

SEPTEMBER, 1916

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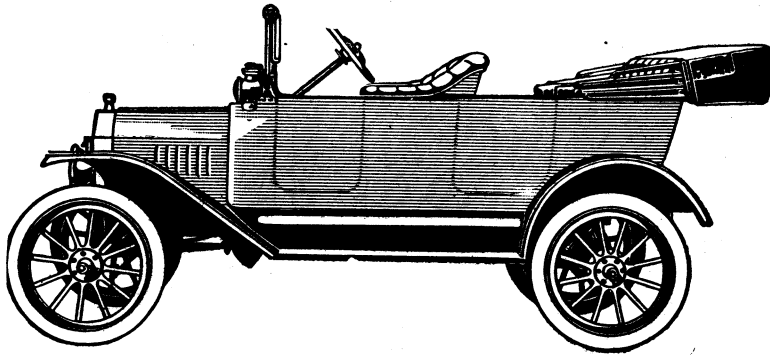
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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A 5-Passenger 1917 Ford Touring Car for 600 Subs.

LAST month we thought the best offer we could make was a Ford Runabout for 600 and a Ford Touring Car for 700 yearly subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

We are now offering to send you the Touring Car for 600 subs. and the runabout for 550. Or send 700 subscriptions to the REVIEW and we will pay the freight on the touring car!

You know the Ford gasoline engine. It never fails. You know the REVIEW—it hits the target every time. Do your campaign work by automobile. It will pay for itself in saving car fare and five can travel as cheap as one.

You can carry your own literature for house-to-house, or factory to factory propaganda work and cover ten times the ground in half the time.

Every socialist local needs an automobile and, with a little concerted effort we are going to make it possible for every local to have one.

If 20 locals in your county or state will each take 30 yearly sub. cards to the REVIEW at the regular rate (or twice as many 6 month cards) and send in the money thru you or thru a central local, you win the touring car.

If you fail to win the car before November, we expect to be able to extend this offer to January.

We will send sub. cards to duly credited members of locals, to be paid for as sold.

We want you or your local to have one of these Fords and will send samples, sub. blanks and descriptive REVIEW circulars and do all we can to help you win it. All you have to do is pay the freight from Detroit, Mich., or send the original number of subs. required and WE PAY FREIGHT!

A SOAP BOX ON WHEELS

"FORD-ING IT FOR SOCIALISM"

By **Max Sherover**

THE soap-box is dead! Long live the automobile. This is the age of efficiency and the old inconvenient Socialist soap-box has served its time. It must be relegated to the scrap-heap in favor of The Automobile Way.

I have observed how our speakers travel about the country, paying railroad fares, catching a train after meetings because it was the only train out of town, rising at all sorts of hours in efforts to make connections, missing trains, disappointing comrades, canceling meetings, their inability to carry sufficient literature, the difficulty in attracting a street corner audience, etc. I have seen speakers go out on a short tour in an automobile and get decidedly better results.

ADVANTAGES OF GOING BY AUTO

Speaker can go anywhere when most convenient, not according to time-table. Can carry quantities of literature to sell and to give away impossible to carry otherwise.

He can carry along signs which can be mounted on the machine, thus announcing the meetings, subject of lecture, etc. In this manner you solve the problem of getting a crowd. Hoist your sign and the crowd is there. You save R. R. fare and expressage on literature.

Four can ride as cheaply as one. Actual figures show that with maintenance of machine, garage, tire cost, etc., the auto is more economical than covering the ground by railroad. Machines are a great advantage in attracting people. The Henry Dubbs will stand for two or three hours listening to a speaker and will buy a book on socialism simply because they buy from a man in an automobile.

Comrade Walter Lanferseik when he was Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party a few months ago, wrote:

"We can put 50 automobiles in service, each making at least two speeches a day, or 100 a day for all machines. A hundred-mile trip will not take more than \$1.00 worth of gasoline.

"An automobile will always draw a crowd easier than a man on a chair or soap-box. It raises the speaker higher and makes a better platform. The auto has every advantage over the railroad and soap-box method."

Address, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 E. Ohio St., Chicago.



Buckle's History —of— Civilization

Henry Thomas Buckle, as a writer of historical truth, is greater than any other the world has produced.

He is a teacher of teachers. He has taught writers of history how to write history.

Buckle teaches that history is not a collection of dates, names of battles or names of generals. He teaches that battles, kings, lawmakers, writers and founders of religions are more or less accidental products of the human race. All power is in the current of human thought and ambition, so generally ignored by writers before him.

Buckle shows that entire populations, not individuals, make history, and that the character of population depends upon climate, soil, food supply, and "the aspect of nature".

He shows that the actions of people are subject to natural laws, just as are the movements of winds and waters, of plants and of animals. In this great work he has laid the foundation for the scientific study of human society, past, present and future.

Until recently its high price has prevented its circulation among working people in America. A popular edition in four well-bound volumes has lately been issued, and we have contracted for a large supply to use as a premium. Here is our offer:

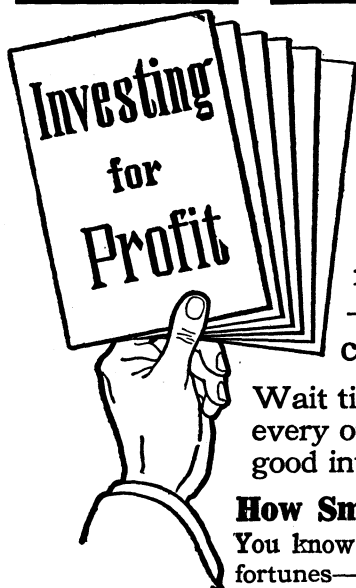
For \$1.79 we will send the REVIEW one year to a NEW name and will mail a set of Buckle's HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

Or send us \$3.00 for the REVIEW one year to three names or three years to one name and we will mail you a set of Buckle's History FREE.

Postage on the REVIEW to Canada 20c a year extra; to any foreign country 36c a year extra.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341-349 E. Ohio St., Chicago

Free for Six Months



My Magazine—

“Investing for Profit”

If you will send me your name and address, I will mail you this wonderful magazine *absolutely free for six months*—Special Trial Introductory Offer. Each copy is worth \$10.00 to \$100.00 to you.

Wait till you see, it is a good thing, but don't wait till every one sees it—you will then be too late. One good investment is worth a lifetime of labor.

How Small Investors Have Made Large Fortunes

You know and I know that small investors have made large fortunes—men who, guided by judgment and courage, have placed their funds direct into creative enterprises at their inception and thus reaped full benefit of the earning power of money. Today opportunity on bended knee is entreating the small investor to accept her favors—and those who heed the insistent call are achieving fortunes.

My magazine explains the rules by which small investors have made wise and profitable investments—how \$100 grows into \$2,200—the actual possibility of intelligent investment.

Learn the REAL EARNING POWER of Your Money

The real earning power of your money is not the paltry 3% to 5% paid by corporations who have their future behind instead of in front of them. “Investing for Profit” reveals the enormous profits financiers make, and shows how one can make the same profit—it demonstrates the real earning power of your money—the knowledge that financiers hide from the masses—it explains HOW small investors are making big fortunes and WHY they are made.

This and other valuable financial information is yours—it is free six months for the asking.

How to Determine the Value of Different Investments

There are thousands of salaried people today who have a small sum laid aside or who can invest a small amount each month—but who realize that they do not know how to determine the value of the different classes of investments that are offered to them daily. This condition has created a demand for a publication or institution whose express object is to help direct and guide the small investor. “Investing for Profit” is the result of a pressing need, and will be worth hundreds—even thousands of dollars to you.

If You Can Save \$5 a Month or More

“Investing for Profit” is for the man who intends to invest any money, however small, or who can save \$5 or more per month—but who has not yet learned the art of investing for profit. Read what Russell Sage, one of the most successful financiers of his day, said in regard to investments:

“There is a common fallacy that, while for legal advice we go to lawyers, and for medical advice we go to physicians, and for the construction of a great work to engineers—financing is everybody's business. As a matter of fact, it is the most profound and complicated of them all.”

Don't invest a dollar in anything anywhere until you have at least read 1 copy of my really wonderful magazine.

Mail Coupon Today for Free Financial Advice and Magazine

There are absolutely no strings to my Six Months' Free Trial introductory offer. I will do exactly what I say. If you will send me your name and address on the attached coupon I will send you absolutely without charge, for six months, my magazine—“Investing for Profit.” Then you are to decide whether or not you care to continue to subscribe and want free advice on financial matters. Surely this is a fair, square, liberal offer—so sign and mail the coupon now—before you turn this page.

H. L. BARBER, Publisher, CHICAGO

H. L. BARBER, 20 (uu) Jackson Blvd., Chicago

Please send me absolutely Free of Charge, “Investing for Profit” for six months, and enter my name on your list for free financial advice.

Name

Street..... City.....

DECLARATION OF WAR

FELLOW WORKERS AND FRIENDS:

War has been declared against the Steel Trust and the independent mining companies of Minnesota by the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Iron Miners are mustering. Twenty thousand have left the mines and pits.

More than seven thousand have already been sworn in.

The steam shovels are idle. The drills are silent.

The miners are on strike in the following camps: Hibbing, 4,000; Chisholm, 2,800; Virginia, 2,500; Buhl, 1,400; Eveleth, 1,600; Gilbert, 900; Biwabik, 600; Aurora, 900; Kinney, 800, and other small camps.

The demands are \$2.75 a day for top men. For Miners, dry places, \$3.00; for Miners, wet places, \$3.50; the 8-hour day; bimonthly pay days; abolition of contract labor; to be paid at once when discharged, or leaving work.

It is the Iron Miners who are making these demands—men who are doing hard, hazardous work. They take their lives into their hands every time they go down into the mines or pits.

They are the men who produce the ore that is converted into iron and steel to make the machinery of the world. Without these men civilization could not exist.

These bare-handed Iron Miners, driven to desperation, have declared industrial war against the United States Steel Corporation. The Masters of Bread are fighting with their usual weapons—gunmen, detectives, courts and the press.

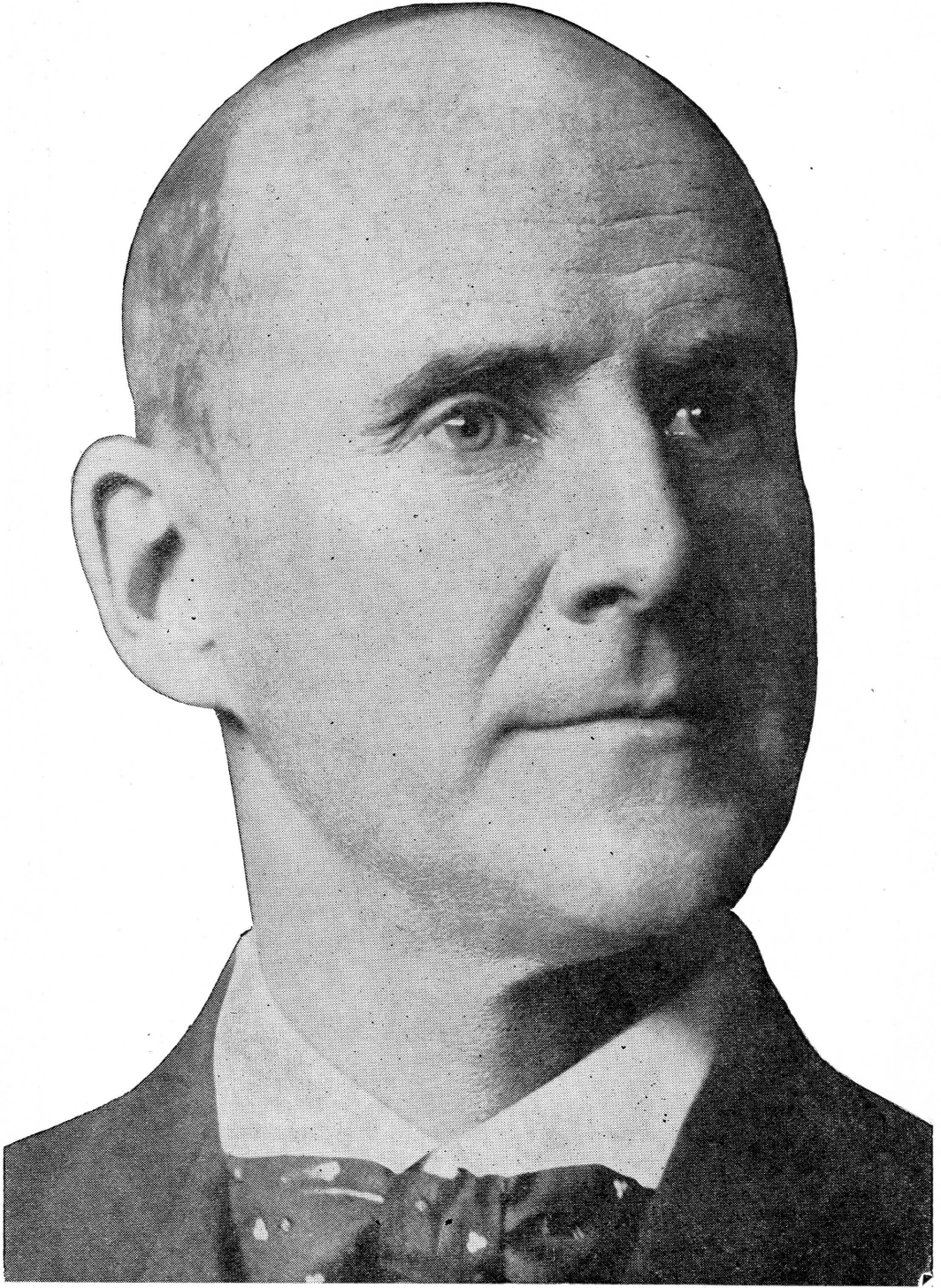
We are united, but must have help. This is your fight. You must raise money for food, clothing, shelter and organization work.

Send all funds to WM. D. HAYWOOD, Room 307, 164 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.



Wm D Haywood

Gen'l Sec.-Treas.



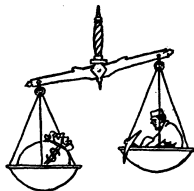
Eugene V. Debs

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No. 3



The Class War and Its Outlook

By EUGENE V. DEBS

LABOR DAY is drawing near and I have been asked by the REVIEW to say a word for the special number to be issued for the celebration of that day. Labor Day this year will furnish abundant material and inspiration for its celebration.

At this writing twenty thousand iron workers are fighting for their lives on the Misaba Range. We see scarcely a mention of this desperate battle in the capitalist press and, if it were not for our own papers, chiefly the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, we would know little about the fierce industrial conflict raging in that section of the country.

For many years it has been deemed a criminal act to attempt to organize the workers on the Range. They have been herded like animals, worked to the limit and compelled to accept what their masters saw fit to dole out to them, and it was only when their condition became absolutely intolerable that they rose in revolt. At this hour they are fighting their brutal masters with the fierce energy of desperation. The strike came spontaneously and all the workers are united in one fighting body as they should always be united in every fight against the master class.

Will these embattled wage-slaves win? We cannot say. We can only hope. They are fighting the whole power of capitalism and the criminal corporations

pitted against them are leaving no stone unturned to crush their strike and destroy their attempt at organization. Starvation will play a leading role if the strikers are finally beaten. Meantime the courts and other authorities of the capitalist state are working overtime on the side of the corporations. Gunmen without number are on the ground, spies and detectives infest the ranks of the strikers, and everything possible is being done to break up the strike. It is the same old story and it may turn out in the same old way, but if it does something substantial will have been gained, for no such battle is ever wholly lost.

A few days ago I was in Pittsburgh and in the vicinity where the recent riots were incited as a result of the Westinghouse strike. Several strikers were killed and some others injured, but not a corporation gunman received a scratch. The rioting was instigated as usual by corporation hirelings and as usual the blood that was shed was drained from the veins of the slaves. Wholesale arrests swiftly followed, but not a gunman was taken into custody. The mercenaries who did the killing are exempt from the law because their masters rule the law. The arrested and indicted victims were all strikers and summary "justice" was meted out to them for having made it necessary for the gunmen to fire upon them, beat them up, and murder their comrades.

This battle is recorded as having been lost. But it was not lost. The spirit of revolt is stronger than before and the fresh crop of dragons' teeth sown there will bring forth in due time an army of mailed industrial warriors.

The railroad employes in the train service have just voted overwhelmingly to strike if their eight-hour day is not granted. May the strike come if the railroads do not surrender! There is little probability of the latter. There is more fear of a compromise.

In this case the employes have nothing to concede, nothing to compromise, and nothing to arbitrate. They have got to win or lose their whole demand.

The fatal tactics of craft unionism are in evidence in all the preliminary stages of this struggle. The negotiations and manoeuvrings have lasted over a year and the unions have given the railroads all this time to prepare to knock them on the head.

The essential weakness of the movement lies in its craft union aspects; the strength of it in its tendencies toward industrial unionism. These unions in the past have had no connection and little or no sympathy with other unions and other workers. In the words of the late P. M. Arthur, beloved and honored as the wisest of leaders by the railroad corporations, they have believed in "minding their own business" and "going it alone." When the shop and office employes struck they stuck to their jobs, and when their members undertook to help the strikers they were expelled.

The eight-hour movement of the railroad workers ought to embrace all the employes in the service and express their industrial unity in the demand upon the corporations, and if the leaders are wise they will insist upon the demand for the eight-hour day for all employes and issue

the call to all to back them up in the fight. Section men and common laborers are as much entitled to the benefits of this and every similar movement as are engineers and conductors. The time for craft union aristocracy has gone by. The industrial union embracing all and fighting and winning for all is the demand of the hour and the lesson of the years.

The class war this year is raging with unusual intensity in the United States. All about us men are striking and they are striking more unitedly and with better results as a rule than ever before.

The awakened and awakening workers who are fighting these battles are also lining up for united political action, and before the year closes they will make their power felt upon both the industrial and political fields. The strikers in Minnesota, Pennsylvania and other states can now better understand why they must make use of their political as well as their economic power. To do this they need not become politicians, nor get into the "greasy game." They simply have to carry the class war into the camp of the enemy wherever that enemy may be entrenched, and develop all the power at their command, economic, political and otherwise, to fight the battles for their emancipation.

They have no use for any war save alone the *class war*. They have no call to fight for the country owned by their masters. They are internationalists, not nationalists, and they scorn the "patriotism" that incites the slaves to slaughter one another for the profit and glory of their masters.

The outlook for the class war this Labor Day is full of cheer and in exchanging greetings along the battle-line, it is with the full confidence that the day of liberation is dawning for the workers of the world.



Flashes Along the Battle-Line

By MILITANT

THE nation known as the United States of America has, during this summer of 1916, come closer to revolution, widespread grappling of powerful forces, than any time since the Civil war.

If revolution is a vital internal conflict between classes seeking economic control, then this summer has seen the United States on the brink of a massive physical force struggle.

For instance: suppose the railroad brotherhoods had gone on strike as threatened. And all the rail transportation of the country had been stalled at the same time the street car men had New York and Philadelphia local transportation all blocked. Add to this the organized seamen of the coast cities and the Great Lakes, who indicated they would join with a big rail strike. Suppose the United Mine Workers' settlement of earlier in the summer had been delayed and the coal producers of the nation had joined in. Imagine the Mesaba Range iron miners' strike spreading to other metal mine districts. Imagine the 8,000 and more harvest hands of the I. W. W. lending all the help they could. Picture all the hundreds of smaller local strikes spreading and becoming local general strikes of central trades union bodies.

All this, of course, is built on "suppose" and "imagine" and "if." Some of the old heads in the labor movement, knowing inner workings, knowing the intimate bonds between contractors and building trades union officials, knowing the chumminess of railroad presidents and grand officers of some railroad brotherhoods, laugh at the idea of any revolution getting headway under such human conditions.

Yet the cool fact is that revolutions are made out of the simultaneousness of many small local movements joined with a few big national movements.

Get enough strikes going in transportation, fuel, and food supply industries, and the bottom falls out of national life. Chaos arrives. A condition results where all the machinery of government by which the propertied class ordinarily controls labor and drives the working class to its orders—all that elaborate machinery of courts, police, newspapers, soldiers, detectives, gunmen and strike-breakers—all goes to pieces.

Those who watched events closely in early August of 1916 in the United States felt the breath and drive of revolution. Blind reckless revolution instead of conscious purposive revolution. Yet nonetheless working class revolution aimed at taking from the exploiters the power to seize from the working class the surplus values and unearned increments now regularly and insistently expropriated from the men, women and children who work for wages.

“THE only way to win the war is to kill Germans,” says Lord Derby, English parliamentary under secretary for war.

Which is the English reply to the German tactic that the only way to win the war is to kill Englishmen, Frenchmen and Russians.

All of which leads to the question:

Have there been any kings, kaisers, czars, feudal lords or parasites on the working class killed in this war?

If the English working classes of the

allied nations win the war by killing so many working class Germans that the German nation is worn out and gives up, where does the working class of any nation gain anything?

Or if German working class men in the ga-lo-ri-ous imperial armies of Germany kill so many working class men in the muddled allied armies that the result ends in Germany winning the war—where does the working class of any nation gain anything?

Why is a flag? What is a uniform? Is a soldier any use? Who wants war? Who profits by war? Do American workingmen feeding munitions and supplies to the European armies understand that they are taking part in the war the same as the men in the trenches? Are American workingmen thinking and thinking hard and deep as to where this nation called the United States is headed? How far do we want the crazy-sickness of war to sink into the hearts and minds of the people of this country? War! war!!—br—brrr!!!!

BASIL MANLY, news economics editor of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, and former chief of the investigation staff of the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, issues a statement that if he were voting in Terre Haute this year he would cast his ballot for Eugene V. Debs for congress. Writing from Washington Manly says there are so many fools, crooks, fakers and dubs dabbling around with the United States government that he would like to see one man like Gene Debs have a crack at the game of running the U. S. government.

“IF the railroad officials allow a strike to be declared it is because they are convinced after a thorough canvass of the situation that they have the whip hand and that they can win out over their employes.”

This from Eugene V. Debs is the keenest single observation that has been made on the railroad situation as it sizzled and bubbled with hazards in the fore part of August.

Certain it is that the railroad managers won't let any strike come unless they are ready. They are the boys who put the prepare in preparedness.

WHEN the 98 combined western railways finished their arbitration with the engineers' and firemen's brotherhoods in April, 1915, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW was the only publication in this country that dug to the bottom of the whole grand fabric of fraud. How Charlie Nagel, a railroad lawyer and himself a railroad director, set as an umpire signing an award giving the rail workers a \$1,000,000 increase instead of the \$40,000,000 raise asked for, was told in detail with proof.

Since that time the railroad managers with their lawyers have operated so as to cut down the \$1,000,000 increase till it amounts to less than \$500,000. By disputing the meanings of clauses and phrases in the arbitration award and insisting on new interpretations, the cost of averting a strike for the railroads amounts to somewhat less than \$500,000 plus the fees of lawyers and fixers.

Because the REVIEW has made a loud rasping noise about the fakery and the con-game aspects of arbitration, there is special pleasure just now in printing this paragraph from a statement issued by President W. S. Carter of the firemen's brotherhood, August 10, at New York. It reads:

“Arbitration is a gambling game, even when the dice are not loaded. Railway employes have lost faith in the justice of arbitration boards. They believe arbitration is as fickle as chance. If there is arbitration of this eight-hour demand and every effort is made to appoint neutrals entirely free from prejudice, it is but tossing pennies to decide the question. Why has no one suggested that the matter be settled by ‘pulling straws’ and relieve everybody of the bother?”

“WHO fixes the price for bread? The Chicago corn ring. Who determines how much we shall pay for meat? The Chicago meat trust.” ’Tisn't any soapboxer says this. It's from an editorial in the London *Times*, August 8.

The Armour's and Swift's have been screwing up prices so fierce that the Junkers of England are getting het up over what America has known for a long time.

JOE THOMAS is a miner on Mesaba Range. Joe testified at a conference of officials from cities of the range. His story:

"Look at me. I have five children to support. I have to send them to school. If they go with dirty clothes the teacher sends them back. Say, 'Your father get better clothes.' If our women go to church the priests, they say, 'What the matter with Austrian women? They stink in church.' People couldn't sit by them because we didn't buy stuff like they."

And there was Pulvio Pettinello, who worked for the Oliver Mining Company. His story:

"Two years ago I got married and got American girl. I believe she has a right to live as another American, so I believe further I got a right to live. What should I say when I got \$1.97 a day? I should tell her, 'This month don't order meat or nothing; I only get \$1.97 a day.' One month I work contract and we no have enough to eat. I work in Alpena for \$2.17 a day. What do you think of that? Get \$45 or \$50. I should have paid \$12 for the rent of the house. I should pay \$5 or \$6 for meat; \$30 for grocery bill. What will be left? Nothing. If we eat we don't dress. And if we dress we don't eat. That is a fact."

For simple statement of important points in American democracy that need attention now, Fulvio Pettinello is there. He is the precise opposite of a man who talks thru his hat.

SOME one of the highbrows oozing knowledge on the New Republic went to a dairy lunch one day and ate too many beans. He came to his office and wrote a special editorial panning the Socialists and saying the I. W. W. is nothing but a tradition. If the I. W. W. is today a tradition at Mesaba Range and among the western harvest workers, then the New Republic ought to class up as a still-born idiot. As a goo-goo and a holier-than-thou, the New Republic is the real thing.

WHY was it so many people, neutrals and pro-allies, wanted the Deutschland to get through, outwit the enemy boats and make a successful trip back to Germany? Was it because the super-U-boat was a triumph of peace, a symbol of man's fighting powers against elemental forces? Don't we all hope for the time

when the strength of all strong men will be in joined hands round the world?

MILK has gone from one to two cents higher in nearly all American cities since the war started.

Yet department of commerce figures show exports of butter, cheese, milk and cream for fiscal year ending June, 1916, amounting to \$24,000,000. This was \$10,000,000 more than the exports of the previous year and \$21,000,000 more than the exports of the year before the war started.

Milk has gone from one to two cents higher in nearly all American cities since the war began.

During fiscal year of 1916 we exported 150,000,000 pounds of canned milk, valued at \$12,500,000. This was four times the amount exported in 1915 and about ten times the amount exported in the average of the four previous years. Meanwhile exports of cheese totalled 44,000,000 pounds and butter 13,500,000 pounds.

Milk has gone from one to two cents higher in nearly all American cities since the war began.

The backwash of the war is seen in a clear light looking at these figures of the dairy industry. Milk drivers struck in Chicago, Cleveland and other cities. Milk companies raised the price of milk and the American workingman who digs down for more money to pay his bill for baby's bottle is incidentally helping pay costs of war in Europe.

Milk has gone from one to two cents higher in nearly all American cities.

"I TRIED to find out what the troops thought about the time of the ending of the war," writes Raymond Swing to the Chicago Daily News from the German lines on the Russian front, "but I could not get them to guess at the date. 'It will end when it ends,' they said."

Which is a wise, philosophic way to make your guesses on when this war will come to a real finish. One year, two years, ten years—who is the scientist or clairvoyant that can tell when the cataclysm will wear itself out?

And what scientist or clairvoyant can go farther and tell us when the working class of the world will kick all kaisers, kings, czars and feudal potentates out of the palaces?

When will the Milwaukee Leader with its Berger and the New Republic with its Lippman get up enough nerve to smash at Kaiserism just as hard as it smashes at Russian czarism?

“RED” Livingston. Hear about him? “Red” took 120 “loyal” employes of the New York Railways Company to the main office and made a speech to President Shonts.

“We have a petition signed by 95 per cent of the men saying that they do not wish to go on strike,” said Red in a long speech he spooned, all of said speechy spoon being printed in the newspapers.

“We have been treated fairly,” went on Red Livingston. “We have recently received an increase in wages which was satisfactory. We want to help the public. We don’t believe in violence or crime. In behalf of these men I desire to present to you this petition, signed by practically every employe of the company, assuring you that we have given no outsider authority to present demands to you.”

And then Theodore Shonts opened his buzzum and unloosed feelings that were lurking around in said buzzum. Shonts said in part:

“Boys, I surely am proud of you. This is a marvelous demonstration of loyalty. A man would have to be without a heart if he failed to appreciate this demonstration of affection and sympathy to the management of a railroad company, upon whose shoulders rests great responsibility.”

After which Red Livingston and the noble 120 marched to the office of the mayor of New York and told the mayor how they were going to protect the public’s interest and run the street cars whether “outsiders” called a strike or not.

What put Red on the bum as a helper of the public was the fact that a few hours later motormen and conductors voted nearly 100 per cent for a strike and not a car ran, not a wheel turned, and a new species of scab, a fresh type of lickspittle, went into the discard.

ON July 4 there slipped thru the German press censorship a news-letter signed

by Carl Ackerman, staff correspondent United Press at Berlin. These were the high points of the letter:

“Germany wants peace because Germany believes she has won the war. There are critics and grumblers, dissatisfied with everything. Every belligerent has about as many as the other.

“The difference is that in England they grumble publicly; in Germany they cannot; and when people cannot criticize publicly, they do it twice as hard privately.”

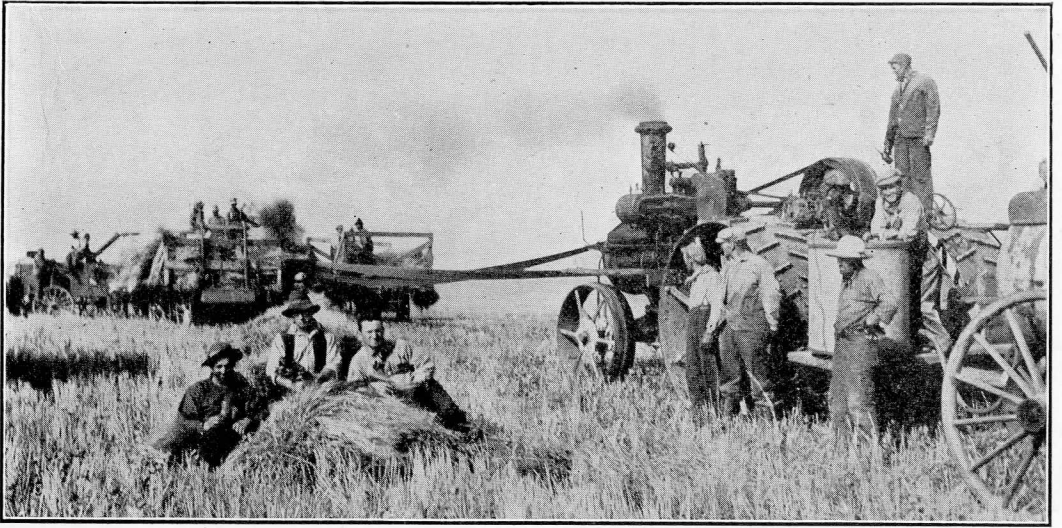
ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS is all the time spilling stuff that sounds more like a live, living woman than a scholar and a puffick lady. The latest from Elsie is this:

“More than one girl has told me she was very much surprised to find that she felt just the same the day after her wedding as the day before. ‘What had you expected?’ I have asked. ‘Oh, I couldn’t say exactly; something different.’ She had heard so often she was to begin a new life with marriage that she had come to believe it.”

Because we know working girls who are feeding their minds on magazine fiction slush, such as the Ladies’ Home Journal, which is “nice”, and Hearst’s Cosmopolitan, which is not so “nice”, and the Red Book, which is in between—we know precisely the point Elsie Clews Parsons wishes to make.

With parents tongue-tied on sex—and with sex a forbidden topic in schools—and with magazines and newspapers faking and lying right and left on sex stories, marriage, love, babies and birth control—what else can be expected than that the day after wedding day a working girl should feel a good deal like a man who has paid \$15 for a suit of clothes marked down from \$30, actual cost being \$6?

NOTICE strikes and strikes everywhere? Pittsburgh street cleaners; St. Louis packing house workers; Milwaukee machinists; San Francisco cooks and waiters; La Salle, Ill., cement mill workers. Not to mention Mesaba Range, New York and Philadelphia street car lines and western harvest hands achieving what they call “job control.”



ON THE JOB IN THE HARVEST FIELDS

JOB CONTROL IN THE HARVEST FIELDS

By W. T. NEF

Sec'y-Treas. Agricultural Workers Organization

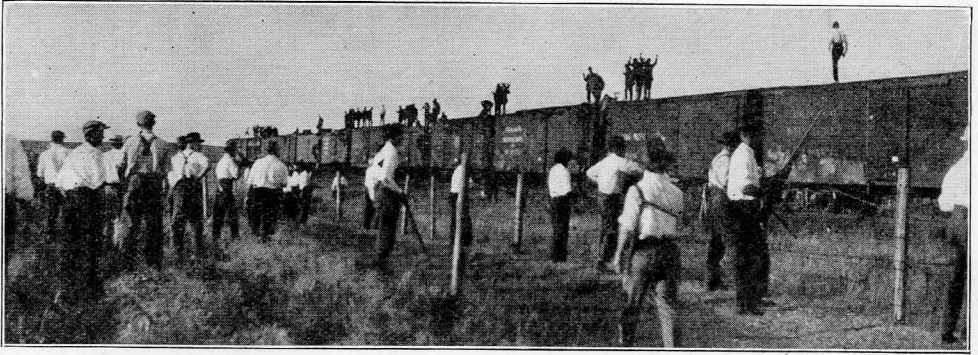
FOR the first time in the history of the United States a successful organization of migratory workers has been built thru the grain growing states of the middle west.

The organization of the despised harvester has demonstrated that these men actually had backbone and the spirit to fight in an organized body to eliminate the 15th century conditions they were forced to work and live under while garnering one of the main sources of the country's wealth.

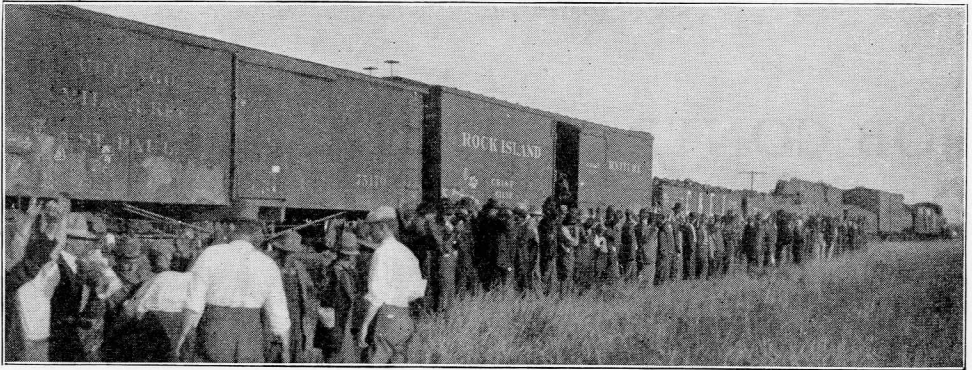
The Agricultural Workers' Organization of the I. W. W. in which the harvesters are organized, has flung out the greatest picket line the sun ever looked down upon, extending from Kansas City, Mo., to 300 miles north of Aberdeen, S. D. Every picket carries organizers' credentials, and the unorganized harvest hand is out of luck this summer unless he kicks in and helps in the struggle for job control.

Four thousand eight hundred harvest hands signed up during the month of July and they are joining at the rate of 300 per day at the present writing. The result of this solidarity is that wages have been raised and working conditions greatly improved, but it has been a bitter struggle all along the line, as the union harvest worker has had to face the bitter hostility of every element in the grain growing states which is interested in keeping the men unorganized and defenseless.

Again, gamblers, boot-leggers and hold-up men follow the harvest from Oklahoma to the Canadian line and in former years the unorganized harvesters have fallen easy victims, but, there is a new deal of the cards this year, as the A. W. O. is rapidly eliminating these types of vultures, who are finding employment as gun men, vigilantes



A BUSY DAY FOR THE SHERIFF AND HIS GANG



SEARCHING THE HARVEST WORKERS FOR UNION CARDS



THE WORKERS ON ONE SIDE AND LAW AND ORDER GUN MEN ON THE OTHER

and deputies in various towns in the harvest belt.

In Aberdeen, S. D., the Commercial Club is using these gun men to convoy groups of unorganized men to various localities, where they are forced to work at such wages and under such conditions as the farmers may dictate.

These unorganized groups stick close together and wear yellow tickets as marks of identification, so that their gun men protectors may see that none of their flock get away.

It has been the experience of the union delegates that the "yellow ticket men," once they get away from their kind shepherds, are always anxious to line up in the union, for the reason that, as a rule, they are fleeced and shorn in every conceivable manner.

At many places along the line the union harvesters are receiving a cordial welcome. At other points they are treated as hoboos and hold-up men. In Mitchell, S. D., all incoming freight trains are met by deputies, gun men and vigilantes at the point of rifles. Harvesters are searched. Those without union cards are allowed to proceed and the union men are turned back. If it were not for the fact that so many union men have been crippled and maimed by these thugs, the futile attempts to sift the or-

ganized from the unorganized would be amusing, because many organized men do not carry their cards, but send them on ahead. By so doing, they not only succeed in getting by, but often pick up much information valuable to the organization. Men of all nationalities, occupations and trades make up this migratory army of union workers who are on the job with both feet and hard fists fighting for job control.

The most serious accident of the season so far, occurred recently near Yankton, S. D. Three harvesters were killed outright and thirty wounded as a result of a railroad wreck. Prompt relief was rendered and everything done by the organization to make the survivors as comfortable as possible.

The cause of the accident was reported as unknown, but there is good grounds for a growing belief that the engineer deliberately buckled up the empty box cars in order to jar up the men. The matter is now being investigated by the organization.

Owing to the partial failure of crops in many localities the organization is finding it hard work to maintain the scale, but in spite of all handicaps the A. W. O. will close the harvest season 20,000 strong and will then be in a good position to organize in other fields and industries.



MEMBERS OF THE A. W. O. WHO WERE INJURED IN THE WRECK

Will Eugene V. Debs Sit in Congress?

By H. SCOTT BENNETT

(His heart is a garden wherein all comradely blossoms perennially bloom.)

JUST as in a forest where some trees, by reason of their height or some peculiarity in their growth attract the attention of the traveler to the exclusion of their surrounding leafy brethren, so, in a world of men, certain men there are who by reason of the gifts and graces with which they have been endowed attract the attention of the world to the exclusion of their contemporaries.

Such a man is Eugene V. Debs.

Far across the Pacific, that separates Australasia from the United States, beneath the ever-jeweled glittering Southern Cross, thousands of men and women link the name of Eugene V. Debs with all that makes for soundness, solidarity and sincerity in the American movement for social salvation.

Not unnaturally, therefore, when I received an invitation to participate in the fight that is being waged in Indiana to secure the election of Debs to Congress, from his active and genial Campaign Manager, Noble C. Wilson, I accepted with pleasure.

To help in assisting make possible the raising of that powerful and eloquent voice in Congress, championing the cause of those who toil and moil, a voice ever declaiming in the service of social righteousness and against social wrong and the hosts of oppression, is no small honor, for assuredly the industrial serfs of the land could not have a greater defender, or the plutocracy a more vigilant foe.

A series of untoward events precluded me from meeting Comrade Debs until my present visit to his home town, and I cannot recall the face or voice of anyone who has impressed me more favorably than Eugene Debs. Geniality, sincerity, open-heartedness and a veritable blaze of desire for the realization of the principles so brilliantly championed by him seem to emanate from his every pore, filling one with a desire to increase immeasurably their own efforts in the movement.

I am not surprised to find James Whitcomb Riley saying: "God was feeling mighty good when he made Gene Debs, and he didn't have anything else to do all day."

The entrance of Debs into the arena has already smitten the old-time party politicians with dismay. "Would that it had been anyone but Debs," they cry in chorus. They have good reason for their dismay. Already the men and women of the District have buckled on their armor, sharpened their spears and the shouts of the rallying hosts of Labor around the standard-bearer of the Social Revolution may be heard on all sides. No other standard-bearer could have produced this enthusiasm or caused such heart beats of hope. The strength of his faith, the liveliness of his hopes, the persistency of his valor, the breadth of his thoughts and the energy of his genius has filled the people with admiration and an inexhaustible desire to achieve victory despite the machinations and all the ignoble arts of the organized misleaders of the people.

The men and women who are struggling for the election of Debs recognize that the victory will be a victory not alone for the toilers in Indiana, but a mighty triumph for the working class thruout the land, and a mighty stimulus to millions elsewhere in this blood-drenched world.

Australasia watches with ever-increasing interest the struggle.

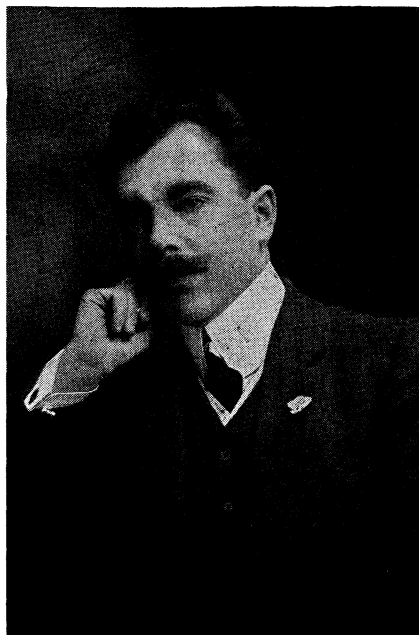
In many a shearing shed, on the wharves, farms and in the bowels of the earth where men delve and dive, the fight for the election of Debs is followed with the liveliest interest, and with the message of victory flashed beneath the waves to the Antipodes a mighty shout will arise from thousands of throats, stirring the Antipodean plutocracy to wrath and wonder.

In the Fifth District, the district that is being contested, there are 24,000 farmers, 10,000 coal miners all U. M. W. of A. mem-

bers. There is a good percentage of foreign speaking groups, some 4,000 Germans, a little more than 4,000 Italians and a number of Finns, French and Slavs. Two counties in the District are Quaker settlements; Hendricks and Putnam. The farmers will obviously play an important part in the election and the Socialists among them are actively engaged in carrying the campaign into every school district. The names and addresses of all the farmers has been secured and every effort will be made to see that literature reaches all of them. Amongst the miners organizers, speakers and literature will soon be working energetically. The Italian comrades are arranging to reach their countrymen with Italian speakers and Italian literature. Our German comrades are not idle, their branch membership having recently been very considerably increased.

Our Quaker friends must vote for the Socialist candidate or prove eternally false to their anti-war principles, for no one has more clearly defined his attitude on the questions of war and preparedness than Debs.

Organized labor in this part of the state will soon be put to a supreme test. Will the old-time politicians cajole Labor into political destruction once more, or will Labor have the wisdom to perceive that every vote for Debs is a vote for the manhood and womanhood of their class? Will they recognize that there are two forms of scabbery; That the Worker Casting a Ballot Against the Party of His Class Is as Truly a Scab and Traitor to His Fellows as the Man Who Takes a Job From a Striking Work-mate?



SCOTT BENNETT

Will they recognize that class consciousness means that the interests of the individual are indissolubly bound up with the interests of the class to which he belongs and that the spirit of class interest must be made manifest at the ballot box as well as on the field of toil? Will they be great enough to treat with disdain the political hirelings of their masters and for once put their own interests and the interests of their wives and families first?

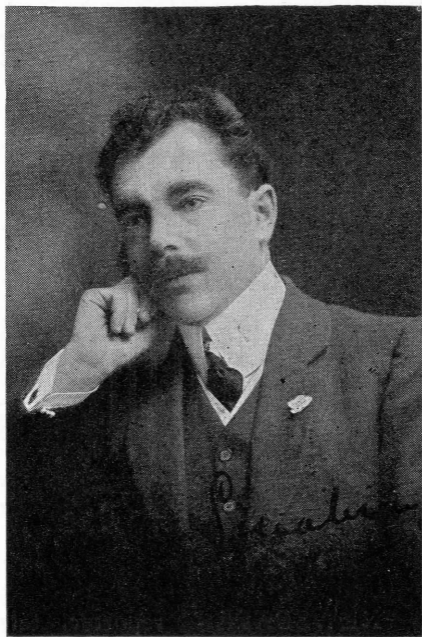
If they answer "YES," EUGENE V. DEBS will sit in Congress!

The Old Party Voter.

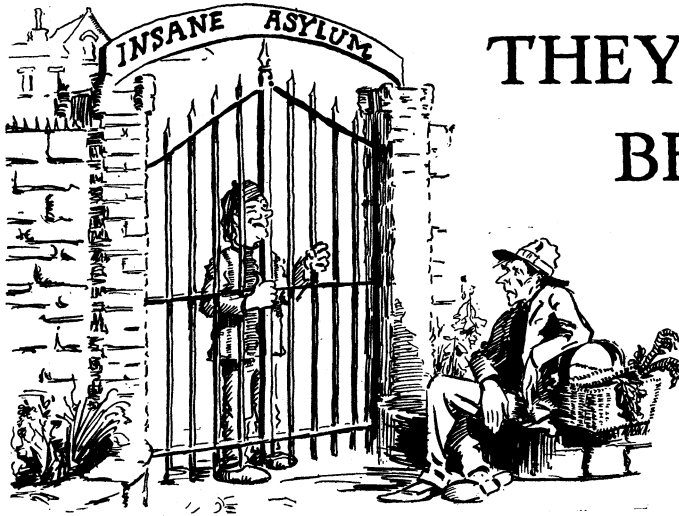
Into the Polling-place, and why not knowing,
Nor whence, like water, willy-nilly, flowing,
And out again, when he has made the Cross,
Back to his fruitless, ill-paid labor going.

He, in his youth, did eagerly frequent
Old party rallies, heard great argument,
About the Robber Tariff, and the
Trusts,
And come away, no wiser than he went.

With them the seed of Piffle did he sow,
In hopes of some cheap job, helped make
it grow,
And this is all the Working Class has
reaped—
Their efforts help their leaders get the
Dough.



SCOTT BENNETT



THEY BELONG INSIDE!

By

MARY E. MARCY

A NEWSPAPER reporter tells a story of an inmate of the Kankakee Insane Asylum which reminds us of the great class strike in Norway that has just been settled by the passing of an Arbitration Law.

It seems that the man in Kankakee had been adjudged harmlessly insane and was permitted to roam at will about the grounds of the institution, where he used to sit, sometimes, beneath a giant oak tree and watch the people who might pass, through the great iron bars that stood between him and liberty.

One morning at about eleven o'clock poor Sam Gaines, who sat on a bench in his favorite nook under the oak tree, beheld a worn and emaciated man climb up the hill, lugging a huge hamper filled with delicate napery, shining silver and a delectable lunch that made the half-wit's mouth water.

From time to time he could see the hamper-bearer lift the snowy linen and gaze hungrily at the fried chicken and the fruit salad within. Then he would look eagerly toward the dusty road as though awaiting the coming of some one.

The situation puzzled the half-wit, and by and by he pressed his face against the iron bars and spoke to the man.

"Hello!" he said.

"Hello!" said the man.

"What you waiting for?" asked the half-wit.

"Guy said if I'd carry this basket up to the road, he'd give me a big feed," replied the man.

"Humph," grunted the half-wit. "Are you hungry?"

"Yep," said the man.

The poor half-wit stood at the great fence and watched the hungry man and the hamper filled with food and tried to figure out the problem, but the bell rang and he left to eat his dinner. Half an hour later, when he returned, he found the hungry man still waiting, still watching for the owner of the hamper to come over the hill, and give him the big "feed."

All during the afternoon, while the sun crept down in the West, the half-wit continued to come back to his favorite bench and to gaze at the hungry man waiting in the sun. Now and then he would repeat his earlier question:

"Hungry?" And the emaciated man would reply,

"Sure!"

At seven o'clock the hungry man was still there, still guarding the beautiful hamper filled with delicious food. The half-wit took hold of the strong iron bars and looked through them. He couldn't understand and his head ached.

"Hungry?" he asked again.

"As hell!" replied the man.

"Somethin' in the basket?" asked the half-wit.

"Chicken!" groaned the man.

"Humph!" grinned the half-wit, "you don't belong out there. Come on *inside!*"

Such is the power of respect of law and of private property.

* * * * *

The French communards, at the time when they held the city of Paris in the hollow of their hands, when they were urgently in need of money both to pay their soldiers and to feed the people, when the coffers of the great French banks were theirs for the taking, were overflowing with gold made out of the blood and sweat of the working class, the communards *never even thought of taking this gold*—the product of their own labors, but, by *law* the property of their exploiters.

The communards *respected* the law of their enemies which their enemies, the idle, worthless class, were not even able to enforce.

* * * * *

So does the large part of the working class today respect the *law*. They may know that the great financial pirates, the great oil thieves, the great railroad bandits have paid *cash* to elect the congressmen who *made* these laws. They may suspect that the great stock speculators, great exploiters of labor may have *bribed* and bought governors, senators and presidents, who *make* the *laws*, and yet, once these laws are written on the statute books, the working class will sit hungry beside a hamper filled with fried chicken and *respect the law*.

On July first we received word that Norway had just passed thru what the capitalist class called "the most dangerous labor conflict in the history of the country, a conflict which threatened to embrace every organized workingman and a good deal of unorganized labor as well." A correspondent for one of the Chicago newspapers writes:

"The way in which this conflict, which might have bordered on civil war, was evaded was by the sudden introduction of compulsory arbitration in all labor conflicts, with compulsory service (in the shop, mine or factory) at the time of arbitration.

"The cure was hardly less dangerous than the evil it was to cure; for *had labor refused to obey the new law, which course was seriously advocated by a large minority*

of the *labor congress* at Christiania a few days ago, the country would now have been in a difficult position indeed. As it is, the danger is passed; and even if labor may take the fight up in some other form it is not likely to take forms so threatening for the whole nation.

"For a long time it had been feared that 1916 would bring on a fight between labor and employers which might cripple the industries of the country for months, because the agreements in most of the different trades and industries expired during this year, and the present high cost of living in connection with the prosperity of many industries, supported by a vigorous agitation from the leaders, had made the claims of labor in most branches so high that it would have been impossible for employers to grant them without running the risk of having to do business at a great loss when the present boom is past. Offers of temporary increases were refused by the labor organizations.

"The first important conflict to be taken up was that of the mines, and it resulted in a lockout last winter which has lasted till now; then came the ironworkers' strike and notice from the employers' central organization of an extensive lockout in case the two conflicts just mentioned were not settled by Tuesday, June 6. The labor organizations' answer was a strike notice which, together with strikes and lockouts already under way, would have brought the number of workingmen on strike or locked out up to 120,000 men. This number would include employes of public utility companies and transport companies. Besides there was every prospect of the rest of the workingmen being drawn in before the fight was over.

Compulsory Arbitration Favored

"Public opinion strongly demanded that the government should interfere in some way or other. In 1914 the present cabinet had proposed a law on forced arbitration, but the labor organizations threatened to order a general strike if the law was enacted, and the storting, or parliament, did not dare to pass the law. Now the cabinet took this proposition up anew, only with a new clause being added to make the law effective only during the duration of the war. The law was quickly enacted, but

as soon as the *odelsting*, or upper house, had passed it the labor leaders ordered a general strike and every organized workingman not bound by contract to give two weeks' notice left work; a great number of those so bound also left work unlawfully.

"This time the *storting* was not, however, to be scared away from its purpose, and on June 9 the *landsting* also passed the law which was sanctioned by the cabinet two hours later. On the same day a royal resolution was issued forbidding new notices of strikes or lockouts and ordering all workingmen who had already left work to return on Tuesday, June 11. By the same resolution three members of the arbitration court were appointed; they were the chief justice of the supreme court, a counsellor-at-law and a railroad director. The employers' central organization and that of the laborers were, according to the new law, to appoint each one member, making five members altogether. The term for the appointment of these two members was set for the next day at noon. The employers promptly selected their representative, but the labor organizations' central committee applied for and secured a delay until the following Wednesday, June 14.

Industrial Unionism

In the meantime a labor congress was to be held at Christiania on Tuesday and Wednesday to decide whether labor was to respect the new law or not. In this congress the fight between the older leaders and the syndicalistic faction is said to have been very bitter, the former advocating resumption of work, while the syndicalists wanted to continue the strike in spite of the law. All labor bodies in Norway affiliated with the central organization are socialistic party organizations, but during the last four or five years a syndicalistic element has been introduced by Norwegian workingmen returning from the United States.

The older leaders won the day and a general resumption of work was ordered for

Thursday morning, June 14. The syndicalists, however, had the meager satisfaction of blocking the appointment of a representative to the court of arbitration, and the cabinet, in accordance with the provisions of the new law, appointed the fifth member, a labor organization official. Work had then been stopped in a number of industries for two days after it should have been resumed according to the royal resolution.

New Law Stops Strike Payments

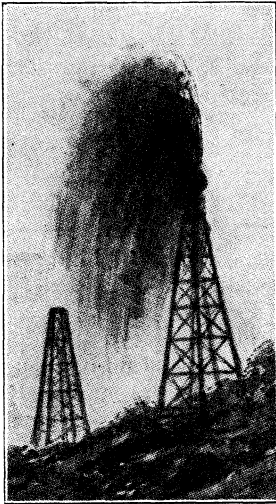
"At present there is no organized strike or lockout in effect in Norway, but in many industries the work has not been fully resumed because the laborers have left for other places, and in some cases individual obstruction undoubtedly is also exercised. But this is not expected to last for any long time, because the payment of strike money from the organization funds can be stopped under the new law.

"The cabinet acted with great firmness and dispatch in this case; but it also took a great risk, though it is probable that it held conference with prominent labor leaders and secured their assurance that they would use their influence to have labor comply with the law if it was enacted."

Did you ever stop to consider that the present capitalist-made law, and all other man-made law is no more than a Scrap of Paper *when the working class so decides?* The power is not in the law itself unless it is backed up by a military force that is stronger than the *useful workers* of any nation. And even such a military force may be eliminated if the productive workers refuse to transport, to feed and clothe them.

The strongest army travels on its *stomach*, and it is the industrial workers who take care of that stomach.

And so the Norway strikers laid down when they held a glorious victory in their hands just because their enemies, who rob the working class, had their capitalist desires for arbitration *written into law* by their governmental *servants!*



PETROLEUM IN MEXICO

By

MODESTO C. ROLLAND

THE importance of petroleum in our modern societies is so great that they are widely affected by any variation in its production or in its consumption. Petroleum and its by-products occupy such a high place in our industrial life that its control and handling constitutes a problem of national economics. And precisely because petroleum and its by-products, offer more commodities and more comfort to nations, its handling, its monopoly and its distribution constitute in themselves acts of transcendental importance.

In the commercial sphere petroleum dominates over an immense field, transformed into motive power of which both the industries and the agriculture make an ever increasing use. Transportation and irrigation are being invaded by petroleum, which solves their problems in a more economical manner than any other kind of fuel. California is a conquest of petroleum. Production in that state has increased in a wonderful way or has become easier and cheaper due to petroleum. Transportation of all kinds takes place by means of petroleum to an extent of which nobody had ever even dreamed. In the home, petroleum and its by-products have become a necessity of normal life. In one word, to the conquest of petroleum is due one of the most marked steps towards progress taken by the whole world.

Let us examine now what is the status in the world of this immeasurable natural wealth.

Capitalism has taken possession of petroleum, and has organized its exploitation in Russia, in the United States and in Mexico, for the benefit of capitalism alone.

The big monopolists have taken advantage of the need of the world for petroleum, which appears so clearly in all countries, and invoking the divine rights of capitalism, have mercilessly exploited the masses.

In some countries, the United States for example, despite the general grasping activities of capitalism which always secures big dividends for the few, the masses have at least derived some material benefit towards their progress.

In the United States the people enjoy the benefits of petroleum and its by-products in such a way that it constitutes a commodity which cannot be spared in the homes; but in other countries, in Mexico for example, the masses have derived no advantages. Capitalism, intelligent and experienced, found petroleum there and overpowered the country in the same manner in which a grown-up man overpowers a child. Lord Pearson secured absurd concessions throughout all federal zones for the exploitation of petroleum in exchange for the promise to pay the federation ten per cent of the profits obtained by him. His companies made use of the

federal lands to determine and survey the petroliferous zones, and thereupon, having kept strictly secret their machinations, purchased from the Indians, at a nominal price, immense extensions of priceless land. At the present day, Lord Pearson owns about 800,000 acres of the richest oil regions of the country. Thus the exploitation was undertaken in his own lands, and the government never even received the promised ten per centum of the profits.

American capitalism has also invaded the Mexican territory, securing some of the richest oil fields in exchange for almost valueless compensations. Today, thanks to the cleverness of all these companies, the best and more extensive petroliferous fields are in the hands of foreigners who have exploited them subject to no laws, no rules, that should have safeguarded this immense natural wealth.

In the year 1901, when the government of Mexico had had no experience with reference to petroleum, a law was passed relative to its exploitation. This law allowed all kinds of facilities to the oil companies, and was practically the means of giving away this great commodity.

The first great oil trusts in Mexico were organized under the provisions of said law, and later on, the oil companies, not yet satisfied with the advantages they had under it, obtained special laws and agreements in each particular case which gave them the control of the oil exploitation. These companies made it a practice to buy everybody who might thwart their purposes, and this shameless market became more scandalous towards the end of the Diaz administration. Even the governor of the federal district, Guillermo de Landa y Escandon, while holding that high office, was an employe of the Pearson interests. All the prominent men of the Porfirio Diaz regime, the more intelligent (the Científicos), the more cultured, were in the pay-roll of the big oil companies which, for a mere pittance, bought the connivance of those wretches to despoil the country to their own selfish advantage.

The following data may give an idea of the importance of the oil fields in Mexico. The principal companies are:

The Mexican Oil Company "El Aguila," S. A., with a capital of about sixty-five million dollars.

The Huasteca Petroleum Co., with an estimated capital of 55 million dollars.

The "Corona," which forms part of the Deutschell Asiatic Co.

East Coast Oil Co., Oil Fields of Mexico, Mexican Fuel Oil Co., Chijoles Oil Limited, Free Port Mexican Fuel Oil Co., International Petroleum Co., Transcontinental Petroleum Co., Veracruz Mexican Oil Syndicate, Mexican Gulf Oil Co., Texas Oil Co., Penn. Mexican Fuel Oil Co., National Oil Co.

It may be stated that the principal wells in the world, both on account of present production and of the constancy and duration of flow, are located in Mexico.

Later, the "Topila" well became renowned, its production reaching 75,000 barrels in twenty-four hours. This well became exhausted within a short time, and at the present time it produces about 200,000 barrels per day of oily water containing sulphides and sand. It belongs to the Fuel Oil Company.

At the present time the most important wells are: "Potrero del Llano," with a flow of 100,000 barrels per day of high-grade petroleum; "Juan Casiano," with a daily flow of 35,000 barrels; "Gusher," owned by Sims and Bowser, with a production of about 30,000, and a well of the National Oil Company, with an estimated production of 35,000 barrels. Lastly, there is the famous well "Corona," the most productive, with an estimated flow of 150,000 barrels per day. The depth of the "Corona" well is about 1,806 feet, and the majority of the other wells have depths which vary between 1,500 to 2,500 feet. The wells in Tuxpan reach a depth of from 2,100 to 2,400 feet.

All these companies, especially Lord Pearson's, have always secured concessions for importing all the necessary machinery free of duty, and availing themselves of this privilege, they have imported even the slightest necessities for life, having organized their business in such a way on Mexican soil, that, for all practical purposes, the sections they control have ceased to be national soil, and have become English or American territories.

I myself have seen how they set rules, how they traded with the Indians, and how they made use of national waters and lands as if it were territory conquered by

them. Once in possession of the national lands, these companies organized the oil exploitation in the manner most detrimental to the Republic of Mexico, installing submarine pipes and an enormous net of pipes throughout the lands, through which the petroleum is pumped directly into the tank-barks which carry it to foreign markets wherein it is transformed into by-products which make life more comfortable for other nations, but not for ours.

The exploitation of petroleum does not require many workmen, so that this asset of national wealth glides silently out of the country, enriching a few of the privileged ones and serving other people, but not our own.

In the interior of Mexico petroleum is an almost forbidden commodity, due to the exorbitant cost; thus the development of our industries is woefully impeded by lack of facilities.

The capitalists who own the petroleum, in accord with the capitalists who own the railroads (who, by the way, obtained control in a similar manner), have made the acquisition of petroleum almost prohibitive for the whole nation, so that the Mexican people derives no advantages from the fact that the most wonderful wells in the world are located within its territory, or that the country occupies the third place among the oil producers in the world.

Instead of erecting refineries conveniently located at advantageous points in the republic, and constructing pipelines towards the center and the north of the country in order to produce oil cheaply and facilitate irrigation, which would have made possible the production of articles of prime necessity in those immense lands which only await irrigation to become transformed as they have in California, where the pulsation of motors is heard everywhere; instead of transporting petroleum to the Pacific through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in order to give an impulse to the merchant marine of that ocean, and instead of making of petroleum the basis of the development of our railroads, since we cannot produce coal in abundance or of good quality, the plans of capitalism and the astounding stupidity of our former officials have caused this valuable source of wealth to flow throughout the world to the advantage of other

purses and other countries, while we, in Mexico, have been forced to watch this unwarranted state of affairs, highly indignant, but almost impotent.

Last year, when the first chief of the Mexican revolution (a revolution caused and justified by this and several other matters equally important) gave an order to stop all perforation and drilling work then in progress in the petroleum zones, with the object of making a study of the way in which said work was being carried on, and of issuing suitable rules by which petroleum exploitation should be governed, every one will remember the tremendous protest raised in the United States by the capitalists who, concealing the truth, as the truth did not suit them, declared that the revolution was merely a state of anarchy.

Due to lack of proper care, Pearson has absolutely ruined two immense petroliferous zones, where the wells "Dos Bocas" and "Potrero del Llano" have burned. The air in those zones is constantly filled with gas which has never been controlled, and this escape of gas causes a reduction of pressure in the rock; furthermore, the lack of official control to compel these companies to work the fields properly, permitted them to cause an overflow of oil in the Tuxpan river which killed animal and vegetable life to such an extent as to make life intolerable for everybody in that beautiful and fertile region.

All these things have been done by these companies without their assuming any responsibility for their acts, and at the present time, when the government intends to bring some order there, it is only natural that the people, who up to this time have acted as the exclusive owners of these lands, cannot conceive that they shall have to submit to the law, and resenting these measures, have protested against them before the department of state of this country, where legislation on petroleum is much more strict, but nevertheless considered natural and justified.

What a mockery! All the lands the capitalists own are Mexican, belong to the Mexican nation, since for all practical purposes, these companies gained control over them through deceit and subterfuge. They pay the workmen in paper money while they exact cash payments in gold; and still, they resent any complaint made

by the workmen. On which side is Justice?

The government of Rumania has reacted and is now doing everything possible in order to make the exploitation of its petroleum beneficial, in the first place, to the Rumanian people. The government of Argentine has preferred to go slowly about it and to retain the control of this national wealth in order to obtain for the country all the advantages it should have, and thus will not permit the invasion of its oil fields by the Standard Oil Company. Up here, in the United States themselves, a vigorous and incessant struggle is going on which aims at the curtailing of the privileges unduly enjoyed by these companies which exploit all public needs for the advancement of their own selfish ends.

The government of the revolution in Mexico appointed a technical commission to study and decide upon an adequate legislation establishing rules for the exploitation of petroleum. I had the honor to form part of this commission as secretary. While we were in Tampico studying conditions there, some companies to all appearances were willing to give us facilities to carry on our investigations, but they all tried to conceal the truth from us. There even was one (the Huasteca Petroleum Company) which declared that it could furnish us with no information whatever, since its offices were located at Los Angeles, California. I should like to know what the United States Interstate Commerce Commission would have to say to any company which at any time should dare to make such a statement.

We have come to this country to study the problem of petroleum and we have become convinced that here also capitalism has almost absolute control of this

matter, and has organized the development and exploitation of the oil fields for its own exclusive benefit and to the detriment of the people. The educational campaign which is being waged against these powerful companies was explained to us in Washington, as well as the strenuous efforts which are being made to henceforth protect Mexican petroleum, this source of national wealth, from the grasping activities of capital.

It is evident, therefore, that there exists here a well defined, strong tendency to prevent the oil fields from falling into the hands of capitalism, as well as a desire to preserve from its incursions the oil regions which should provide the necessary fuel for the national navy. The whole nation begins to realize the tremendous social import of this problem and how dangerous for the welfare of the nation it is that a few should control this wealth, a few who do not scruple to raise the price of petroleum and its by-products when it so suits their convenience.

I shall express no opinion on ulterior politics either here or in the Republic of Mexico, but it is my earnest desire that everybody would understand clearly and fully that there exists in Mexico powerful reasons which move the people to look for an arrangement which will bring about an improvement in their material and social conditions, and to endeavor to prevent the further exploitation of a commodity which should have been productive of comfort and ease to Mexico. American capital has imposed upon the Mexican people and deceived it in the most outrageous manner, and in this country capital is determined to disfigure the truth by misrepresenting the facts as they exist in our own country—Mexico.

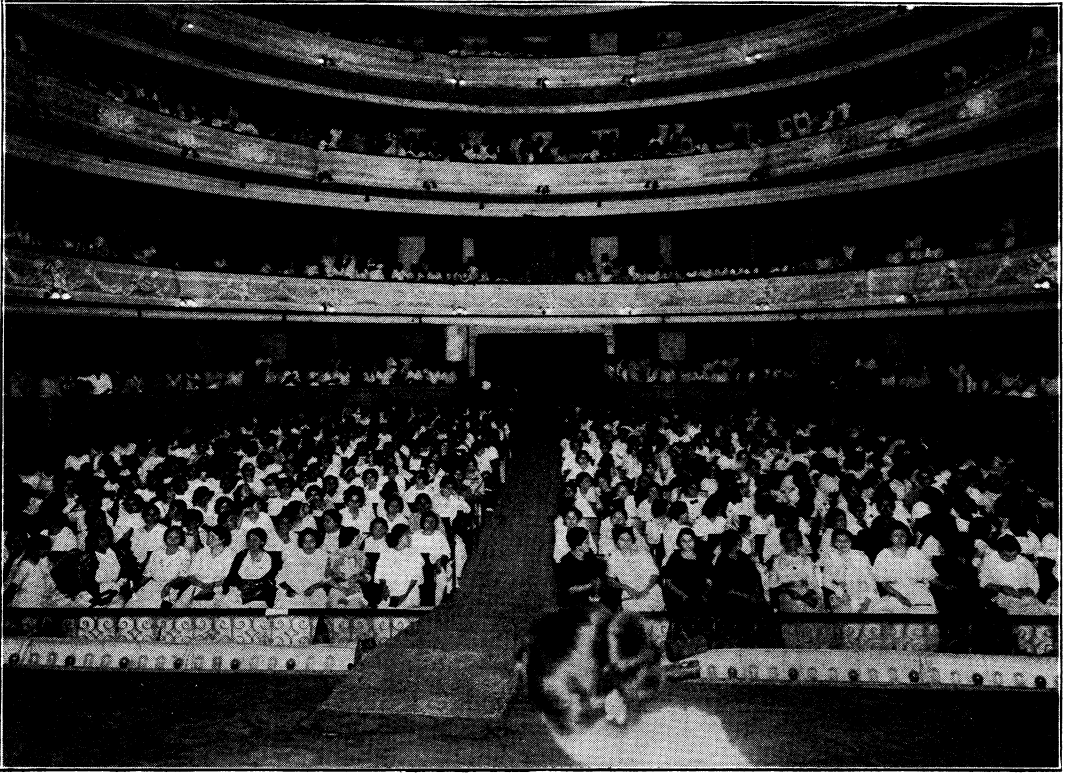
MEXICAN FEMINIST CONGRESS

ONE of the most noteworthy symptoms of the commotion through which the Mexican people has been passing lately, revolting to men's consciences and freeing forces before unknown, is the liberating feminist movement.

The Mexican woman has lived under

the conditions of slavery imposed by the Spaniards according to the Moorish system.

The First Chief issued in Vera Cruz the Law of Divorce, which produced an intimate satisfaction in all the spirits that had been suffering under pressure for so many years. In the first month that the Revolu-



WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN THE STATE OF YUCATAN, MEXICO

tion ruled in the Capital of the Republic no fewer than 500 divorces were granted and apparently there have been no manifestations of that immorality which has been so often prophesied by the enemies of divorce.

The Mexican woman has consequently awakened to a new world so long dreamt of, and is actually demonstrating her capacity to occupy a place in society by the side of man.

There have been feminist organizations in several parts of Mexico, all tending to the moral and intellectual improvement of their members. The most remarkable case of this new social activity is found in the state of Yucatan in the work of the Feminist Congress convoked by Governor General Don Salvador Alvarado.

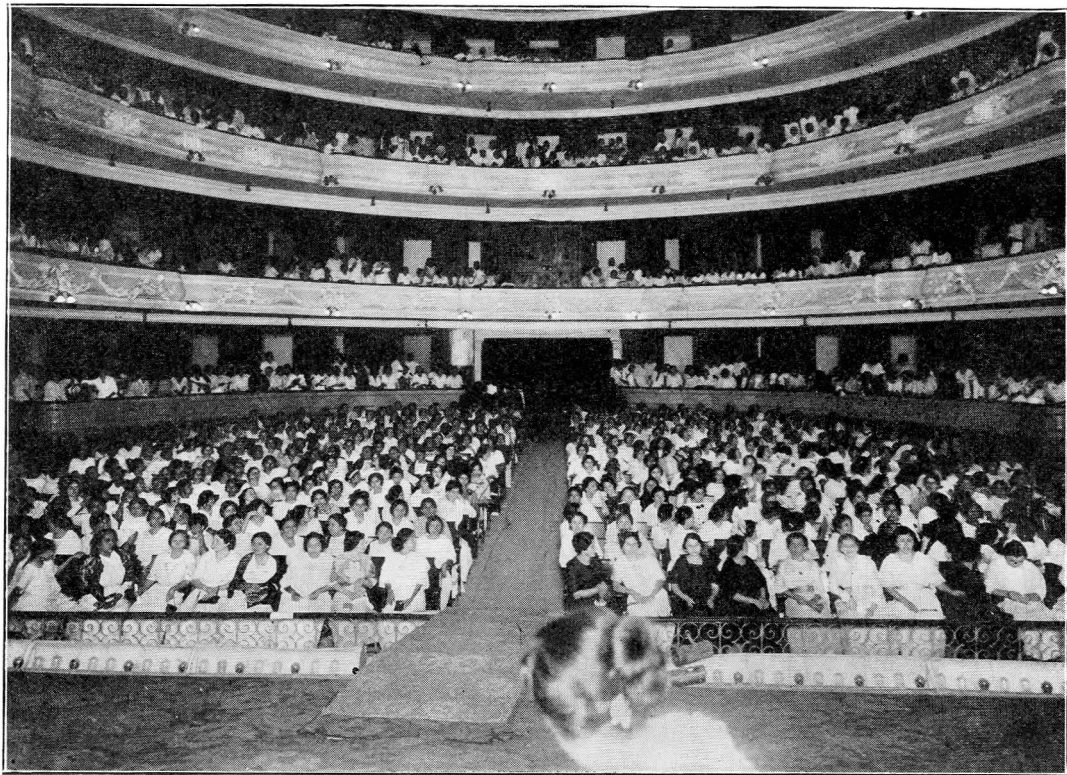
Notwithstanding that the state of Yucatan has been one of the most conservative and most under the control of a land-owning class—a class which may very well be called aristocratic and domineering—and notwithstanding that the population consists of only 300,000 inhabitants, of whom 250,000 are Indians, nearly three thousand

women attended the Congress, the majority of them belonging to the middle class, many from the ranks of teachers and a few of the old governing class. These women for three days discussed in the most orderly, although at times the most fervent manner, advanced topics on education and religion, and discussing delicate subjects, such as physiology, in the most outspoken way.

Immediately there were formed within the body of the Congress two groups, the conservative and the liberal, with resulting enthusiasm and interest in ideas, that were defended with the greatest ingenuity.

Another Congress is being at present organized in which the subject of female suffrage will be discussed, starting with municipal affairs.

The annals of the first Congress have been read in all the Republic, all the women have been interested in this movement, and no doubt that once this organization is in working order, to which end all Revolutionists are lending their cooperation, the Mexican woman will very soon be given her rightful place.



WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN THE STATE OF YUCATAN, MEXICO



Going to School Thru Revolution

By THOMAS CARTER

WHEN somebody first told Villa that the American capitalists wanted to send troops into Mexico to enforce peace upon the people, he is reported to have said:

"Peace? We don't want peace. The Mexican people have been peaceful slaves for many, many years. They have suffered the utmost barbarities, have had their lands taken from them and given to those Americans rich enough to bribe the Mexican Dictator. During all this time they enjoyed *peace* and they fell on their knees every time the name of this great robber was mentioned. What we need is revolution. It will teach our people that the rich man is no greater than a poor man. It will teach them that a rich man is vulnerable. It will show them how to stand upon their feet and fight for their own."

During the French Revolution, the nobility of England, of Prussia and of Aus-

tria, fearing that the downfall of Louis XVI. might encourage a similar uprising of their own subjects, combined to suppress the revolution and to support the French King. They regarded the lot of the French serf, robbed, beaten, borne down with outrageous taxes, half starved by the French lords, as quite good enough for the rude boors who merely produced the wealth of France.

The Prussian and Austrian nobles looked upon the rising of the French serfs as nothing more nor less than a mad menace to the French nobility, which was likely to spread to their own borders and jeopardize their own pomp and power. But the French serfs and artisans, grown wise and strong in the years of their rebellion, finally threw off the yoke of the vicious French nobility, and laid the foundation for the Republic of France.

"Louis Capet" was executed, and Marie Antoinette, the lovely Austrian Queen,

who knew so little of the condition of the peasants that when they cried out for bread asked why they didn't eat *cake!* Heads of other members of the royal family fell and during one month over 5,000 members of the nobility were guillotined. The streets literally ran with blood and the cries of the people rang with joy at every execution.

But when peace came again and, weary with revenging themselves upon the oppressors who had so much more barbarously tortured them in other days, the people of France emerged from the storm and stress reliant, valiant men and women, capable of fighting for their own. Before the revolution France was a nation of vicious, brutal robbing nobles, a rising class of merchants and artisans and the half-starved serfs of the soil. After the revolution, she was a nation of strong, thinking men and women. The people found themselves in the long war against their masters.

During the Civil War, when the future of these United States hung in the balance, European aristocrats and merchants said of us much that American capitalists are saying today of the people of Mexico.

The lives of foreigners were more than once in jeopardy. Their American investments shrank and their losses here and abroad were very heavy. In England and France the cry went up from the cotton manufacturers that the American struggle had no longer any justification; that bloodshed must stop and order be restored by joint intervention.

"The Americans were fighting among themselves; they were guilty of murder, rapine, were barbarians who desired to put the slaves upon an equal plane with the superior whites." They were "engaged in robbing and killing each other," "had become a nation of anarchy and bandits," and it "was the duty of Europe to step in and enforce peace."

But it was in the blood and travail of the Civil War that slavery in America was abolished and that made of these United States a fact instead of a theory. If Europe had stepped in to lend her strength and her troops to enforce peace, the map of Old Uncle Sam would have been much smaller than it is today. Enforced peace in 1863 would have meant the disruption

of the Union. Enforced peace in France at the beginning of the revolution would have meant a set-back to the republic of fifty or a hundred years. France might have been as Russia today.

Peace forced upon Mexico would mean the taking of the newly awakened Mexican people out of the splendid school of revolution and enslaving them again. Ten years ago Mexico was dominated by the most despotic and autocratic ruler in the Western Hemisphere. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican peons were driven to their daily tasks on the great ranches by the black lash. Food was coarse and insufficient. The lords of many of the great haciendas held court over all their "employees." They were judge, jury and executioner if the need arose.

Between the Catholic church, which encouraged and admonished the peons to obey their masters under penalty of the Fathers, and the wealthy ranch owners, whose service they were forbidden by law to leave as long as they were in their debt, the working people of Mexico had long slaved in a condition of almost utter hopelessness.

Few were able to read and write and their laboring hours were so long and the work so arduous that men and women alike fell into a deathlike sleep, without strength for thought, at the close of the day's toil.

The masters kept the books of the masters and they managed always to keep the peons in their debt. At least so they reported to their servants when they asked an accounting. Runaways were usually beaten to death as an example to others who might be considering escape. And back of the lords of the ranches was the strong arm of Diaz, and his army and his own law—Diaz who had helped to deprive the Mexican people of *their own land*.

Then came the glorious and astounding uprising when thousands of the rebels were killed and tortured by Diaz, backed up by the United States Government. But the rising of the people could not be stayed and Diaz was forced out.

Came then the Dreamer, Madero, who meant to give back the land to the people, and Huerta, who killed him, backed by American millionaires who had hoped to see him become a second dictator like

Diaz, with whom they could deal—and whom they could bribe.

But Villa, Carranza and the people of Mexico would have none of this hireling of the "Our" capitalist class.

And now comes Carranza, the choice of the Mexicans themselves. And all during the rise and fall of the various presidents and presidential aspirants, since the fall of Diaz, the people have been struggling to get back their lands from the lordly ranch owners. And the great land-owners like William Randolph Hearst, have kept their own paid army to protect these lands and to prevent the Mexican people from taking back that which has been stolen from them.

It was here, upon our own soil, the eighteenth century that we fought and killed and fought again "among our-

selves," property was destroyed, homes were burned, disease and want spread over the new land, until the "independent" Americans at last defeated the Americans who were loyal to King George of England.

Revolution does not mean peace. It means war, change, readjustment. In the sturdy school of revolution inarticulate peons become articulate. Hope springs once more in the human heart; slaves lift up their heads and stand erect; old, out-worn institutions break down to make way for newer and better ones. Kings, of royal blood and royal fortune, crumble into dust and the despoiled, the sweated working class comes into its own.

Revolution is a rough school, but it is a school where *men are born*. On with the Revolution!

LIEBKNECHT'S DEFIANCE

LIEBKNECHT'S final offense, which caused his arrest and consequent imprisonment, was delivered before a great Labor Day demonstration in the Potsdamerplatz, in Berlin, on May 1st, of which the following vivid account is given by a spectator:

"It was two o'clock in the afternoon. Tens of thousands of people in the streets and crowds are coming from everywhere. The strange thing about the gathering is its complete silence. Not a sound is to be heard—only the noise of countless feet. Women and children predominate. The men, for the most part, are of advanced age. Liebknecht is to deliver a speech."

He said:

"Comrades, some time ago a witty Social Democrat observed: 'We Prussians are a privileged people. We have the right to serve as soldiers, we are entitled to bear upon our shoulders the entire burden of taxation, and we are expected to hold our tongues. So it is. The authorities never cease to call upon us to keep silent. Quite a simple thing—hold your tongue, that's all. Don't talk! If you are hungry, don't talk! If your children starve, don't talk! They ask for milk—hold your tongue! They ask for bread—don't say a word!

"Comrades, we are starving, but no one must know it—least of all the soldiers. Such news would weaken the warlike spirit of the fighters, therefore, don't complain. Women, hide away the truth from your own men! Lie; don't tell the truth, lest the soldiers in the trenches learn how things stand. Prussian censorship takes good care that this does not happen. Poor German soldier, he really deserves pity. Under the compulsion of a warlike Government he has invaded a foreign country, and is doing his bloody work, suffering untold horrors. Death reigns on the battle-field and his children at home are succumbing to hunger and want. The poor mother is in distress and can not share her grief with her husband.

"The workers of Germany have to bleed because such is the will of the capitalists, of the superpatriots, of the cannon-makers. The people have to make bloody sacrifices without a murmur in order that these robbers may mint gold out of their valuable lives. The war was ushered in with a lie, so that the workers would rush to the battlefields, and now the lie still presides over the continuance of this awful carnage."

"Liebknecht had scarcely finished the last sentence when the ranks became dis-

turbed. Something happened. I looked round—endless waves of human heads. Liebknecht is being dropt down from the platform; his comrades follow him. The children are alarmed, the air is full of cries. Then—a movement never to be forgotten. I am lifted off my feet by a human wave and carried aside. The police break into the crowd, they trample many underfoot and throw others to the ground.

“We gather in the evening to discuss the situation. We number between 25 and 30 persons. Almost everybody is a soldier. Some are officers in uniform. Where is Liebknecht? No one knows—not even his wife.”

At his trial and condemnation, which followed in July, the public prosecutor asked that the public be excluded. Lieb-knecht exclaimed:

“Gentlemen, you are powerful, but you are afraid. You tremble at the effect my poor words might have on the public and on the prudently chosen journalists. You who have at your disposal a force of police, an army, cannon, everything! It is cowardice on your part, gentlemen. Yes, I repeat that you are cowards if you close the doors. You should be ashamed of yourselves.”

Nevertheless, the court decided to exclude the public. Then Liebknecht shouted to his wife and Rosa Luxemburg in

the audience: “Leave this comedy, where everything, including even the judgment, has been prepared beforehand! Go away!”

When the crowd waiting outside heard the verdict shouts arose: “Our Lieb-knecht has been condemned to imprisonment for two and a half years. Long live Liebknecht!” The next day between 50,000 and 60,000 workers in the munitions factories, and especially in the plant of the General Electric company, struck. The manager of the latter concern asked to see a delegation from the strikers. He told them that no political strike would be tolerated and that strikers would be tried by court-martial, but he added that if they desired an increase in wages the company would consider it. The men did not ask for an increase, but after a few days the strike ceased owing to opposition by socialists and syndicalist leaders.

Still there remains great discontent among the masses and some agitators have even been advocating a general strike.

The Berlin newspapers have been forbidden to publish the fact of the arrest of Rosa Luxemburg. She was arrested in the military zone and can thus legally be kept in prison without trial until the end of the state of siege. The news of her arrest, however, was spread by word of mouth throughout Germany.

The View From My Window

By Henry O. Falk

FOR six weary years I have looked out on this forlorn strip of desert—for six weary years without a break in my isolation. I who love life, joyous and free, have, for six weary years, known the privations of a pent-up animal and of an unwilling recluse. Down there at the water's edge is the hideous cement factory whose maddening routine of dull tasks has sucked in my soul. Up here, a little removed from the factory, are the colony houses. Of neighborliness there is little, of friendliness nothing. There go two of the workers. They pass one another with scarcely a look of recognition. Are these men? And is this living?

There are little paths from the houses

to the factory. I have worn my dusty little path from my shack straight to the factory door. With automatic precision I trudge over it four times every day: at 7 to work; at 12 to lunch; at 1 back to the vault, which a little breath of sunshine on the way over has made more gloomy for me; at 6 with a curse on my lips I drag a weary body back to my retreat.

And each has his little path, scarcely ever crossing or joining his neighbor's. No trees, only scraggly vegetation. Screened in on three sides by stupid hills and by an empty stretch of water in front, fancy chokes at its threshold and the spirit expires ere it stirs.

Is there no escape?

THE MESABA STRIKE

By GEORGE P. WEST

The following are extracts from a report on the strike of iron miners now in progress on the Mesaba range in northern Minnesota which has been submitted to the Committee on Industrial Relations by George P. West, author of the report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations on the Colorado strike. It is based on a field investigation.

The City of Duluth, the County of St. Louis, and the State of Minnesota, as represented by Governor Burnquist and other public officials, have joined hands in a relentless effort to crush out the strike of 15,000 iron miners now in progress on the Mesaba range, 70 miles north of Duluth.

With the support and good will of the United States Steel Corporation and affiliated interests as the stake, Governor Burnquist, Sheriff John R. Meining of Duluth, County Prosecutor Green and the Duluth Chief of Police are playing at ducks and drakes with the most sacred rights of the foreign workmen who mine the ore that goes down to the ships at Duluth for shipment to the Pittsburgh mills.

More than one thousand men, according to the sheriff's own statement, have been deputized and armed with carbines, revolvers, and riot sticks. Clothed by the sheriff with the state authority, they have been placed in brutal and tyrannical control of a district comprising at least 100 square miles and 75,000 population. The slums of Duluth and other cities have been combed to recruit this army of gun men, and Sheriff John R. Meining, like Jeff Farr of Colorado, admitted to the writer that he had deputized the company guards without investigation of their records or character. In fact, he specifically stated that some of the men employed by the companies in this capacity, and deputized by him, "might possibly be" men of the character suggested when the writer told Sheriff Meining that they looked like thugs.

The part played by Governor Burnquist, County Prosecutor Greene and Chief of Police McKercher of Duluth will appear later.

Business Duluth is doing its bit. Responding to the Steel Corporation's bidding,

its leading wholesalers have served formal notice on the merchants of the iron range towns that all credit will be curtailed pending the strike and weekly payments required. A copy of this notice is in my possession.

And while the miners of Minnesota and their families face want and suffering and endure the abuse and violence of a private army of gunmen, the United States Steel Corporation announces the largest earnings in the history of an American industrial corporation.

LIKE COLORADO.

It is a story of public authority prostituted to private interests that is hardly equalled by Colorado, the same story of an industrial absolutism riveted on the workers through the ownership of control by a great corporation of the natural resources on which the economic life of the community depends.

One bright chapter can be written into strike records of Minnesota officials. The principal towns on the iron range,—a narrow strip of the richest iron ore on the continent, running east and west on the high tree-covered plateau above Lake Superior,—are Hibbing, with 15,000 population; Virginia, with 15,000, and Chisholm with 9,000. And their mayors, with a majority of their councilmen, stand squarely for the rights of the miners. Mayor Victor Power of Hibbing, Mayor Michael Boylan of Virginia, Mayor E. E. Weber of Chisholm, and officials of several lesser municipalities have done all within their power as officials or as men to protest against the outrageous lawlessness and cruelty of the companies and of their servants in public office.

Today, at the urging of the same municipal authorities, Mediators Davies and Fairley

of the United States Department of Labor are on the range in an effort to break down the refusal of the companies to meet their men or even to consider their grievances. And the mayors of the range municipalities announce that if the Steel Corporation persists in its refusal to admit the possibility of grievances and in its blood and iron policy of crushing the strike with gun men, they will put the strikers to work on needed improvements for the cities where they live.

* * * *

Yet in what should have been the happiest, most prosperous communities in the world, the Steel Corporation has precipitated one of the most bitter, as it was one of the most spontaneous and unorganized, industrial revolts of recent history. It has done this by its policy of treating the men like serfs, denying them any voice, herding them with the aid of a permanent force of private police, and driving them at top speed by a vicious piece rate system of payment that leaves the door wide open for favoritism, injustice, and the extortion of bribes by the petty bosses who assign favorable or unfavorable working places.

The strike started without organization of any sort, and spread almost instantaneously through the iron range before any outside labor organization had participated. The men were unorganized and out of touch with the labor movement. An appeal reached the I. W. W. and organizers for that organization made a prompt response. It is not an I. W. W. strike in the sense that it was started by agents of that organization. No I. W. W. agent or organizer was on the range prior to the beginning of the strike. I. W. W. agents have offered to withdraw from the district if their elimination would lead to settlement, and the strikers have specifically agreed in writing in a communication to the companies that they would not ask for the recognition of any union. Yet the companies refused a conference.

Thousands of the best miners have left the iron range never to return. The vast majority of those remaining are resisting all urgings to return to work, and if funds can be procured there is a likelihood that grievances will be adjusted.

* * *

Laborers in the open-pit surface workings are now paid \$2.60 for a ten-hour day.

In the underground workings, where the majority of miners are employed, the miners work an eight-hour day and are paid on piece rate basis, designed to speed the men up. Rates per car of ore mined are changed every week, resulting in driving the men at top speed and placing them in competition with each other.

Miner after miner swears that pit bosses and foreman exact bribes for awarding favorable "ground" to the men, and that no miner can obtain a working place where \$3 or more can be earned unless he has first won the good will of the shift boss or foreman, by whatever means appeals to that individual. Inasmuch as petty common bribery is in plants where this system prevails, and employers often admit the necessity of fighting it, these complaints undoubtedly are based on widespread abuses.

* * *

There remains to be told the steps by which public authority in Minnesota prostituted itself to the Steel Corporation and the economic interests of the privileged class, and in doing so violated not only common justice and humanity, but every constitutional right of the miners in the premises.

Sheriff Meining's deputization of more than 1,000 gun men has already been told. To his credit, he informed the writer that "if I had it to do over again I would do differently," and agreed that the state's police power should not be put into the hands of guards employed by the companies, and of whom no investigation had previously been made.

Sheriff Meining acted largely at the direction of Governor Burnquist, at St. Paul, but not beyond the influences that dominate in Duluth. Burnquist sent a personal representative to investigate. The governor's agent, Gustavus Lindquist, spent a week on the iron range in the company of corporation officials. He did not go near the striking miners or the municipal authorities. So flagrant was his disregard of the miners' claims and interests that the authorities of the range cities met and adopted a resolution denouncing his course, which they forwarded to the governor. Acting on this man's report and in conformity with the wishes of the Steel Corporation, Governor Burnquist on June 30 sent the following telegram to Sheriff Meining:

"Arrest forthwith and take before magistrate, preferably at Duluth, all persons who

have participated and are participating in riots in your county and make complaints against them. Prevent further breaches of the peace, riots and unlawful assemblies. Use all your powers for the preservation of life and property."

It should be noted that the range towns are seventy miles from Duluth and that magistrates were available at all of them. Surely there is something in the Minnesota laws directing that men charged with crime be taken before the *nearest* magistrate. But Duluth, ambitious and hungry for eastern capital, is notoriously with the companies and against any interest opposing them.

In the light of that one phrase, "Preferably at Duluth" and of subsequent developments, the observer can almost see the hand reaching over Burnquist's shoulder and directing his pen. Commenting on the telegram, the *Mesaba Ore*, a newspaper of general circulation at Hibbing, said on July 22:

"The governor accepted without question the word of the mining companies that the law was being violated on the ranges by the striking miners, that riot and bloodshed was rampant and life and property were in danger of destruction from the mob, but the governor made no effort, it appears, to ascertain the truth or falsity of the statement made to him by the mining companies—he acted blindly.

"Had the governor made proper, or half proper, investigation he would have learned that nearly all of the law violation that followed the strike was that of the armed thugs employed by the mining companies, or inspired by them.

"In his order to the sheriff to unarm the strikers the governor was commanding a county official to violate his oath of office. By that order the sheriff was expected to approach a group of men anywhere and proceed to go through their pockets without formality—simply strong-arm them; he was ordered to enter without warrant the homes of the miners and search for fire arms, and if there was resistance to arrest the miners and slap them into jail, or beat them into insensibility with a billie. Deputy sheriffs employed by the mining company used these tactics as an excuse for 'getting' the men they wanted, and they were exceedingly busy along that line.

"Was there ever anything more likely to lrench the range with human blood than

this governor's order to the sheriff? It was just what the mining companies wanted to give their gunmen, their armed thugs, full authority to murder those opposed to the mining company—the authority of the State of Minnesota backing up the mining companies in the wanton killing of men who were only asking for an increase in wages, and the protection of the state for their thugs with the bloody hands."

THE GOVERNOR'S PART.

Following the receipt of this telegram, the company gun men became bolder. On July 3 a notorious character named Nick Dillon, a gun man in the employ of one of the companies, stormed into the home of a striker at Biwabik without knocking, armed with a revolver, and followed by three deputy sheriffs. According to a newspaper owned by the postmaster of Duluth, Dillon received his training as "bouncer" for a house of ill-fame. This invasion of a workman's home, the facts of which are admitted, was undertaken ostensibly to serve a warrant for the illegal sale of liquor. Surrounded by his wife, children and several miners who boarded with him, the miner hotly resented the intrusion of the company guard, and a fight ensued in which one deputy sheriff and a peddler friendly to the miners was killed, and a miner shot twice through the thigh. The miner and four of his friends were arrested, taken to Duluth, and jailed for first degree murder. A coroner's jury refused to return a verdict fixing responsibility.

Within a few hours of this outrage on the part of the company guard and the subsequent tragedy, seven organizers for the I. W. W., stationed at distant points on the range, were arrested without warrants, refused a hearing, placed on a special train, taken to Duluth seventy miles distant, and lodged in the county jail charged with murder in the first degree.

Under a peculiar Minnesota statute these organizers are charged as principals in the murder of the deputy sheriff on the ground that speeches made by them induced the killing. The writer talked to a witness for the state who had heard the organizers advise the strikers to refrain from violence, and keep their hands in their pockets, but to retaliate if the life of one of the strikers was taken by a guard. This and the fact that the miners carried union cards apparently

is the principal, and in fact, the only evidence against the organizers. Yet Sheriff Meining admitted to the writer that if gun men in the employ of a private corporation were to enter his home without knocking and threaten the safety and lives of himself and family he would feel justified in defending himself.

These arrests are only the worst of many violent acts committed by sheriff's deputies and company gun men. Strikers have been arrested by the hundred and thrown into jail on trumped up charges. Picketing was absolutely suppressed, and Finnish Socialists were thrown out of their own halls and refused the right of lawful assembly. A steel corporation gunman named King, employed by the Duluth, Misabe & Northern Railroad, a steel trust subsidiary, became so offensive and shameless in his efforts to start trouble at Hibbing that he was ordered out of the district by Sheriff Meining himself.

The story is not yet half told of the lengths to which the companies went in beating up, shooting, jailing and terrorizing their workmen, of how they cloaked their acts by appealing to popular prejudice against the I. W. W. and ascribing the strike to I. W. W. organizers, who had nothing to do with its inception; of how the Duluth newspapers, subservient to the company interest, exhorted the authorities to disregard every legal constitutional right of these organizers, and how the authorities responded. It is a story of tyrannical abuse, cruelty and persecution involving a hundred cases and a thousand details. And all to defeat any movement looking toward industrial democracy, living wages, a square deal for the men who mine the raw material for the country's prosperous and powerful corporation.

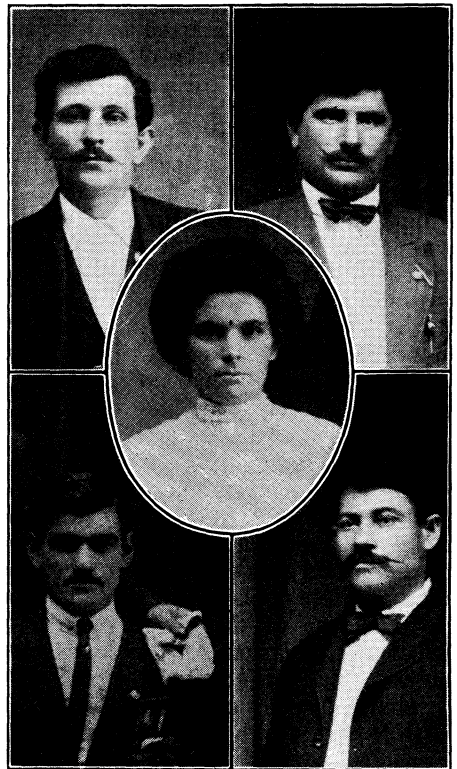
The strikers have done and are doing their part in this battle for freedom, for the things America is supposed to stand for.

INVADING MINERS' HOMES

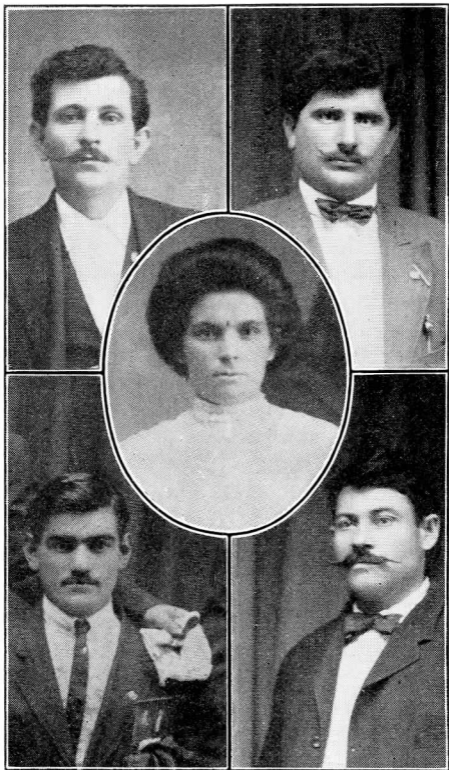
By OTTO CHRISTENSEN

ON the afternoon of July 3rd mine guard Nick Dillon, in company with three guards, invaded the home of Phillip Mesomovich. Now Dillon, who led the guards, has served as a mine guard for several years both in Minnesota and Colorado. He has also served as a strong arm man identified with the assignation house in the neighborhood of Virginia, Minnesota. The notorious Dillon is known to most of the people on the range, and he was the only mine guard of the four that was known to any of the Mesomovich family.

When the guards entered the house Mrs. Mesomovich offered them chairs to sit down, but Nick Dillon replied that they had not come to sit down, but came to take Phillip Mesomovich and Joe Hercigonovich



Top, left to right—Filip Masenovich, Gavoiolo Orlandich.
Center—Militza Masenovich.
Bottom, left to right—Joko Nikac, Jovo Hercigonovich.



Top, left to right—Filip Masenovich, Gavoiilo Orlandich.
Center—Militza Masenovich.
Bottom, left to right—Joko Nikac, Jovo Hercigonovich.

to jail. Mrs. Mesomovich replied to Dillon, "You fellows will not take my husband to jail before Old Man O'Hara comes from Biwabik." O'Hara was the village marshal of Biwabik and the Mesomovich family lived at the Chicago location, which is within the village limits of Biwabik. Mrs. Mesomovich's husband was asleep at the time, but came out of the bedroom shortly after the guards had entered the home. Mesomovich asked for his shoes and Mrs. Mesomovich started toward the bedroom when Dillon assaulted her. Mrs. Mesomovich told her story as follows:

"Dillon was standing near door to bedroom and I went to bedroom to get Phillip's shoes and Nick he says, 'Ope,' and I says, 'What ope means. I am going to get shoes for my husband.' Then Nick Dillon he got hold of me and threw me into the bedroom onto my baby. If the boy had not happened to be there I would have killed the baby. I spit blood for three days after that. I told Nick to get out of the house and I chased him out. I went outside after Nick and one of those fellows with him hit me over the head with club. Then all the fellows in the house started to hit Phillip and the boarders with the clubs. Nick he started to shoot from the yard."

One of the guards by the name of Schubisky, when testifying before Judge Smallwood, admitted that he fired several shots and that he fired them in the house, but no bullets or bullet holes were to be found in the house. Mine Guard Myron, who was killed, was standing in the doorway beating Orlandich, one of the boarders, and the three wild shots fired by Mine Guard Schubisky took effect in the back of Myron. The strikers had no revolvers and fired no shots. All the shooting was done by the mine guards.

The four Montenegrin strikers, Phillip Mesomovich, Joe Hercigonovich, John Orlandich and Joe Nikich, are now in the Duluth jail charged with the responsibility of Mine Guard Myron's death. Following the arrests of these strikers, the organizers and men in charge of the strike, who at the time of the invasion of the Mesomovich home were many miles away, were arrested and charged with the murder of Mine Guard Myron on the theory that by their

speeches they indirectly had encouraged and induced the affray that resulted in Myron's death.

The basis for holding Tresca, Scarlett, Schmidt, Ahlgren and Wassaman is that they told the men in their speeches what their legal rights were in defense of their home. The crime of the strike leaders was to tell the men to put their hands in their pockets and keep them there and not to take them out until the strike was won, save in case of being attacked, assaulted or maltreated, and then only to use them in defense of their person, family and home. This advice that is attributed to have been given to the strikers forms the prosecutor's inference that a conspiracy existed to resist mine guards and that this advice was the important influence that induced the Montenegrin strikers to resist Nick Dillon's detachment of mine guards.

Placing the strike leaders on trial for murder was simply an effort to eliminate their influence and activities in the strike. It is a repetition of the old story of all the great industrial conflicts in this country, namely, the prostitution of public authorities to the whims, caprices and desires of "big business." The men on trial are all in grave danger of having the severest penalty of the law imposed, regardless of the complete bankruptcy of the prosecutor's case, whose only chance lies in getting a jury subservient to those in control of the industries. The demand of the steel trust is "Railroad the strike leaders."

The effort to cripple the strike by arresting the leaders has failed in its immediate effect among the men only to solidify the ranks and make them more determined than even to win the strike.

When the preliminary hearing of the strike leaders commenced before Judge Smallwood on July 21st, 1916, the striking miners gave testimonial to the confidence that they had in their leaders and expressed the sentiment and spirit of the men on strike. The striking miners crowded the court room, corridors and halls of the municipal court at Duluth, and when the men under arrest, led by Carlo Tresca entered the court room, the men started a demonstration which lasted until the army of court bailiffs cleared the court room.

Socialism and Patriotism in Germany

By CARL WITTMAN

(EDITORIAL NOTE.—Carl Wittman was in Dresden from October, 1913, to April, 1916. From the beginning of the war he assisted in organizing the opposition. He was in intimate personal contact with Liebknecht, Rühle, and other leaders of the minority group. With regard to German party affairs he writes with authority.)

I.

The Majority Group.

THE Social Democratic Party of Germany is divided into three groups. The so-called majority is in control of all excepting a few of the party papers. Most of the active politicians and labor leaders belong to this group. These are the ones who signed a treaty of peace with German capitalists on August 4, 1914, and joined in declaring war on foreign nations. They openly proclaim that in wartime the interests of the working class are identical with those of the capitalist class. Since the beginning of the war there has been no difference between their organization and the various bourgeois parties. The German government is for them the innocent and outraged party, acting solely in self-defense. They are asking German working people to hold out, to hunger and suffer for the sake of victory.

After the war, to be sure, they will fight for the people again and force the government to give them—a better suffrage law! In the meantime, the relations between them and the government is a very close one.

One day between August 1 and 4, 1914, when the whole world was asking "What will the German Socialists do?" there occurred a significant incident. The Socialist members of the Reichstag were holding a conference. Comrade Haase took the floor and offered to give proof that some Socialist was giving reports of their proceedings to the government. He presented a resolution that the matter be investigated. Instantly Carl Legien was on his feet with a motion that Haase's resolution be tabled. The resolution was tabled and thus debate was shut off. Recently an imperial min-

ister said to Haase that he finds it much easier to come to an agreement with Scheidemann than with a committee of two or more Socialists.

Bernstein was once called in by a member of the government and asked to write a series of articles with a certain tendency. Honest old Bernstein refused. But shortly afterward just such a series made the rounds of the press—signed by Scheidemann!

When Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and dozens of other comrades were the guests of the army-in-jail, Scheidemann, Eckert and other members of the Executive Committee were entertained by General von Bissing, the military governor of Belgium. This is the very von Bissing who wrote a book on *How to Keep the Socialists in Check*. A little later these "Socialists" voted to reduce the rations of the German people. Shortly afterward they were met in battle array by sundry German women armed with such primitive weapons as handbags and umbrellas. Despite their intimate association with a famous general they were ignominiously beaten.

Mrs. Dunker, an active Socialist organizer among the women, led an anti-war demonstration before the Reichstag building. She was denounced by "Comrade" Heine. On the floor of the Reichstag this same Heine called Karl Liebknecht, at various times, a traitor, a maniac, a crank, and a comedian.

At the time when the minority cut themselves loose and formed the group known as "the eighteen," the majority gave proof of fidelity to the government. Haase had evidence that peace overtures had been made to Germany in March, 1915. He had started an address in which he intended to present this evidence. The Socialist majority turned on him with howls and threats. Haase was

forced to stop and then he was denied the privilege of continuing.

Haenisch, another leader of the majority, wrote in a conservative paper that he stands nearer to the most conservative than to Liebknecht and his kind. It was, he said, the happiest day of his life when he could sing, with overflowing heart, *Deutschland, Deutschland Uber Alles*.

II.

The Kautsky-Haase Group.

A greater danger to the International is the Kautsky-Haase group. Opportunists first and last, they live on compromise and make their way by keeping their ear to the ground. In Germany they are known as the "Sumpf," which means the swamp. Kautsky is their spiritual leader. Long after the war had started Kautsky proclaimed that the International is an instrument to be used only in time of peace. Having labored long to build up the party, his one thought was to keep it intact. When this old world was bursting, and everything undergoing a change, he thought his party alone could remain unchanged.

It was not for the purpose of taking up the fight against imperialism that Kautsky supported "the eighteen." It was rather to prevent the radical wing from gaining control of the masses. With three or four exceptions the eighteen members of the Reichstag affirm the duty of national defense—as do the majority. They hold merely that the conditions which make it a duty do not exist at present. This appears clearly from the statement which they submitted when they refused to support the war budget. They said, in effect, that since Germany is not threatened, since German armies stand in the enemies' territory, it is the duty of the government to open peace negotiations. Liebknecht and Rühle signed this declaration, because they wanted to encourage the others to take a first step in opposition to the government. They took occasion, however, to point out the inconsistency of considering any country safe as long as capitalist armies exist and the foolishness of this position became evident the moment the French Socialists took it under consideration. According to the principle involved the French Socialists are bound

to support their government until French armies are on German soil. If this principle were accepted by the International there would have to be a change of policy with every shift of the fortunes of war. Kautsky and his group have not yet learned that all war taxes are bad taxes.

There is a good deal of dissatisfaction among members of the majority group. Many of them would rather follow Haase than Scheidemann. And it is quite possible that a combination will be formed in the near future. Then the great, harmonious Social Democratic Party of Germany, with its millions of followers, will again be the model of other national organizations. Conventions will be held, Ledebour will make speeches, resolutions will be passed, Kautsky will write more than ever, and the rank and file will pay dues. This is the program of the Kautsky-Haase group, the "Sumpf."

III.

The Militant Minority

We do not find members of this group on the benches of the Reichstag nor in well paid positions in labor unions or co-operative societies. They are behind the bars of jails up and down the country. The prosecuting attorney of his Majesty the Kaiser is their recording-secretary. He keeps the roll of membership free of charge. In the Reichstag they are represented by Rühle and Liebknecht—or were until Liebknecht was imprisoned. Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg have served their terms, Franz Mehring and Dr. Meier have had close calls. These are the best known members of the group.

These militants have very few papers, but they print and distribute millions of leaflets against the war. Some of these reach the front. Posters bearing the words, "We are hungry; we want peace!" are put up in public places. Many have been imprisoned for carrying on such work. These comrades, even tho they have paid dues for years, have not received the customary legal assistance from the party.

For this, as well as for more important reasons, there must be a split in the party. What could be more ridiculous than to condemn the majority and at the same time to support an organization

which they are using in the interests of war and patriotism? It is high time to dissolve partnership with those who have denied all the fundamental principles of Socialism. We have paid long enough for things which we do not want.

We must build up a new party. The essential thing is quality, not quantity. We need the right spirit rather than great numbers. The little Socialist party of Servia gave a better account of itself than the great Social Democracy of Germany. The Italian party had just got rid of its reformists and in the face of the war it has stood up for Socialism and internationalism better than any other party in any warring nation.

With the Italians and Servians, with the Socialist parties of the United States and other neutral countries, with all the sections of England, France and Russia, and with the German minority we must found a new international. Kautsky and his followers do not see the necessity for such an organization. But surely those who believe that one's first duty is to the nation, and that the International is to be used only in time of peace, cannot take part in the formation of an effectual organization of the international working-class. It is the militant minority—the Liebknecht group—that will make it possible to have a German section in the new International.

MASS ACTION THE ANSWER

Imperialism, War and Socialism

By HERMAN GORTER

[*Editorial Note.*—This article is made up of short passages from a pamphlet in which the war and imperialism are discussed from the viewpoint of the Left Wing European Socialists. The translator has attempted merely to give the author's main point, that our nationalistic Socialism is behind the times.]

The Cause of Failure.

Because they have been bent on reforms, the Socialist leaders, the working people themselves, the whole working class movement have become nationalistic, imperialistic, chauvinistic.

The reformists, in conjunction with the ignorance of the workers, are responsible for what has happened. They have had their eye on reforms, and reforms are to be achieved within the framework of the separate nations. So the attention of the workers was not directed toward the development of imperialism. Therefore when the great day came when the workers of the world might have faced world capitalism the workers were not prepared.

* * * * *

The Lesson

One great blessing imperialism may bring to us. It may teach us that at last the time has come when the masses must act for themselves.

During the earlier part of the labor movement small groups could act thru

leaders. Against trusts and banks, against imperialist governments small groups are powerless. A deputy, a committee, cannot fight a great syndicate. The action of committees and groups must be backed up by the masses themselves. There is no other way open to the proletariat.

The Socialist movement is entering its third period. The radical was the first. The reformist was the second. Now comes the third. This last one will serve to unite the masses, to form them into a body capable of facing bank capital, the trust, the imperialist governments.

* * * * *

The Future

The future will be one of ceaseless international struggles, of war upon war.

Capitalism is developing and spreading itself over the world thru the power of nations.

Internationalized capital is as yet weak in comparison with that which is national in character. National capitalist interests are paramount, and these interests are mutually opposed. The only means of adjustment among them is war, so we shall have war.

There will be peace movements—just as there has been a religion of love dur-

ing the long period of individualistic struggle and selfishness. But a sentiment in favor of peace will be merely the reverse side of a warlike civilization.

In fact, war is uneconomical from the capitalist point of view. The peace advocates may be the worst enemies of labor and the best friends of capital. But they will not succeed. Capitalism has its own laws, and one of these is the law of struggle.

The New International.

The war will be followed by a period of misery for the European working-class. There may be some few little reforms granted to keep the people quiet. But these will be merely temporary.

In the face of this situation new tactics are necessary.

A time of mass-action, perhaps of revolution, is approaching.

But national revolutionary activities will be only incidental. In the midst of misery and death there will arise a new militarism, a new preparedness and, eventually, another war. For this all capitalist, imperialist nations will begin to prepare as soon as the present war is over.

If the workers do not wish to become a race of slaves they must prepare to face the situation with *international mass action*.

Translated by William E. Bohn.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND THE WAR

By Palmer Hoke Wright

TWO years ago, when their Imperial Majesties, the kings of Europe, decided to bathe the highways and byways in human blood, they unconsciously gave the American Negro what might, for want of a better term, be called a "chance."

Previous to the beginning of the war from seven to eight hundred thousand people deserted their European fatherlands to emigrate to the United States. When the war began, emigration was shut off. The toilers of Europe had to stay home to kill each other. Thousands returned to their fatherlands. This situation left the industrial north, the home of big business in the United States, without its customary source of labor supply. The only remaining hope was the Negro of the south.

Two years ago there were approximately 1,000,000 Negroes north of Mason and Dixon's line, while those in the southern states numbered close to 9,000,000. Just how many colored people have left the south, lured by the glowing tales of big salaries and ideal working conditions in the north, is difficult to estimate. The best available authorities predict that by the end of 1917 the number of Negroes in the north will be doubled.

In the north the Negro has had at least some semblance of civil and political liberty. The race prejudice, of course, exists, and the competition of immigrant and native white labor has shut him out of the more desirable lines of work. But so long as the colored race has remained an insignificant minority, the Negro has fitted into the general scheme of things, and has been permitted to gain a livelihood as servant, waiter, porter, etc.

In the south, on the other hand, the Negro as a political or civil factor simply does not exist. He is denied the right to vote and in case of trouble with a white man the Negro is certain to be get the worst of it. But as a laboring class the colored race has the field almost entirely to itself. The Negro has no white competition, for there has been practically no white immigration to the south. Wages, even for skilled Negro tradesmen, are low, while those laboring on the farms and plantations of the south are the poorest paid class in the United States.

It is only natural that the prospect of higher wages and improved conditions in the north should draw Negroes by the hundreds of thousands. The migration is on, and there is every reason to believe that it

will continue. The Negro will move northward in ever-increasing numbers.

Some of the results of this hegra are already evident. The lines have been drawn more tightly and several northern cities have passed ordinances segregating the Negro and compelling him to live in the less desirable localities.

The unorganized Negro, used to work-

ing for small wages, will accept less than the white man for the same work, and that spells trouble. This tends to increase racial opposition and prejudice and disturbance will be the natural outcome.

Thus the Negro, fifty years after emancipation, is today innocently introducing a new and important element in the struggle between capital and labor.

HELP ELECT DEBS

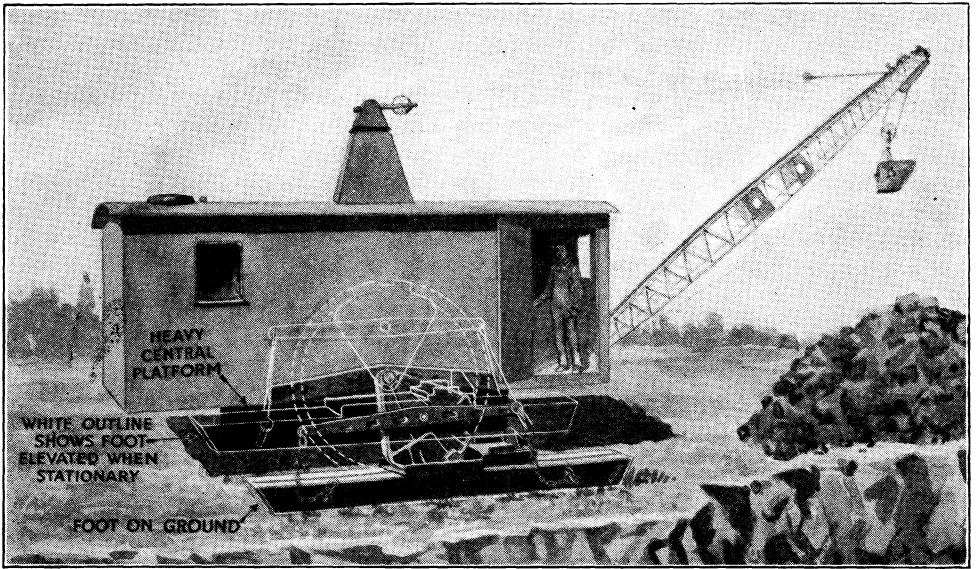
By Noble C. Wilson, Campaign Manager

THE campaign in the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana is developing as rapidly as can be expected.

We have been devoting all of our time to the farmers of this district. We have invaded sections that have never before heard a Socialist speech or read Socialist literature. Six large counties compose this district. We are doing well in organizing these counties and the farmers are very enthusiastic over Comrade Debs. Of course, all of this work requires much finance. It is all dead expense, for in these parts of the district the work of organization has been sadly neglected. We cannot expect unorganized sections of this district to pay for the meetings that it is necessary to hold there. The farmers have been misunderstood. They can be reached just as well, if not better, than the industrial worker. They are more independent than the victims of the mills and sweatshops. They do not fear a master so much.

It takes money to conduct a campaign of this nature. It is unlike a congressional district that is inside of a city. Traveling expenses are greater. It takes longer to move from place to place. It takes more time and money and much harder work to distribute literature. We have so many different kinds of literature. Shop talks and literature that would do for industrial centers would not appeal to the farmers. We must by all means capture the farmer vote of this district if we expect to win this fight. It is for this work in the unorganized sections of the district that we have appealed to the comrades of the nation to help us financially.

Many Socialist papers are raising funds to send their paper into this district. We certainly can have no objection to this, as it is possible for them to do much good in this campaign, but as a matter of fact about the only way we can get any publicity is thru the Socialist press, and if the Socialist press takes advantage of this opportunity to appeal for funds to send its papers into this district, *without sending in an equal amount of ready cash to conduct such a campaign*, such propaganda would not have the desired effect. We need money to wage this fight against the old political parties, for they are going to draw very heavily from their coffers to defeat 'Gene, and it will be nothing less than criminal for us not to meet them at every step. It is for these reasons that we have asked the comrades of the nation to help us fight this battle. We feel that it will either mean national defeat or victory if 'Gene is defeated or elected. This is a national fight. 'Gene will be as much the representative of the working class of this nation as he will of the Fifth District of Indiana. Many comrades and locals have responded liberally to our call for help in this titanic struggle, but we have not realized enough results from our call for funds to accomplish what we should do. We hope that we will receive the undivided support and co-operation, both financially and morally, of every comrade and local in this country until the seventh day of next November, and if we get the support that we hope for, Comrade Eugene V. Debs will be the next representative in Congress of the proletariat of this country.



A WALKING EXCAVATOR

A BIG excavating machine, which literally walks to its job, is being used by the Government on one of the great irrigation projects of the Southwest, and the advantages of this pedestrian accomplishment are set forth in an article contributed to *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, July). Says this magazine:

"Most of the machines of this character are built to roll over the ground on wheels, but its movements are necessarily limited, for it dare go only where the ground has been carefully prepared for it. Unless the path is most favorable, planks must be carried ahead and laid for it to move over. Otherwise the wheels would tear up the road, and such a thing as making a short cut across the country would be out of the question, for it would soon be hopelessly stalled and its extrication only made possible by removing it piecemeal. In fact, this is the way in which these machines are generally transported from one job or another. They are taken apart and transported in convenient parts and reassembled at the new point in the field of operations.

"This perambulating excavator will 'walk' along the road without any regard to the character of its structure and not leave a footprint behind; and furthermore,

if the road does not happen to be the shortest route, the machine will walk across country over soft ground which will barely hold a man. If a house, tree, or hill happens to be in the way this machine will walk around it, covering the ground at the rate of twenty-five or thirty feet a minute, a very respectable speed for such a lumbering sprinter.

"When the digger is at its regular work of excavating it rests on a heavy central platform, on which it is revolved, so that activities of the bucket may be accurately controlled. When it is desired to have the machine move, the engine is connected with the driving-shaft extending across the width of the excavator. On each end of this, outside of the house of the operator, are mounted two large cams. Directly under each of these there is suspended a foot. As the shaft revolves, these feet are lifted by the chains which are suspended from a carrying-beam attached to the cams and drawn forward and dropt on the ground, whereupon the cam comes in contact with them and its toothed surface engages with similar depressions on the foot. The whole machine is raised and moved forward and gently placed on the ground again, the motion suggesting nothing more than a deliberate walk. It is said that this additional apparatus rep-

resents no more weight than the skids, planks, and other paraphernalia made use of in the movement of other excavating machines when shifting location.

"In this manner the machine will follow a straight line. When it is necessary to change its course * * * the walking apparatus is stopt when the combined weight is resting on the revolving platform under the center of the machine. By making use of the latter the machine is

headed in the desired direction, after which it will proceed along its new course as long as desired. When engaged in trench work, which is of a progressive character, the machine 'walks' along as the work on the trench is completed. This is a great advantage in the reclamation service, in which these machines are employed by the Government instead of mule teams, which have been eliminated by machinery."

CORMORANTS

A Chinese Impression, by Eunice Tietjens

A BUNCH of "wobblies" read this one night in a place called the Dill Pickle, on the North Side of Chicago. They decided that all scabs, strikebreakers, detect-

ives, spies and spotters are human cormorants, who "grow lousy like their lords." Read the poem and tell us what you think:

The boats of your masters are black,
They are filthy with the slimy filth of ages; like the canals on which they
float they give forth an evil smell.

On soiled perches you sit, swung out on either side over the scummy water—
you who should be savage and untamed, who should ride on the clean
breath of the sea and beat your pinions in the strong storms of the sea.
Yet you are not held.

Tamely you sit and willingly, ten wretches to a boat, lurching and half asleep.
Around each throat is a ring of straw, a small ring, so that you may swallow
only small things, such as your masters desire.

Presently, when you reach the lake, you will dive.

At the word of your masters the parted waters will close over you and in
your ears will be the gurgling of yellow streams.

Hungrily you will search in the darkened void, swiftly you will pounce on
the silver shadow.

Then you will rise again, bearing in your beak the struggling prey,
And your lousy lords, whose rings are upon your throats, will take from
you the catch, giving in its place a puny wriggler which can pass the
gates of straw.

Such is your servitude.

Yet willing you sit, lurching and half asleep.

The boatmen shout one to the other in nasal discords. Lazily you preen your
great wings, eagle wings, built for the sky;

And you yawn.

Faugh! The sight of you sickens me, divers in inland filth!

You grow lousy like your lords,

For you have forgotten the sea.

George Andreytchine



CAN the Steel Corporation use the machinery of the United States Department of Labor to crucify, by deportation, a heroic young native of Bulgaria whose only crime has been to use his brains and courage on the side of the iron miners now on strike in Minnesota?

If George Andreytchine, disciple of Tolstoy, Thoreau and William Lloyd Garrison, is deported to Bulgaria, he will be shot for refusing to enter the army and fight for nationalist ideas which he long ago repudiated when a student in Sofia and Germany.

Within two weeks Andreytchine's case will be settled. At the end of that time he will be deported to Bulgaria and almost certain execution, or forced to leave for South America, or turned back to the sheriff of Itasca county in Minnesota to stand trial for inciting to riot. Andreytchine is anxious to go back and fight the case trumped up against him on the testimony of the sheriff and the local head of the Steel Corporation's police.

The Corporation chief of police testified that he never saw Andreytchine commit any act of violence, but that on the other hand he had prevented a clash between the strikers and company representatives, and that in public meetings he had advised the strikers to avoid going about in crowds and to keep away from the company gunmen. Andreytchine admits that he told the strikers, at public meetings, to strike back if the company guards insisted on attacking them without provocation.

Until the strike began this summer, Andreytchine, 22 years old, highly educated,

and an office employe of the Steel Corporation at Hibbing, was a favorite of the company officials and their families because of his "interesting" views on the rights of labor and the sinfulness of force and violence. But when he joined the strikers and addressed their meetings, he became at once a dangerous alien. He was beaten up by a company chief of police, arrested by Sheriff Gunderson of Itasca county, and held in jail for inciting to riot. Then the U. S. immigration inspector at Duluth, Brown McDonald, was appealed to, and McDonald set to work to make a record that would procure the young man's deportation.

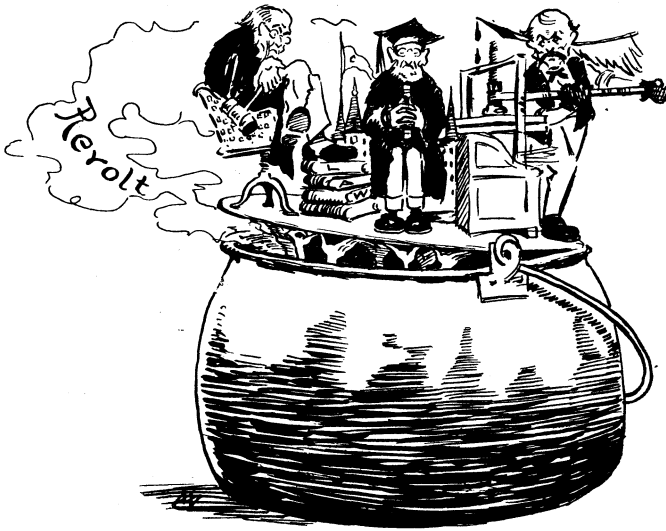
In a flippant report to Washington, McDonald urged deportation on the ground that Andreytchine, "like old Man Tray, is in bad company for a pacifist. He is a dangerous man because he is smart, has acquired a knowledge of English within less than three years that is remarkable, and a vocabulary that many native borns do not possess." "Also," adds McDonald, "he is sincere."

Andreytchine has been in this country for two and one-half years. In another six months he would not be subject to deportation.

Frank P. Walsh, Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, and many others have protested against the effort of the Steel Corporation to drive Andreytchine from the country. It is up to the labor movement and all other lovers of liberty in America to join in the protest against this attempt of the Steel Corporation to punish any man daring to revolt.

George Andreytchine





ON THE LID

By SEYMOUR DEMING

IT must occur to any one that to suppose a standing army of 40,000 men able to enforce a class domination over 100,000,000 people is preposterous. It would be—except that military force is not the only instrument of class domination, nor even the most important one—not even in countries where one man out of every two of military age is a soldier. For, after all, soldiers are human beings, and before becoming trustworthy soldiers they must be taught to forget that they are human beings.

The teachers are quite as necessary as the soldiers. There are, therefore, other instruments to enforce class domination which are more subtle and correspondingly more effective than armed men. These instruments have been designated by Achille Loria, the Italian economist, in terms as clean-cut as cameo:

“Capitalist property presupposes the exclusion of the toiling masses from the possession of the soil, and must, therefore, be established by violence. It is accordingly maintained by virtue of two distinct processes. Economic means are requisite, in the first place, in order to enforce the continued suppression of the free land. . . . But,

in order to support itself, capitalistic property must furthermore have recourse to a series of what we may call *connective institutions*, whose special function it is to guarantee property against all reaction on the part of those excluded from the possession of the soil.

“The most important of these so-called connective institutions are: *morality, law and politics*. These great social phenomena may, accordingly, be regarded as organic products of capitalistic property—or property, at least metamorphoses, and adapts them to suit its own ends.”

Let a structure of society be as cruel, as wasteful of materials, as careless of life as it may, yet plenty of estimable and quite sincere people can be found to defend it. They will be people of refined tastes, cultivated minds, delightful personal characters, and often of distinguished talents. They will defend and justify the most outrageous measures of a governing class with the utmost vigor of conviction, the utmost resource of learning, and the utmost depths of religious fervor, without once reflecting that, at the bottom of their brisk assumptions that the existing order is the best, lies the im-

portant fact that the existing order happens to be the best for themselves.

Thus have the intellectual classes defended the Roman Empire, the authority of the Pope, the Stuart dynasty, the French aristocracy, the colonial policy of George III., Negro slavery in the South, and modern capitalism. That they should do so is not strange. The novelty is when one of them achieves the intellectual independence not to do so. For the rest, like the caterpillars of society that they are, while the leaf supports and feeds them, they quite caterpillaristically suppose themselves to be supporting and feeding the leaf (the working class).

Let the most iniquitous social structure equip them with axminster carpets, six-cylinder cars, outward dignities, the appearance of power, and a life of physical ease, at the same time concealing or softening its outrages under a haze of distance, and such pensioners naturally enough conclude that such a system, while not, perhaps, ideal, is none the less, on the whole, the best we can do for the present; that its ills, while deplorable, are unavoidable; and that efforts to mend them, while doubtless inspired by only the most generous impulses, are lamentably ill-timed and far more likely to intensify the very evils they are intended to relieve.

It is, therefore, our duty, you understand, as pillars of society, to persuade those less contented with their lot that their miseries were ordained for their spiritual discipline by a benevolent deity, and to represent their submission as morality, law, order, good citizenship and godliness: and, if that submission is withheld, to menace them with the rigors of organized violence in this world and an eternity of torment in the next.

Conveniently for this program it happens that, for the ignorant, ghostly terrors far outweigh the fear of physical punishment. What, indeed, is their whole life but a species of physical punishment? Hence this invisible authority becomes, in the end, far more potent than the physical compulsion by which it is designed, if necessary, to be enforced. That is, the business of the intellectual classes is to sit on the lid.

* * *

"In every great crisis of history," remarked an old, wise man, "the sophisticated, the educated people are usually in the wrong." Why they are in the wrong by the

earthly fact of their unrighteous bread-and-butter dependency on a usurpation of land and tools has amply appeared. How utterly, how explicitly, how fantastically wrong they are will more amply appear by applying this interpretation directly to the events of 1915 in the United States of America. For without ever once being consciously subservient to the dictates of class interest, without ever once being even insincere, it is easy to understand how the majority of educated and influential people were foredoomed to respond to a set of influences bound to vitiate their opinions and, through them, the thought and action of the multitudes whom they conceive it to be their divinely appointed mission to instruct.

Directly the war broke out, we all exclaimed: "This is what comes of armament. Europe is paying the penalty of its militarism." A few jingo voices were instantly raised to demand armament on this continent, but they were pretty sternly repressed in the general chorus of thanking our stars that we had so few guns and soldiers. Our plain common sense had read us too clearly the lesson of that spontaneous combustion of militarism to make us care to repeat the experiment on our own soil.

Then, gradually, it began to filter through the minds of our business and professional people that if they hoped to compete successfully with the armed commercialism of Europe, they, too, must arm. Most significantly, this took the form of a demand for armaments for *defense*. Defense it is, in a double sense: defense of class domination at home, and of class prestige abroad.

But the word militarism had a terrific black eye. So we set to work to invent a new term. That word is the hybrid, "preparedness." The supposed distinction is that "preparation" would be for war, but that "preparedness" is against war. The growth of this mis-begotten word is a study in mob psychology. Making its appearance in small type in November, 1914, it had reached the headlines in three months; in three months more it was doing duty in commercial advertising; and before the year was up, it was a popular by-word. The difference between militarism and "preparedness," we told ourselves, was the difference between offense and defense—serenely oblivious of that having been what every nation in Europe had been telling itself for the past three decades.

Even then the word "preparedness" was a difficult gulp for discriminating appetites until an event which, startling as it was as a catastrophe, was even more startling in its revelations of how and why opinion is formed in a commercial oligarchy which wears the garb of political democracy.

The *Lusitania* was torpedoed. To radicals with the cool intelligence to keep their heads when all about them were losing theirs, the significant part about the outburst of rage which followed was that the people honestly convinced that they were angry over the loss of human life were, if they had stopped to think, really angry at the impudence of a foreign ruling class; that is, at an affront to our national prestige; which is, again, an affront to the prestige of our ruling class; which is, finally, the prestige of the commercial interests which are the controlling force in our government.

It is not the unjust that shocks us. It is the unusual. American lives had been destroyed, a-plenty, at Lawrence, in West Virginia, at Calumet, at Ludlow, at the hands of our own citizens, and only a feeble radical protest could voice itself in a press which is obliged to be commercially subservient in order to live.

* * *

The Soldier's First Duty.

Now discontented as the employes of commercialism may be with their wage-shares of the profits they create, there is an excellent reason why this discontent is difficult for them to enforce. To begin with, the transaction by which they have been induced to forsake the independence of plow and hoe for the dependency of forge and loom has, by this time, become so intricate that to the average mind the very source of its discontent has become all but impossible to trace. Instinctively, then, it bursts into open rebellion—the refusal to work. To this, commercialism, secure in its monopoly

of the land, now replies coolly: "Very well. Go elsewhere. There are thousands eager to take your places." Having nowhere else to go, and certain to be beaten in a starving contest, the machine-tenders resort to force to prevent others from taking their vacated places. "Scab!" Riot! "Property must be protected!" cries commercialism. "Law and order must be maintained!" cry the white-collared \$1,500-a-year people. And the state steps in to requite disorganized violence with organized violence. Even persuasion is brought under the ban of the law. The boycott is pronounced illegal. The bench declares that "there is no such thing as 'peaceful' picketing." And if it comes to shooting, commercialism is at the state end of the gun.

Under a despotism the army is large and all-powerful—the instrument of organized violence is the main instrument of government. As government approaches complete democracy, the army grows ever smaller and tends, as in the United States, almost to disappear. That it has not completely disappeared in a land bounded on two sides by salt water and on two other sides by unfortified frontiers is eloquent confirmation of the foregoing evidence: that *the army is primarily the instrument to enforce the power of a governing class, and only secondarily is the army an instrument of defense against a foreign enemy*, and even then it is needful mainly, if not solely, because of the foreign rivalries of the ruling class which pretends (or even honestly supposes) that the military instrument is necessary for protection against foreign invasion. The army exists primarily for the protection of a class and its class interests. Only secondarily, if at all, does it exist for the protection of a nation. "A soldier's first duty is to obey"—a ruling class.—From *Doomsday to Kingdom Come*, by Seymour Deming, published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. Price, 50 cents.

Can the Railroad Unions Win?

By Fullstroke

THE railroad exploiters are up against the biggest problem they have yet encountered in the history of railroading. This problem consists of how to preserve private ownership and pri-

vate management in the face of a general tie-up, or strike. The only solution from their point of view is in some way to prevent the action of the railroad workers from taking militant methods. How to keep the

worker on-the-job is the great question now troubling the brain of railroad owners and the cohorts of public officials, from the President of the United States down to town pound-keeper.

The railroads have become the very arteries of modern society, thru which circulate, and must circulate in unbroken streams, the food supply of the nation. With these arteries stopped, even for a short time, society will give all the evidences of acute suffering that come to the individual with impeded blood circulation. Legislatures and courts may adjourn for the season, while churches and theaters close for the summer. But the railroads must run with neither holiday nor Sabbath, if society is to be fed. To stop them for a day would bring suffering; to stop them for a week would bring a revolution. Should the 400,000 train service workers stop the wheels for forty-eight hours, private ownership and control of railroads would disappear among the cobwebs of forgotten things.

To be able to hold and own privately owned such a social necessity is the greatest cinch ever worked in the history of mankind. Railroad salaries equal to the yearly income of from one to ten million dollars fall into the laps of high officials, for performing the very pleasant duties of riding in a private car to Palm Beach in the winter and to the mountain and seaside resorts of the North and East in summer.

Freight of undesirable independents is delayed in transit, while trust controlled products are hurried to market, a banner way of ridding trusts from competition. Local shipments are delayed when sent by freight to compel the local trader to patronize express companies. Even tho the charges for service are not limited by the sky, if local traders want their goods, shipments must be made by express. Pockets of every one that has a dollar are picked by juggling stocks. All these privileges go with the private ownership of our great transportation systems. It is not, therefore, with tranquil minds that the owners view rebellious workers.

The hours of labor upon all roads have been a scandal since the first great rush of

modern business in the early eighties. Long were they continued without legal limit. When at last legislation placed a maximum at sixteen hours, without a single exception the roads interpreted the law as a sixteen-hour minimum. Protests from the unions were considered as a joke and the hours of service have remained as close to the limit as possible without making every work day a violation of the law. After trying many expedencies the railroad unions have united upon a method of settling this vexing question: time and a half for all overtime, with the eight-hour day. The unions are militant upon this question and it can only be settled when they win the demand.

The question being considered across the table is: whether the demand can be granted, or possibly reduced, and whether all their old gigantic grafts can be continued without breaking the back of the present ownership by increasing rates.

Evolution has been working just as rapidly in railroad unionism as in corporation ownership and the machinery of transportation. From settling wage questions and conditions on each single railroad system by a single union, to a nation wide settlement by all train service unions, working together, is a matter of less than ten years. Still they are a little behind industrial development, but coming fast and near enough so you can hear the bell ring. The train service unions had not formulated the present demand before there arose from the ranks, like the roar of the cataract, the cry to take them all in. Today the believers and workers for one big union are numbered by thousands.

The eight-hour day in train service is already won. I am not claiming that some trick will not be pulled off to delay the opening day. But the agitation is on in a form where delay will only intensify the situation. Magnates and politicians are equally helpless when it comes to switching the movement against a bunting post and no one in public life wishes to figure as the post. Again, organization will have won, and while these 400,000 men yet require an ideal, still, with a body of that size, the eight-hour day had to be seen first.

THE DEBS CAMPAIGN

BY MIGNONETTE VERMILLION

A MASS District Convention of Socialists was held in Terre Haute early in February for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Congress. It seemed that every delegate had come to this convention with his mind fixed on one and the same person. Altho he had previously expressed his intention of taking a much needed and well-earned rest, Comrade Debs was the choice of the whole body of delegates.

Three weeks later we had the rare pleasure of listening to him address the next convention. In this speech he thanked us for the honor of his nomination and pointed out with his matchless clearness the dignity, value and necessity of the work of each comrade of the rank and file.

From this time on each comrade felt a new hope and impulse to do and to dare, for we all realized that our chance of electing Comrade Debs here in this District for several reasons very much greater than in many another case.

The political history of Terre Haute is the history of a city the rights of whose people have been sold out by first one political clique and then another, always in the interest of some corporation whose creatures these cliques have been. In the early days the "McKeen crowd," a conservative bunch of real estate dealers, Republican, was at the helm. This rule was followed by Democratic domination. For twenty-five years, with John E. Lamb, a traction company corporation lawyer, as ringleader, this faction held absolutely the workings of the city government in the hollow of their hand. Then came the machine which, with Donn Roberts at the wheel, pursued such a swift and tortuous course in the realm of political debauchery as to ditch a whole road of political pirates, all good, deserving Democrats, into the Federal prison at Leavenworth. The story of this period of "Robert's Supremacy," in which popular will was continually set at naught in the most flagrant and shameful manner, has reached almost all parts of the country. Boldly and

repeatedly elections were stolen by using every lawless method known to the fraternity of professional politicians. The many good citizens were thoroughly disgusted. A "reform" mayor filled the vacancy made by the conviction of Donn Roberts, and for a time lived up to the expectations of the reform class of Terre Haute citizens. Then came the "wide open condition" that has previously made and is now making Terre Haute (in)famous, and this continues. Practically all the people realize that it is foolish to place trust in old party candidates. Under these conditions in Terre Haute, a center of corrupt politics in the district, we feel that it will be possible in this campaign to win a victory.

Everett Sanders, a young corporation attorney (traction company variety), Republican candidate for Congress, has opened up his campaign in this district. Ralph Moss is the Democratic candidate for Congress. His chief distinction is that he has been able to grow fast to a seat in Congress for the last six years. Neither of these candidates make any attempt to meet their constituents in frank discussion of the vital questions that confront us. In striking contrast to these men, who have neither inspiration nor message, stands serenely the man who has for years voluntarily been at the battlefield against the enemy of the working class. Scarred, perhaps, a little from former conflicts, but with the fire of unconquerable purpose in his heart, with the hope of ultimate victory for the oppressed toilers, he has entered into this campaign with the earnestness that has characterized his whole life. No one instance can be found of his swerving from this path of action. Because of his splendid loyalty comrade Debs is the one man upon whom all factions of the working class can unite. Because of his genuine manhood he commands the respect and admiration of all others. For these reasons, this is the critical time and this district is the crucial point of leverage for Socialist party activity. All political parties realize the importance of our campaign here in the Fifth District.

Noble C. Wilson was elected district cam-

paign manager, assisted by a district campaign committee, composed of one member from each county in the district and a treasurer. Headquarters were established at 326 Rose Dispensary Building.

Debs committees are being formed to do special work. The "Manager System" in the counties, cities, wards and precincts has been established.

Speakers have been selected with care as to ability to both create and develop sentiment and to crystallize it into working order.

Comrade J. H. Hollingsworth has paid much attention to the rural districts in holding series of school-house meetings.

George R. Kirkpatrick has just completed a thorough and extensive tour of the district, making as many as thirteen speeches in one day. In every place where his meetings were advertised, great crowds gathered to hear him.

H. Scott Bennett, lately of Australia and former member of the Australian Parliament, is also in the district. He is a very convincing and effective speaker and has done good work here.

Maynard Shipley, ex-editor of the *North-West Worker*, is coming the 15th of August to aid in the campaign; also Cornelius Lehane.

The campaign work grows more intense day by day. Many stories of human interest come in from all parts of the world. Much valuable assistance has been received moral and financial, and much more is required to do the work of electing Comrade Debs. The old parties are willing to spend great sums of money in this district to defeat him, for they see that his election will instill new hope and life into the Socialist movement at home and abroad and will be the greatest conceivable victory for the working class.



COMRADE DEBS CAMPAIGNING



COMRADE DEBS CAMPAIGNING



EDITORIAL

Debs, Hughes and Confiscation

EVERYBODY believes in confiscation—taking away the goods of the *other* fellow. The only difference is whether we want to take back the stolen goods of the financial pirates, or whether we desire to confiscate the products of the workers.

The capitalist class believes that it ought to be the law of every civilized country that it is right for the banker or the grain speculator to *take* a part of the wheat, or oats, or corn crop which the farmers have planted and harvested, and to *take* the commodities made by the workers in factories, mills and mines. They believe, way down in their pocketbooks, that this system is right and just and beneficial—just because it is profitable to themselves. They advocate laws that mean more and more of this sort of confiscation of the products of the workers.

President Wilson believes that it is perfectly fair and right to confiscate a *small part* of the wealth which the capitalist class has *confiscated* from the wage workers and the farmers. But he calls it the *income tax*.

Mr. Hughes, the Republican nominee for president, believes that the highest mark of efficiency an executive may achieve is to so frame the laws that the great capitalists may increase the degree of their confiscation of the products of the working class. You cannot recall when he ever advocated any legislation that could by any means *decrease* the profits of Wall street. Because a man possesses large capital, or many acres of land, or priceless mines, or oil wells, Mr. Hughes believes that this *king can do no wrong*. Anything that adds to his profits, he believes, is just and good.

But Mr. Hughes opposes the tax on the incomes of the wealthy non-producers, the confiscation of a part of the loot they have taken from the workers, with which to conduct the affairs of this government. He be-

lieves in the confiscation of the poor by the rich.

When the Danbury hatters went out on strike against their employers the manufacturers appealed to the courts. They declared they had lost profits thru the strike and that the workingmen in this union formed a trust, which operated to the restraint of trade. The employers asked damages. And Mr. Hughes, as justice of the Supreme Court, voted to *confiscate* the small *homes* and pitiful *savings* of these union men to pay these damages to the big manufacturers.

Mr. Debs and other socialists believe in *taking back all the instruments of production* which have been stolen from the working class. We intend to *take back* the wealth that has been confiscated from us and to make an end of the exploitation of the producers by the capitalist class.

The life of Comrade Debs has been one long struggle to awaken the productive workers of this country so that they will organize to demand for themselves:

Free access to the land;

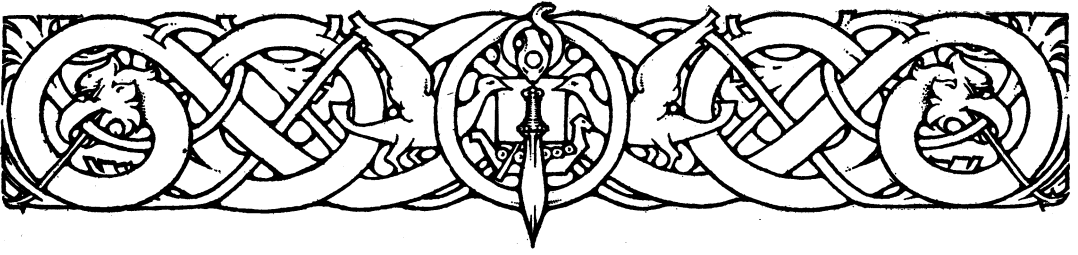
Opportunity to labor, in factory, mine and mill;

The value of their products for the working class.

In short, to demand nothing less than Socialism—the social ownership of the instruments of production and distribution by the working class.

Every workingman and woman in Indiana ought to work to elect 'Gene Debs to Congress this fall, not, we believe, because, single-handed, he will be able to slay all the dragons of exploitation, but because he *will die on his feet voicing our needs and our desires!*

He will be the Watch Dog of the working class.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Socialist International Conference

During the first days of August there met at the Hague the first official international party conference held since the war. The two Zimmerwald conferences were entirely unofficial. That is, they were not called by the International Bureau and most of their members had no credentials. The Hague conference was called by the Bureau and its members were regularly accredited. The American representative was Algernon Lee, one of our two international secretaries. Only neutral countries were represented. Besides the United States the countries having members present were: Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Argentine. Socialists of Norway, Spain, Switzerland and Roumania had chosen delegates, but it was impossible for them to reach the place of meeting. So far as the members represented are concerned this conference did not exceed the Zimmerwald conferences. In the fact that none of the warring nations was represented it fell below them in significance.

So far as its results are concerned it does not come up to the standard set by the unofficial meetings. At the time of going to press our best information on the subject is contained in a cablegram from Comrade Lee, published in the New York Call. A good deal of time, apparently, was given to the discussion of free trade. This subject gained what importance it had from the plans of the entente allies looking toward an economic boycott of the central powers. The conference declared itself for free trade and against the boycott.

The capitalist system was held to be responsible for the war and Socialists everywhere were urged to continue the struggle for parliamentary government. The present time was held to be favorable to peace negotiations and general principles of a peace treaty were suggested. The refusal of the Executive Committee to call a meeting of the International Bureau was applauded. This was a slap at the Zimmerwald conferences. The effort now going forward to form a new international labor federation was denounced. In general everything possible was done to support anti-bellum organizations and give the impression that if we all maintain the peace and do nothing for a while everything will come right.

This is all very discouraging. So far as Comrade Lee's cablegram goes to show nothing was done about the grave questions which Socialists everywhere are discussing. Let us hope that a full account will indicate that the delegates had some notion of the seriousness of the situation. Once, on a great historic occasion, the International failed. It is our business to see to it that it does not fail again. We cannot get on very far by means of resolutions or free trade.

The Economic War

The June conference of the allied powers was referred to in the July number of THE REVIEW. It is necessary now to report that the English and French governments are already at work putting into the form of laws the recommendations made. No matter how soon peace comes, the entente allies will be prepared for it.

The governments are ready to go to

any lengths to cripple German business and build up their own. They will reciprocally abolish duties. They will prevent Germans from doing business within their territories or using raw materials drawn from them. They will open cheap transportation lines. They will subsidize lines of manufacture which cannot withstand German competition. They will even go into business themselves and produce whatever is necessary to the economic independence of their nations.

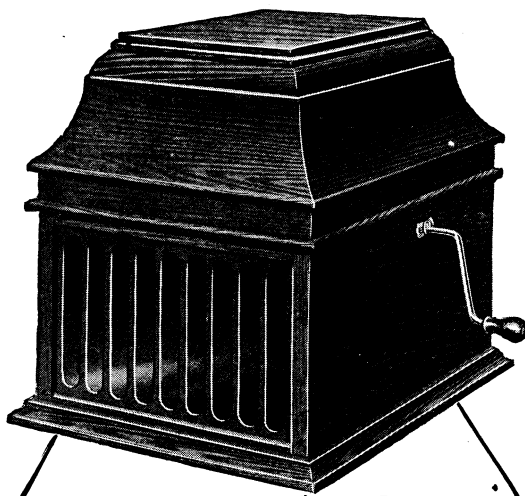
In their formal statement the members of the conference were careful to say that all these measures are purely defensive. Doubtless this touch was added for the encouragement of British humor.

Allied Workingmen in Conference If anyone doubts that the war is really producing new social units he should have his attention drawn to the Leeds conference. There met at Leeds delegates from British, French and Italian labor unions. What kind of international organization shall we have after the war? The old International Secretariat had headquarters at Berlin and Carl Legien was its secretary. The men who met at Leeds constituted a new international organization. Headquarters will be at Paris and Jouhaux will be secretary. This, they said, is as far as we can go now in the matter of international relationship—and if we make this organization strong now we need never again be dominated by the German union leaders.

As was reported last month, the American's proposal to hold a labor conference at the time and place where the treaty of peace is drawn up, was voted down. The delegates believed, or said, that this proposal is premature. They propose that the unions wait till peace is in sight and then quickly call a congress to formulate the demands of labor. This proposal of theirs can hardly be taken seriously. No one will have the authority to call such a conference even if there is time for it to assemble. It is apparent that these men at Leeds were more concerned about the welfare of the allies than about that of the working-class. Hatred of the Germans is a very poor basis for an international federation of labor unions.

Anti-War Movement in Germany

L'Humanité publishes a leaflet which has been distributed in large number thruout Germany. A typical paragraph



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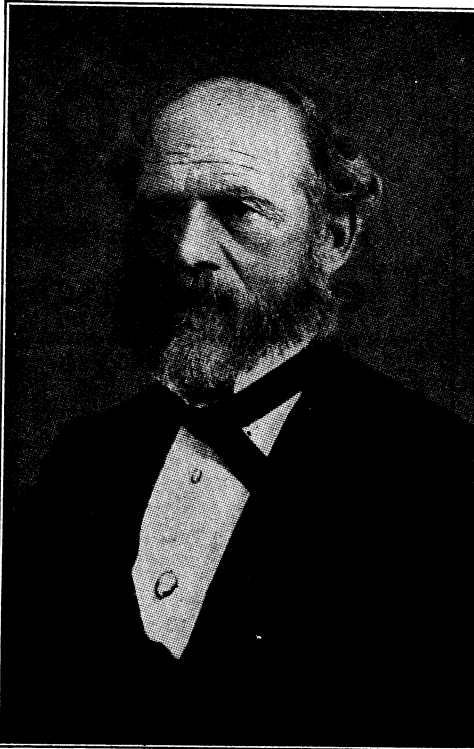
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ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization



LEWIS H. MORGAN

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runs as follows: "After having committed the crime of plunging the world into war the government has done one thing which is still more wicked—it has failed to protect its people against famine. And why? Because this famine does not touch the politicians, the capitalists, the usurers, who enrich themselves out of the misery of the people. Because if adequate steps had been taken from the beginning the people would long ago have known the seriousness of the situation. The enthusiasm for the war would have evaporated very quickly. This is why the masses have been deceived with tales of victory and delivered to the rapacity of the food monopolists." In conclusion the working people are called upon to arise and demand peace.

It is supposed that this leaflet was written and distributed by members of the Haase-Bernstein group.

**Rosa
Luxemburg
Imprisoned**

Rosa Luxemburg was out of jail for a few weeks. It will be remembered that she was imprisoned before the war for denouncing abuses in the German army. Even in jail she was active. From the beginning she has been one of the small minority against the war. No information has come to us about the cause of her arrest. Presumably she plunged immediately into the struggle against the government and was taken into custody as soon as there was an excuse for such action.

United Action Wins—From far-off Roumania comes good news, for the trade union and Socialist organizations have whipped the war jingoes to a standstill. An immense mass meeting was held in Bucharest, at which the workers and farmers declared against war. The jingoes immediately cooled down.

The Young People's Socialist League of Germany is almost unanimous in its opposition to the war. It was recently "disbanded" by the party officials, but the Yipsels promptly held a national conference, started their own newspaper and will maintain an organization of their own. They have notified the party politicians that they can go to hell—or war, if they insist on doing so.

DER IMPERIALISMUS, DER WELTKRIEG UND DIE SOZIAL-DEMOKRATIE
Von Herman Gorter

This is a German edition of a most important book which we had hoped to publish in English during the summer of 1915. After the book was in type, the author felt obliged to insist on suppressing the edition, for reasons of his own. He has now sent us several hundred copies of this edition in the German language, published in Amsterdam. Every German-speaking reader of the REVIEW should read and circulate it. Price 25 cents; to our stockholders, 20 cents, postpaid.

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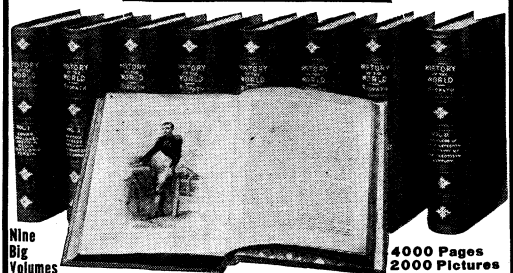
HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

MARY E. MARCY has just written, under this title, the best book of Socialist propaganda for farmers that has yet appeared in the United States. She talks to the farmer about the prices he pays for what he buys and the prices he gets for what he sells, instead of explaining primitive communism or trying to interest him in the troubles of the wage-worker. But she discusses prices from the Marxian point of view, and shows the farmer that the capitalists leave him, on the average, just about as good or as poor a living as they allow the wage-worker to have. She proves that the working farmer without much capital can improve his own standard of living only by joining the wage-workers in their fight against capitalism. All this is told in short words and short sentences, printed in large type. Just the book to win the farmer. Price 10c; in lots of a dozen or more, 6c, postpaid.

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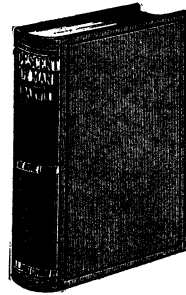
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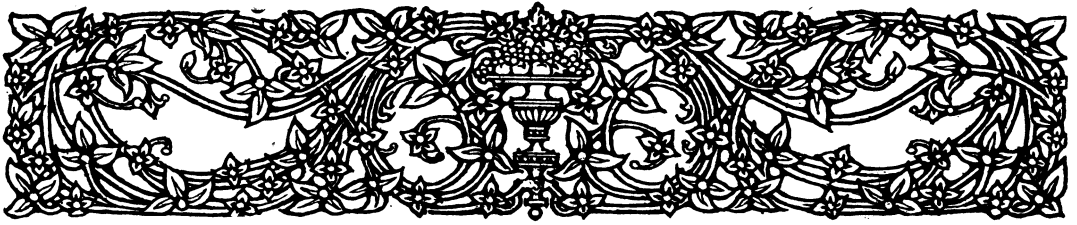
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NEWS AND VIEWS

The Best News of the Month—Strikes are all the fashion this summer, and THE REVIEW reds across the country certainly keep us posted—but, we would have to run 500 pages a month to give a full account of the splendid solidarity being shown by the workers.

Here are two strike sketches which will make THE REVIEW readers feel good all over. First scene is Memphis, Tenn., where 600 car workers took a day off and won their strike within twenty-four hours. But the best part of the story comes later on.

A few weeks ago Bert Commons, an organizer of the Amalgamated Street Car Workers, dropped off in Memphis and got busy with the boys. The street car company also got busy and hired a bunch of gunmen. One of this gang slugged the organizer with a blackjack and was fined \$5.00 by law and order and turned loose.

Seventeen street car workers were fired for being in sympathy with the union, while two other car workers were slugged and one killed by a gunman, who afterwards confessed.

At a meeting of street car workers demands were drawn up and presented to the company. A walkout followed, and here comes the best part of the story. The day the demands were sent to the company the steam railroad boys got busy and on the same night the switchmen of the Belt Line backed in on the power house switch and pulled out all the coal cars and the next day notified the street car officials that they would place no cars until they signed up with the street car men. It is unnecessary to add that the demands of the street car workers were immediately granted, after which the victorious workers held a big parade. Here's to the health of the switching crew!

The other story comes from Niagara Falls, where several thousand factory slaves revolted. One man was killed and hundreds of shots were fired by employees, according to the capitalists' press reports.

The workers had no organization, and tho the representatives of the Detroit I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. were on the job they seemed to defeat each other's ends.

The strike that kept the bosses guessing was at the plants of the Aluminum Company of America. The men simply went home and stayed there when their demands were refused. It was a funny sight to see the bosses and the police hiring halls and attempting to coax the

strikers from their homes in order to induce them to come out and parley with the bosses. How the first strike ended our correspondent does not state, but it seems that a strike a few weeks later was won in an hour.

During the strike period the hod carriers formed a union and were able to push up their pay from \$2.00 to \$2.70 and \$3.00 for a nine-hour day.

Because of the lack of organization in the factories many of the wage advances may be lost as soon as things slacken up, but the men have had a taste of better things and who can say what may not happen in the future?

From "Down in Georgia"—"I consider the REVIEW the greatest magazine in the world for the workers, and believe it to be the most powerful weapon they possess in their fight against the exploiters."—Joe R.

A Croatian Miner—"Dear Comrade: Enclosed find three more subs. to the REVIEW, making thirteen in all I have sent in. It is very pleasant to take subs. on this best scientific monthly. I wish that every reader of the REVIEW would use all his efforts to find at least ten new subs. till January 1st, as it would mean a great step nearer to the socialist victory. I am now occupied with organizing work in this strike district."—Yours for real Socialism, F. M. F.

In Otis Land—Hundreds of California workers have been rounded up in San Francisco and given the third degree, since the explosion during the recent Preparedness Parade. According to the Oakland World, "Victims are roped in and hauled before the police inquisition, and without council or friends are dragged through a terrible mental torture, kept from sleep and often subjected to physical abuse in order to get a confession." California is one of our progressive states. It is unnecessary to add that the Merchants and Manufacturers Association are working their sleuths overtime in trying to secure indictments against all prominent labor leaders who are not on their pay rolls.

Going to Scab—A strong, intelligent young man came into our office this afternoon and said he was going to "scab" on the electrical workers. Very naturally we handed him an icy stare and told him we hoped he would get what was coming to him. And then he told us his story. Think it over and see if you can figure out whether he is a "scab" or not. This

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young man's father died when he was fourteen years old and he had to go to work. He wanted to be an electrical worker and got a job in a shop as an apprentice, where he worked for three years. Then the shop was organized and he went up to the new secretary and tried to get in the new union. But there was strictly nothing doing. The secretary said that only the *sons* of old electrical workers would be permitted to join. So our young apprentice was frozen out. All he knew was the work of an electrician. He had spent three years on the job. He was refused admission to the union. He had to get work or starve. He joined the navy and is now dismissed a first mate electrical engineer. He still has to earn his living and still the only thing he knows is electrical engineering. And he is going to take the first good job he can get. What we want to know, from you comrades, is: Is this man a "scab," or is the Electrical Workers' Union a scab-manufacturing organization? Here is another: When a man knows a trade and is not admitted to a craft union, ought he to slowly starve himself to death in idleness to *protect* the members of the union who kept him out, or ought he to go to work at his trade and be called a "scab"? And what is a scab, anyway? The men who *make* scabs or the man who is forced to scab?

Pension Bribes to Labor—The Chicago newspapers have been filled with stories of the new and wonderful plan of Swift & Co., famous Chicago packers, to pay employees of their company who have been in constant and satisfactory service for twenty-five years a pension. "No pension shall be less than \$240 and no pension shall be in excess of \$5,000 a year; a widow and children of an eligible employe shall receive one-half the pension to which an employe would have been entitled."

The newspapers are filled with eulogies of Mr. Swift, who, they claim, is most desirous to arrange these pensions as to give the best results to his employes. They claim that probably 30,000 men will be eligible to pensions. If there is anything on earth a good revolutionist hates it is a so-called "kind-hearted" employer of labor, who holds out some kind of future bait to the worker to keep him contented and industriously working for low wages in the hope of a big lump of money later on. You will notice that there is no guarantee to the Swift workers in the Swift plan for pensions. You may work your head off for twenty-four years piling up profits for Swift & Co. and get fired just two months before your pension comes due. As a matter of fact, we believe that not 5 per cent of the Swift employes ever live to reach the age of sixty-five years, let alone being able to work at the death-killing pace demanded in the packing houses, at that age. This is merely another scheme to flimflam the Swift workers into believing they are going to receive some reward from the Swift Company—if they will merely stand pat, work like the devil, and wait for old age. But the munition factories are paying \$10 and \$15 and even \$20 a day to men operating machines in their shops and mills. Why don't the Swift workers get a job where the

pay is good and lay up a little pension of their own? Swift hopes to get away with low wages by baiting his men along now, instead of raising wages now. It is a lot cheaper than giving them a dollar a week more.

From Up Canada Way—Comrade S. I. Johnson Knight, general secretary-treasurer, Socialist Party of Canada, sent in 12 yearly subs., along with an order for books. Our Canadian comrades are keeping the red flag flying these strenuous days. More power to them!

No Free Speech in Butte—Arthur E. Reimer, presidential nominee Socialist Labor Party, was arrested by Chief of Police Murphy and City Jailer Lavell on his recent visit to that city. Comrade Reimer had previously notified the chief of police of his intention to hold a meeting, and had also taken the trouble of interviewing Mayor Lane, who treated him very courteously and requested him to call again, which he did, but the mayor was not in.

At the trial the next morning Comrade Riemer, who is an attorney of the Massachusetts bar, conducted his own defense and the worthy police magistrate, one Whitty, handed out a fine of \$10.00, which was suspended.

The guarantee of "free speech" by both the national and state constitutions cuts no ice with Chief Murphy or his Honor the Mayor, both tools of the copper companies. As Comrade Jim Larkin says, "the most dangerous animal running loose today is an ignorant Irish policeman." Mayor Lane is welcome to all the honor connected with the arrest and con-

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viction, as the chief is merely carrying out his orders. As a copper trust mayor he probably earns his money, but as a lover of liberty he is a damned poor excuse.

From Across the Water—Comrade Bowker of England doubles his monthly bundle order and writes: "I hope to further increase circulation after the war. Kindly convey to Mary Marcy my own appreciation of her articles in the REVIEW and the work she is doing on the REVIEW. I have been in the movement for twenty-five years and consider the REVIEW the best propaganda that comes across the water. It not only interests and instructs the not yet converted, but is extremely helpful to the class-conscious comrades who are carrying on work. We must push the REVIEW and hasten the good time. Yours in the cause, James Bowker.

Making Money Make Money: A Primer of Investing. By H. L. Barber. Chicago: A. J. Munson & Co., 20 West Jackson boulevard. Price \$1.50.

This book will be of special interest to Socialists on account of its exposure of the methods used by the big banks and financiers to induce wage-workers to save money and, after saving it, to deposit it in banks at 3 per cent interest or buy bonds paying from 3 to 5 per cent. As the author points out, the financiers use their own money and that which the little fellows lend them to exploit labor, making an average annual profit of 10 per cent or more, usually covering up the excess profit by watering stock.

The Next Step in Democracy. By R. W. Sellars, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth avenue. Price, \$1.50 net. This offer gives evidence of wide reading and of considerable sympathy with the aims of the conservative wings of the various Socialist parties. But the book would be an extremely unsatisfactory one to readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, since Dr. Sellars seems to have no conception at all of the revolutionary proletarian spirit. He accepts the idea of economic determinism grudgingly and is mainly concerned with finding exceptions to it rather than applications. This is one reason why his forecasts of the social results of the great war are extremely unconvincing.

Amusing Incidents of the Campaign—On Thursday, July 29, a party of Terre Haute Socialists accompanied Comrades George R. Kirkpatrick and H. Scott Bennett, who were both then in the District, to an Old Settlers' Picnic near Greencastle. Both these comrades were, together with some old party candidates, on the program as speakers on this occasion. J. Everett Sanders, Republican candidate for Congress from this district, was the first speaker. He spoke briefly but meaningfully, using a few time-honored figures of speech concerning our "grand old country" and "Old Glory." He was followed by Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick, who, in his customary convincing style, showed that the only sane "preparedness" today is "Social preparedness." He contrasted the amounts of money expended on education and military prepara-

tion in different countries. He mentioned the number of farms in the rich state of Oklahoma that are mortgaged, showing the grip of the user on the class of farmers. He was roundly applauded. By this time the politicians had discovered without any difficulty that George R. was a red. (The limitation was that none of these speakers were to make a "political speech.")

Then came a speech by James P. Goodrich, Republican candidate for governor, who was plainly at a loss for something interesting to say, and who had been irritated by Comrade Kirkpatrick's logic to the point of making an attack. He apologetically defended the "mortgaged farm condition" on the ground that it kept the farmer down steadily at his labor until he at last cleared his indebtedness and accomplished something. (Which really very seldom occurs down there in Oklahoma.) This old "flea on the dog" theory, dressed up in a new form, did not appeal to the intelligence of the audience, and it was clearly up to him to go one further in an effort to be effective. So, accordingly, he eclipsed his former effort by trying to show what Socialism is by a recital of the old story of Pat, who said that, on his friend Mike's refusal to divide up his pigs with him, he would be a Socialist no longer. This was too much for human endurance, and as soon as he had concluded his (to push the term) speech, Comrade Kirkpatrick collared him and demanded to know what he meant by telling such a story as that, much to the

mental embarrassment of the G. O. P. candidate. He was forced to admit his ignorance on the subject, which admission was wholly unnecessary, and made numerous frantic efforts to escape from a bombardment of questions and statements as to the real nature of Socialism by Comrade Kirkpatrick. This same group of politicians paid the closest attention to the speech of Comrade H. Scott Bennett, which closed the program. (Our two speeches received more applause than all the others combined.)

On Saturday, July 29, a number of Socialists, including the campaign manager, Noble C. Wilson, accompanied Comrade Kirkpatrick on an automobile tour of Parke county. On this occasion short speeches were made by Comrade Kirkpatrick in thirteen little towns. It was the duty of the campaign manager in each instance to notify the speaker when his time for speechmaking had ended. So at Tangier, when the speaker had reached his limit, he was gently tapped on the shoulder by the campaign manager. Turning abruptly to the five or six hundred in the audience who did not hear the warning, Comrade Kirkpatrick said, "He does not want me to continue speaking to you," whereupon several of the deeply interested listeners yelled out lustily, "Get him out of here. He does not belong here anyway." Needless to say, it was quite embarrassing for a few moments for the campaign manager.—Mignonette Vermillion.

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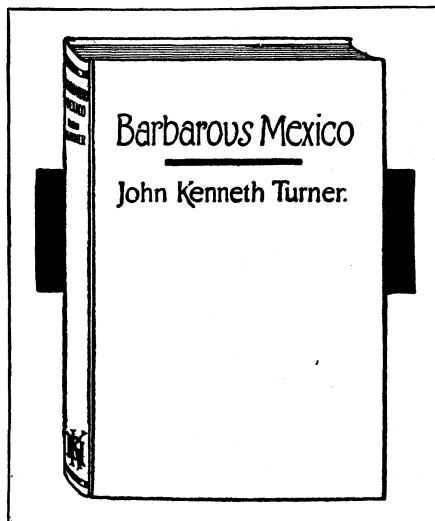
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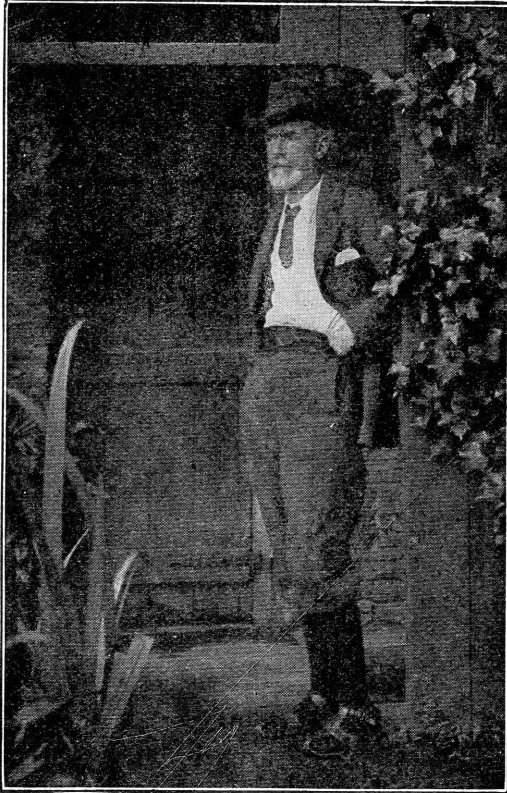
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