adhe-

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sion and signed a declaration in opposition to the government prepared by the Syndicat of the Department of the Seine. Most remarkable of all, the Federation des Amicale, a more conservative body of teachers, numbering 100,000 members, issued a statement in support of the syndicates.

As the REVIEW goes to press the whole French nation is wrought up over the right of the school teachers to organize. Of course, the government cannot back down. It has begun prosecution of some of its opponents in court; others it promises to reach by means of administrative discipline. But it is evident that the cabinet has got itself into a serious difficulty. It expected to have things all its own way, and now it discovers that it has aroused a tremendous force against it.

We have here in France a conflict which must soon become world-wide. The modern world is pledged to popular education. In fact, education is necessary to capitalist development. But the forces of education are bound in the end to rebel against some of the barbarities of our present society. The stand of the French teachers in opposition to international war is merely symptomatic.

Germany. Social Democratic Congress. While the great French labor congress was in session at Havre the annual congress of German Socialists was doing business at Chemnitz. Our German comrades met in spirit of hope and courage. Since their great victory at the January elections to the Reichstag their numbers and influence have grown steadily. The mounting cost of the necessities of life, the continued waste of money in the construction of a bigger navy, the persistent disregard by the government of needs and wishes of the people—in fact, all the forces at work in German social life—tend to drive the common people toward Socialism.

The congress declared its steadfast opposition to imperialism and militarism; it denounced the government for adding to the high cost of living rather than seeking to diminish it, but held out the socialist commonwealth as the only hope of well-being for the working class. In every way possible, in fact, the representatives of the Social Democracy voiced

the demands of the people as against the government and the capitalists.

With regard to the internal affairs of the party, two important matters came up for decision. One was the plan for reorganization outlined in the August number of the REVIEW. The national committee of 32 members to serve as a connecting link between the national executive committee and the membership was made a part of the party machinery. The suggested cutting down of the power of the parliamentary group in the party congress was not accepted. In the future as in the past all Socialist members of the Reichstag will have seats as members of the congress with full power of voice and vote.

With regard to the vexed question of electoral combinations with the Liberals, the action taken was what everybody expected. At the last election the national executive committee directed the comrades in some twenty election districts to go slow in the campaign against the Liberals. This form of tactics was considered necessary to make the strongest opposition to black-blue combination. The leaders of the party express themselves as highly satisfied with the results achieved by means of it. They profess to disapprove of compromise, but maintain that the circumstances were extraordinary and therefore extraordinary means were justifiable. After the facts of the case became known there was a good deal of criticism of the course pursued. The congress, however, supported the executive committee. An editorial writer in Vorwaerts, however, says that the extraordinary conditions which existed in January will probably never appear again, so for the future combinations with the Liberals ought not to be encouraged. This seems to mean that, having received a formal justification, the leaders have thought better of the matter and decided to change ways. Let us hope so.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

From Nome Mine Workers' Union, Local 240, W. F. of M.—Fellow Workers—Enclosed find \$3.00 for three REVIEW subscriptions. We want them wrapped separately, as it increases the chances of getting one copy a month through over the winter trail. The REVIEW is greatly appreciated by all the members of the Union.—Embree, secretary.

Porcupine Miners' Union No. 145.—Dear Comrades: Enclosed find post-office money order for \$15.00, for which please send us a bundle order of as many REVIEWS for one year as this amount will cover.—Thompson, secretary.

Local Union 2360, U. M. W. A.—Enclosed find \$50.00, for which send fifty copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year.—Frontier, Wyo.

From Massachusetts.—Enclosed find money order covering list of thirty-three subscriptions to the REVIEW. This is the best we can do just now. This shows what a REVIEW reader can do when he goes out after them.—C. F. Young.

From Down in Louisiana.—Dear Comrades—I distributed the literature you send at local meeting Sunday eve. People were anxious to get it. I sold most of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS at 5c apiece, and sent the money to our comrades in Lake Charles Jail. We have a local composed of 31 members; most all have paid dues this month, and we have sent \$2.50 to our comrades in jail. People are interested in Socialism more than ever, and I have great hopes for our local now. Of course we have a lot to contend with. Ignorance, prejudice and poverty, Catholicism and the same old capitalistic lies. Your comrade, Mrs. Ira Dunn, Aloha, La.

What a "Live One" Can Do.—"Please find money order for \$10.00, for which send me 200 more REVIEWS as I sold my other hundred by working a few hours in the evening after my day's work. Wish I could give my whole time to it, as it not only pays, but helps along the revolution by wising up the wage slaves." From Comrade H., Detroit.

Oakland, Cal.—"Received the forty copies of the REVIEW in remarkable good time. Thirty already sold. Send fifty more copies by return mail."—Dowler, Lit. Agt.

From Tom Mann.—Tom Mann writes that he has been spending some time in Scandinavia under the auspices of the Swedish Workers' Central Organization—organized similar to the I. W. W., doing propagananda and organization work for industrial unionism. He writes to Comrade Kerr: "We all admire Haywood more than I can say and we are proud of the splendid work done by the REVIEW. Allow me to wish the best of success to yourself and staff."

Youngstown Socialist Press is a Socialist organ that stands also for industrial solidarity. It is full of live matter every month that cannot fail to "get" the wage worker. Comrade (Editor) Geo. W. Spangle (whose photograph was sent us by Comrade Esler) is one of the best speakers on the road. This is the way he looks when he is giving a talk on Bohn and Haywood's Industrial Socialism. From every point of view the Youngstown comrades are strictly IN THE GAME.



COMRADE GEORGE W. SPANGLE.

Local Buffalo, N. Y., Sets a Pace.—October 2d, Dear Comrades: I am enclosing you herewith check for \$5.00 as pay for the October REVIEWS, and to show what we think of it in Buffalo we want you to send RUSH 500 copies more. Again on October 7th, "Please send us 400 more copies of the October REVIEW. This will make 1,000 copies this month." Yours in the Revolution, Almendinger, secretary.

From a Philadelphia Red.—I received the 300 October REVIEWS promptly on the first and must have 100 copies more by Saturday, the 12th. Yours for the Revolution, C. M.

Debs in Toledo.—Before election day dawns, Debs will have spoken in the four principal cities of Ohio—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Toledo. Debs has never failed to draw capacity audiences in Toledo, and Wednesday evening, October 9th, was no exception to that record. Two thousand men, women and children cheered until Memorial Hall rang with the echoes as Debs entered.

Comrade Walter Starner, our councilman, introduced the chairman of the evening, Comrade Tom Devine, our candidate for Congress from the 9th district.

Comrade Devine gave a very able talk on literature and as a result the 500 REVIEWS on hand sold like hot cakes. The chairman, in a few well-chosen sentences, told the audience how the Socialism Party is financed and they responded to the extent of \$98.15 when the young women of the Young People's Socialist League passed the hats.

The newspapers and the politicians are wondering "how we did it" when everyone admitted to the hall paid 25 cents. Chairman Devine outlined the plan of organization of the Socialist Party and showed its growth and the extension of its activities by comparative figures. He then introduced Debs, who was again greeted by long and lusty applause.

Gene was at his best; his loyalty to the working class and his genuine sympathy with the workers' struggles, defeats and victories is the secret of his power. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not" an understanding of the working class, "I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

The speech was characterized throughout by those terse antitheses with which Debs is so gifted and which drive the truth home without making the listener bitter.

It was an evening of encouragement and inspiration to the comrades from near-by towns, as well as to every Toledo comrade and every tired factory "hand."—J. Bates.

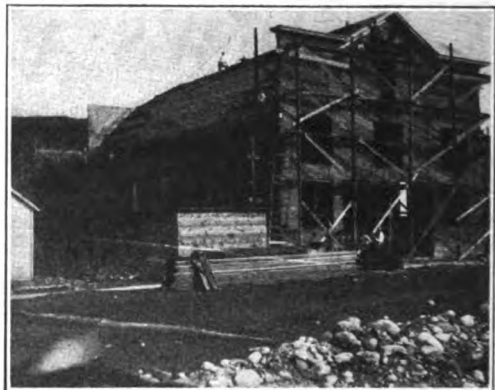
From Portland, Oregon.—Reds—Send 1,000 October REVIEWS. With best wishes for the success of the REVIEW, which, like wine, improves with age, I remain, Yours in Revolt, M. E. Dorfman, financial secretary.

Branch 5, New York City.—Kindly send at once 200 copies of the October REVIEW. We sold the first hundred. Karl Heidemann, treas.

Wire From Duluth.—Send quick 200 more October REVIEWS. Wanted for Socialist Day; 200 copies all sold. Towne, secretary.

22,000 to Cavanaugh.—Comrade Cavanaugh of Brooklyn has bought 22,000 copies of "The Shrinking Dollar." He says it is one of the best things he has ever read. Local Brooklyn is going to get results. It is circulating the kind of stuff that brings permanent results.

Only Clean-cut Literature for Ohio.—"Please forward 400 'Shop Talks'; 50 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,' and 50 'Communist Manifesto.'"—Jos. C. Schawe, State secretary.



BEING BUILT BY SOCIALISTS.

Red Lodge Opera House.—Comrade W. G. Henry sends the photograph of the new up-to-date opera house which is to be the sole property of the Finnish Local of the S. P. The new building will eclipse the old opera house, being 110 feet by 42 feet, with a stage 38 by 20 feet. Most of the work is being donated and Comrade Henry says the comrades have very good times as the women bring lunches to the men while they saw and plane in the evenings.

Great Campaign.—Con Foley was met at the train by a brass band on his return from his triumphal tour through Texas. The comrades at Pottsville are determined to send him to Congress. The miners in that vicinity are strong for the "Big Boy," because they say he stands for Industrial Unionism as well as for Socialism on the political end. Con came within 3,000 votes of election last time. There are three capitalistic candidates in the field this time to split the vote. It looks to all our friends in the district as though Con would have a walk-away of it. We are all betting on him.

Big Orders.—Among the big orders that have come in this month is one for 11,000 "Political Appeal"; 11,000 "How to Kick"; 10,000 "Breaking Up the Home"; 10,000 "The Shrinking Dollar" and 1,000 REVIEWS from Portland, Oregon. Comrade Westcott of Providence also sent in a check for \$225.00 for campaign literature and E. W. Lane of Australia did nearly as well with one big order for his region. Wherever you find a local selling good literature you can count on a sound and lasting movement.

Far Away New Zealand.—Increase our regular order twenty copies per month. We always look forward to them coming.—Comrade Drury, Wellington.

Sounds Good to Us.—"Have been reading the October REVIEW. It makes one's enthusiasm for the cause climb up to 'fever heat.' Find enclosed \$2.00 for a bundle of ten for four months."—Comrade Murray, Staunton, Ind.

Adelaide, So. Australia.—"We congratulate you on the fine work you are doing for industrial unionism."—Mrs. A. H. Wallace.

Human Nature.—I protest. I hate to do it when so good a comrade as Robert Rives La Monte says so, but if I don't it will be Frank Bohn and Big Bill who will admit next that we will change human nature before we get Socialism. The first law of nature, human and otherwise, is self-preservation, and it is that law which will force the workers to co-operate. It is natural, likewise, for the human family to co-operate—self-preservation made it so—until too much power was granted to some individuals early in the days of co-operation and he headed the list of individuals, a list which is doomed to end with Rockefeller. Take another view of it and see if your mind does not conclude that the nature of the workers is to co-operate. Is it not a worker who always stands ready to assist, to the extent of his power, another worker who needs assistance? His heart is soft, too soft for his own welfare, and he is much concerned about Rockefeller when the Social Revolution occurs. Co-operation means brotherhood and the workers are naturally of a brotherly nature. When they strive one against the other the fault lies in the teaching of the capitalist system and not in the nature of the men and women who oppose one another. Consider the scab. Does he scab because he loves to scab? Give him all he desires and then ask him to scab, and would he? No. If we change human nature we will abolish the law of self-preservation and without that law we would not have Socialism. In fact, we would not need Socialism. (Not signed.)

Local Kings County, N. Y. S. P., Branch 1, 10th A. D. and 9th A. D.—Enclosed find check for \$30.00, for which send by express 12,000 copies of Mary E. Marcy's "Breaking Up the Home." Please rush, as we want to begin distribution at once.—C. W. Cavanaugh, organizer.

From a Moline, Ill., Red.—I never want to part with my "REVIEW." I would give up all other Socialist periodicals, but if I could afford only one I should certainly choose the REVIEW, because it is revolutionary and right up to the minute.—Chas. Maass.

Likes Us.—The position you take on the importance of industrial as well as political action is the correct one. I hope the REVIEW will meet with the success it deserves.—L. M. Funcheon. Pa.

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GROUP OF ENGLISH, FRENCH AND JEWISH COMRADES, MONTREAL, CANADA.

Election in Alaska.—Comrade Mack of Chatanika writes that while all election returns for Congressmen in his district were not in the following vote is a fine index of the gains Socialism is making there: The stand-pat Republican got 1,376 and the stand-pat Democrat 940; the Progressive Republican 2,539; Progressive Democrat 226, while the Socialist candidate polled 1,395 votes.

Approves Review.—A comrade in Los Angeles sends us \$5.00 as a donation to the REVIEW. This is what he says: "I don't lend you this five, but give it, because I think the REVIEW is doing more for real Socialism than any agency I know of."

The Best Yet.—THE REVIEW is kept on sale here at the I. W. W. hall and the members are enthusiastic over it. Also, one news dealer and one or two Socialist street salesmen handle it, so we are well supplied. I have just received the September number and I regard it as the best yet, and that is going some. Pardon me for taxing your time so much, but this glorious cause is my religion—my very life—and I never know when to stop when writing or talking of it.—Comrade Butler, Calif.

Butte County Convention.—Comrade W. G. Henry writes us that he had the pleasure of attending the Butte County Convention. He reported that the meet was a great success and that the most inspiring feature of it was the fact that the working men and women did all the work. They absolutely made the convention what it was. Comrade Henry says

that the Butte, and, in fact, the Montana movement is a real movement of, by, and for the working class. He has been traveling through Montana, where most of the locals were very glad to take him for a later date.

Can You Beat Him?—Comrade Harry Sibble of Vancouver writes: "Send another hundred October Reviews. Sold \$6.50 worth of literature at Holy Roller meeting before breakfast yesterday morning." This makes five hundred Reviews going to Comrade Sibble this month.

From Socialist Educational Society of Alaska.—"Dear Comrades: If your magazine was not the best publication for my class I would not bother my head about not receiving my last copy, but I cannot be without same. Enclosed find \$10 for ten yearly subscribers. Our local thinks it can handle fifty copies of the Review a month, but would like to know the best way of getting them in over the ice."—Sandberg, Secretary.

Grace V. Silver, a former State Secretary of Maine, who has been touring California and Utah speaking on Socialism, has won her crowd wherever she went. Non-socialists as well as party members are enthusiastic about her. Comrades say she can handle any situation and combines the gifts of a scholar with those of an agitator and organizer. Comrade Silver holds the record for literature sales the past month. She generally leaves enough sound books in her trail to clinch her arguments. November 1st Comrade Silver will be in Chicago. We hope every member of the party in this state will have an opportunity to hear her.

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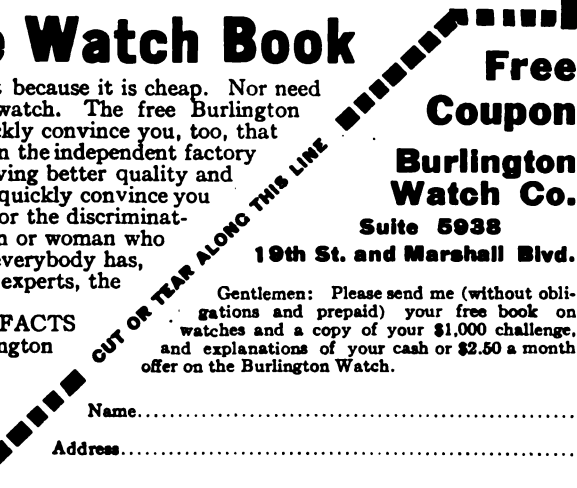
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one thought I would not live through the winter, and I really thought so myself. My Kidneys and Bladder were so bad, and my Stomach also. I had such weak spells with my Heart that it was not safe for me to start out to walk, as I could only stand on my feet a little while. My head was dizzy. I saw the Bodi-Tone offer and decided to try once more. I have not felt so well for years as I do since I used Bodi-Tone. I am in my seventy-second year and can do a days' work. Everyone is surprised to see me as I am now. They all can see what Bodi-Tone has done for me. A. SAMS.

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(Seal)

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ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

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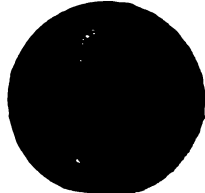
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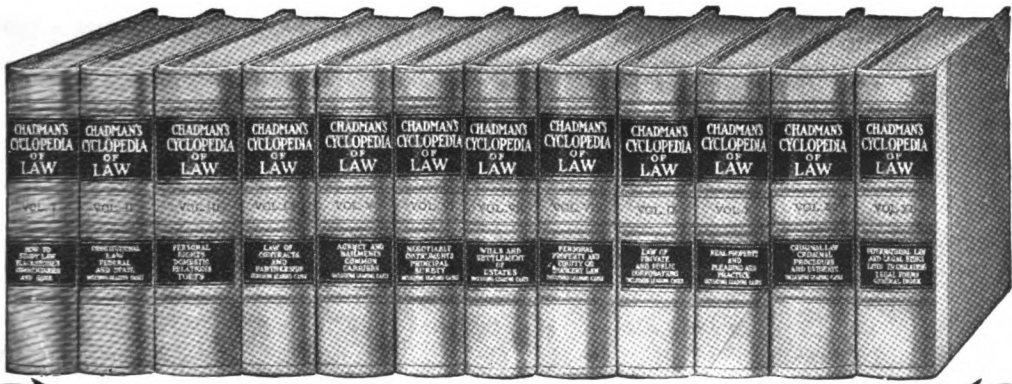


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