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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



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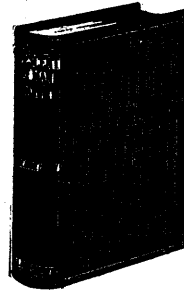
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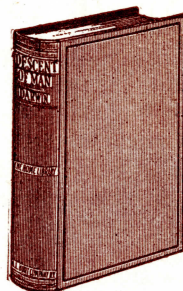
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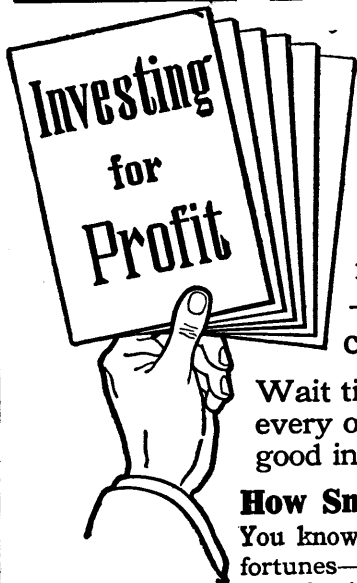
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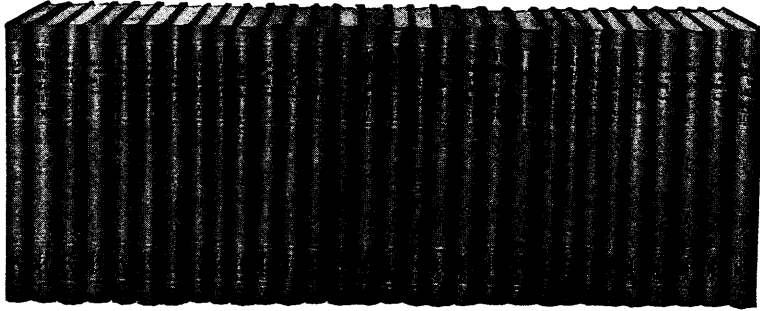
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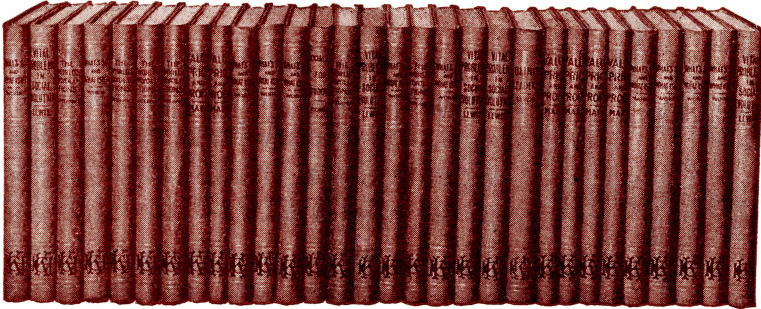
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November

1916

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

Vol. XVII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 5

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

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

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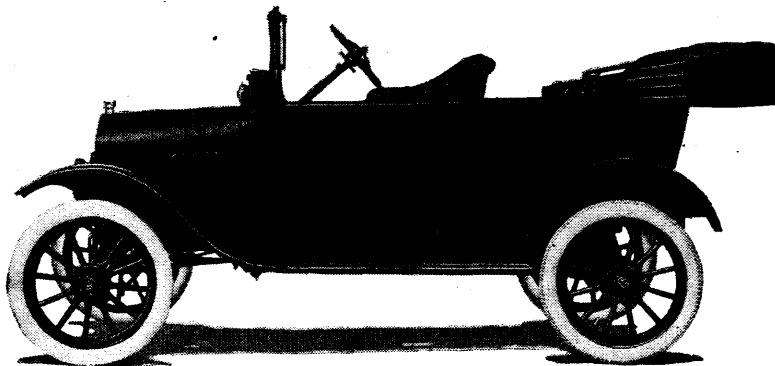
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You know the Ford gasoline engine. It never fails. You know the REVIEW—it hits the target every time. Do your campaign work by automobile. It will pay for itself in saving car fare and five can travel as cheap as one.

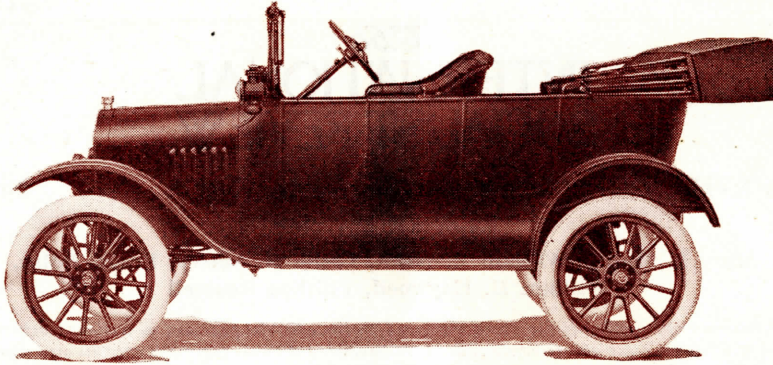
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If you fail to win the car before November, we expect to be able to extend this offer to January.

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!



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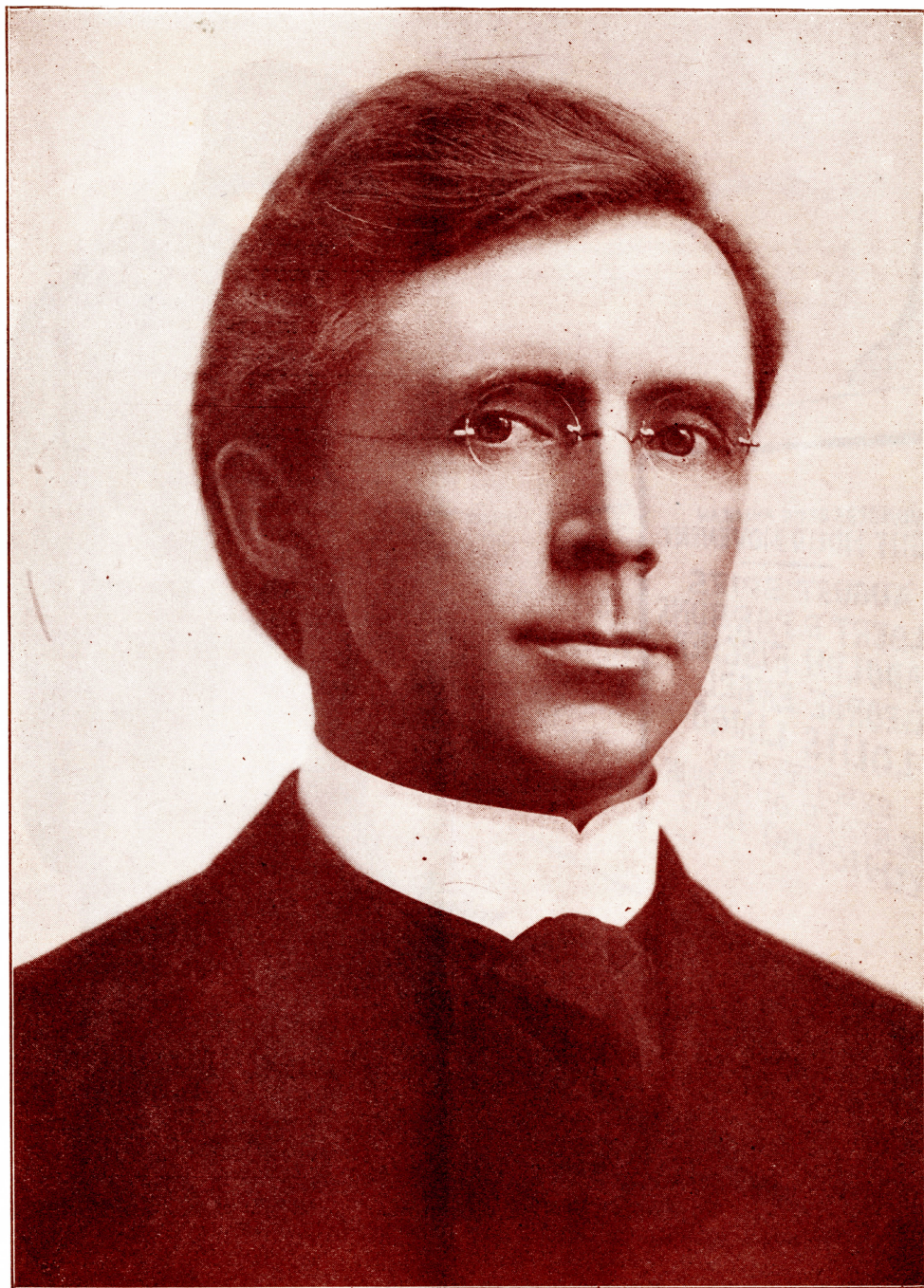
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FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK



Drawn by Robert Minor
From the Blast

Lest We Forget

The Eight Hour Railroad Worker of 1910.



Drawn by Robert Minor
From the Blast

Lest We Forget

The Eight Hour Railroad Worker of 1916

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

NOVEMBER, 1916

No. 5

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

THE eight-hour day has jumped from the dusty obscurity of text books and libraries and forgotten platforms of politics and labor into a new life, into one of the leading issues talked and thought across the nation.

Thirty years ago the Knights of Labor waged a long campaign that came to a finish about the time of the Chicago Haymarket affair and the eight-hour day was the chief demand and the focal point of the agitation and education of the working class of that period.

Then the eight-hour day as a big issue slept and slumbered and was not.

And this pleased the exploiters of labor. Once labor is organized there are no issues such as higher wages, restriction of output, adjustment of personal grievances, so disturbing to employers as the eight-hour day issue.

So they have been glad, the exploiters, that this issue has been kept down, that eight hours' work, eight hours' recreation and eight hours' sleep as the proper division of the American proletarians' workday, has not been in the national talk and thought.

Now this is changed. Now country-wide, in city saloons and wilderness cabins, in the mine sheds and the railroad shanties, they are talking about this eight-hour day deal as they formerly talked tariff and free silver and imperialism.

Schwab, Gary, Morgan—they don't like it. Otis, Shonts, Wool Trust Wood and all exploiters from Lawrence to Mesaba Range and Los Angeles—they don't like it.

Eight-hour workday once granted is harder to take away than any other concession labor wrings from capital.

What eight hours' work in twenty-four means is so simple, clear and specific that no lawyers, glib gabbyjacks hired for skill in

tergiversation, can come in and make black white or white black.

Eight hours' work means eight hours' work and there is no going behind the returns.

A wage raise dependent on this and that interpretation, contingent on this and that condition, is often defeated by the cunning employer.

Always, too, the capitalist class with its power of fixing prices can raise the cash cost of life necessities so as to take away thru higher prices all that has been conceded in higher wages.

Not so with the eight-hour workday. Once granted it stays.

The standardized short workday is not defeated in its workings as the standardized higher wage so often is.

How the Adamson law is going to work out is one of the puzzles of history waiting answer.

If Hughes is elected the Adamson law will get a big hole kicked in it at the start because The Whiskers is already committed to defeat its workings under the theory that it was "legislation under duress."

If Wilson is elected there will be one of the most interesting struggles between the government, political and military, of this nation, and the industrial autocracy of this nation which has never in recent years lost any battle involving issues as vast as that of the Adamson law.

NEW YORK sociologists find in that city thousands of children with teeth rotten, teeth going to pieces. Cause: lack of proper food. Not enough wages to buy food that makes tooth material.

Hot-Air Shonts would say it's far-fetched to suggest that higher wages for street car men would mean better teeth. O, very well!



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

WHILE John D. Rockefeller wears a wig and plays golf, financial writers figure out that John D.'s 246,972 shares of Standard Oil stock are now worth in the open market \$498,864,644.

With his U. S. Steel stock, banks, railroads, and city, state and national bonds, experienced financial reporters now say, John D. is a billionaire and it's no use for him to deny or quibble about it.

The whole smear of this unearned increment will pass on to John D., Jr., when the Old Man cashes in and rests under a monument.

What's going on inside the bony structure

of John D.'s head is momentous with destiny. He is the most powerful young man in these United States, in the sense that money and economic resources mean power.

To date Frank P. Walsh, as head of the U. S. Industrial Relations commission, is the only fellow that's been able to singe the hair of the young Rockefeller goat as guarded by the junior member of the House of Rockefeller. Ida Tarbell singed the hair of the Old Man's goat. So did Henry D. Lloyd in his "Wealth Against Commonwealth."

The Rockefeller goat is well protected in our leading magazines these days. The American magazine, for instance, looks like it had been captured hide, hair and hoof by the Rockefellers and transformed into a willing publicity mule.

WHEN you see a string of horses being led thru the streets of a city now for rail shipment these days, pick out most any of them and say "Good-by, old horse." The chances are the nags will be hauling guns and commissary wagons over European roads in a few weeks. In 1914 we exported \$3,388,819 worth of horses. It jumped to \$64,046,534 in 1915 and \$73,531,146 in 1916.

They are a pathetic by-product of war—these horses in photographs from the war zones—flat on their backs and feet in the air—quadruped chattel slaves.

HAVE we been in the war? Or have we kept out of it? Export statistics show for 1915-1916 an increase in total exports of this country amounting to \$1,942,173,743, while the increase in munitions exports alone amounted to \$1,866,074,156.

Profits out of these totals have made a new raft of American millionaires. And incidentally the fury of the American working class at the hog tactics of the millionaires in trying to grab all the profits without any accompanying wage raises, has shown new fighting stuff in the workers across the country.

IF leather medals were to be awarded to snob war correspondents who attained distinction in snobbery during the war, then something ought to be handed James O'Donnell Bennett of the *Chicago Tribune* and William Bayard Hale of the *Hearst* papers. Bennett slobbered over the Kaiser and the German war lords till the *Tribune*



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had to tell him he was making Germans as well as Americans sick with his guff.

The only thing that equals the way these Americans have slobbered over the Kaiser and the Crown Prince is the way some American and English writers have gone into fits of admiration over the democracy of the Russian Czar and the wonder and promise of Russian art.

"He is very manly, very human, very fond of what is beautiful and what is gallant," writes William Bayard Hale after an interview with the German Crown Prince. "The seriousness of his destiny in a supreme hour has gripped him. A new enthusiasm flames upon his forehead and great tenderness lies upon his heart."

What are we going to say about the citizens of an American republic who writes this kind of slush about the young pimp of war who is blamed even more than the Kaiser by the German Socialists who are trying to fix responsibility for the war?

As noted above, nothing equals the posterous quality of this except the tributes paid the Czar and his aids. If you want to smell the real odor of snobbery and militarism rampant, look through the book on Russia written by Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*.

"CERTAIN female visitors have ordered special portion of whipped cream to set before their dogs. It is to be hoped that such contemptible and scandalous behavior is a rare exception and need not be made the matter of official action."

Such is the official warning posted by municipal authorities of Stettin, Germany. Here's a case where a government is showing some human common sense. Whipped cream for the lapdogs of lapwomen, while the workers in munitions factories can't buy meat or butter except two days in the week, certainly is an issue for a government to seize on.

In this free American republic, which is not at war with any nation, the lapdogs of the lapwomen of munitions millionaires go their way unchallenged.

GUY BIDDINGER, the Burns agency sleuth under indictment in Cook county, Illinois, for bribery and extortion, is putting up a last-ditch fight against extradition and trial.

His lawyers this far have been able to

beat the Illinois attempt to get him back where a jury of twelve men can listen to his answer to charges that he took a hand in a confidence game and that he held out his mitt for money from thieves and swindlers.

Those familiar with Biddinger's dictograph tricks by which he obtained the so-called evidence in the ironworkers' cases, are watching with keen interest to see whether the star witness of the National Erectors' Association, the Steel Trust, and the W. J. Burns detective agency can be convicted of the crimes of extortion and bribery for which he has been indicted.

GENE DEBS makes himself entirely clear when he writes about the Milwaukee preparedness parade which was led by the Socialist mayor as a marcher.

"Whether it was a 'preparedness' parade or a 'patriotic' parade amounted to one and the same thing, and they who are responsible for it ought to be made to account to the Socialist party for action, which amounts to nothing less than sanction of bourgeois 'patriotism' and the betrayal of Socialist principles and ideals," writes Debs. "The parade was conceived, initiated, organized and managed by the ruling class and its hirelings were expected to march in it—and did. Since when has it become necessary for Socialists to demonstrate their 'patriotism' by marching in parades financed by the steel trust, the powder trust, the gun factories, and the munitions manufacturers who are fastening an infamous militarism on the country? Was this action on the part of the Socialists at Milwaukee intended to popularize the party and catch votes? If so, these are the dearest votes they ever bargained for. The political managers of the parade were shrewd enough to flash the news over the country the following morning that the Socialist mayor had headed the preparedness parade in Milwaukee."

With its Mexican intervention stuff and its preparedness parade stuff—just where is the Milwaukee movement trying to take the working class these days?

JFRANK HANLY, Prohibition candidate for President, took a hitch in his pants, buttoned his Prinzalbert tighter making a spooch at Sioux City, Iowa, and said he's for intervention in Mexico. Wants American rights respected in Mexico and the way to do it is "intervene." He's against booze and for war.

ON paper no country was ever more completely conquered than Belgium. It is absolutely in the hands of its enemy, and within its borders not a finger may wag except by the enemy's permission. But that seems to mark the limits of the conquest; for, broadly speaking, hardly a finger will wag at the enemy's command. Negatively, Germany can do anything she pleases with Belgium; positively, apparently she can do very little.

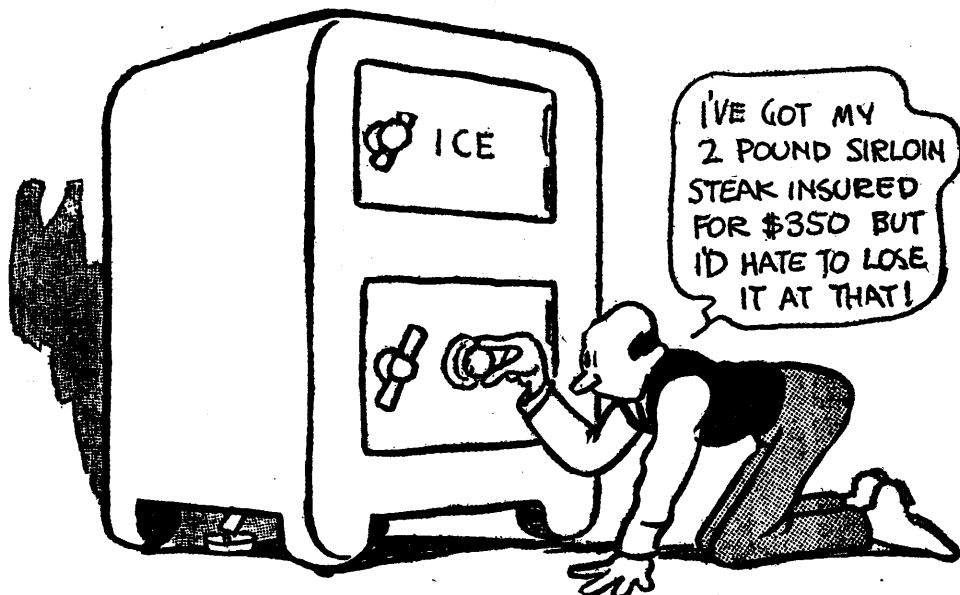
For example, Director Bicknell, of the American National Red Cross, relates this episode in the Survey: "Malines is the site of extensive railway repair shops; and, as the operation of the railways by the Germans was steadily reducing the rolling stock through accidents and natural wear, the German Government decided that Belgian workmen formerly employed in the repair shops

should be forced back into them. An order was issued that no more food be distributed by the relief committee until the men returned to the shops. Farmers and gardeners were forbidden to bring in their produce. No inhabitant was permitted to leave the city. Sentries were posted about the outskirts and a barbed-wire barrier erected around the city."

But the Belgians stubbornly refused to work for their enemy; the Red Cross protested; the Germans gave up the attempt.

The present population of the country, Mr. Bicknell thinks, is seven millions against seven and a half millions before the war. Pretty much the whole population refuses to perform work by which their foes will benefit. Passive resistance is almost unconquerable.—From *Saturday Evening Post*.

If the Cost of Living Continues to Go Up



From the Chicago Tribune

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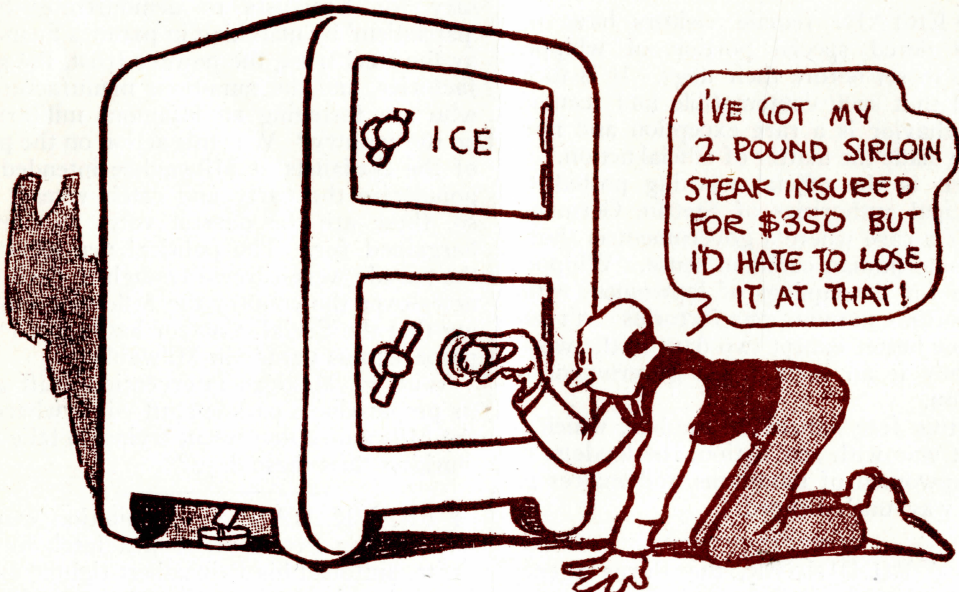
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MORE "LAW AND ORDER"

By LESLIE MARCY

ON Thursday, September 15, two hundred and sixty-two union miners were arrested at Old Forge, Pa., and taken to Scranton where they were thrown in jail, charged with inciting to riot, unlawful assembly, and disorderly conduct. Seven honorable aldermen tried the prisoners in batches and bail was fixed aggregating one million five hundred thousand dollars.

These miners, most Italians, Polish and Lithuanian, were members of Local 511, I. W. W., and at the hour of their arrest were in open union meeting—enjoying their constitutional privilege of peaceably assembling together. Forty thousand local miners in the district were on strike in sympathy with the Minnesota iron miners and noon-hour meetings were held daily at many places.

The Law and Order mob was led by Sheriff Ben S. Phillips, who was heroically assisted by a dozen deputy sheriffs and a squad of state troopers, better known across the country as "black cossacks." In order to be a cossack one must have a "good moral character" and "be able to ride." Among the deputies were "leading business men" and one mine owner. All were heavily armed with business-like looking revolvers and riot clubs.

All the leading Scranton papers carried graphic front page display stories of the raid. It was a regular Law and Order red-letter day and the kept press celebrated by columns. A few samples from the Scranton Republican run as follows: "Urging their horses at top speed, the troopers, moving in double file, rode over fields, jumped ditches and fences until the hall was reached. * * * For an hour the I. W. W.'s were hemmed in like cattle.

Inside the hall the miners were held up and searched, but no fire arms were found. The minute book of the local was torn up by a trooper. Outside hundreds of men, women and children gathered around the conveyances. Women with babes in their arms shouted good-bye to their husbands, with tears streaming down their faces.

Boys and girls looked on with a curious gaze at their brothers and fathers being taken to prison. Some women remained stoically silent during it all, seemingly awed at the business-like manner in which the small number of officers controlled the mob. Trucks of Scranton's business houses, privately owned automobiles, coal wagons were commandeered."

"Never before in the history of the state has there been a raid of such wholesale proportions."

As the long procession of prisoners were driven to Scranton, thousands of men, women and children lined the roadways and streets, hooting and jeering the police, uttering threats and chanting revolutionary songs. The prisoners joined in the singing.

"Five prisoners were placed in each cell. Ordinarily the jail will accommodate 300 prisoners, including the women's ward, but a count revealed 402 within the prison."

"Sheriff Phillips was profuse in his praise of the good work done by the troopers. And he did not forget to praise the county deputies who played their parts in good fashion, and the city police force for their co-operation and good work. 'I can't say too much for the troopers,' the sheriff said. 'The way they worked today was something marvelous and shows the kind of men that are in the organization. Our own deputies and the city police officers also did good work.'"

"Scores of women and children walked all the way from Old Forge the next morning; many carrying a babe in arms as well as edibles for their husbands. They plodded their way to the country prison, where the warden refused to admit them."

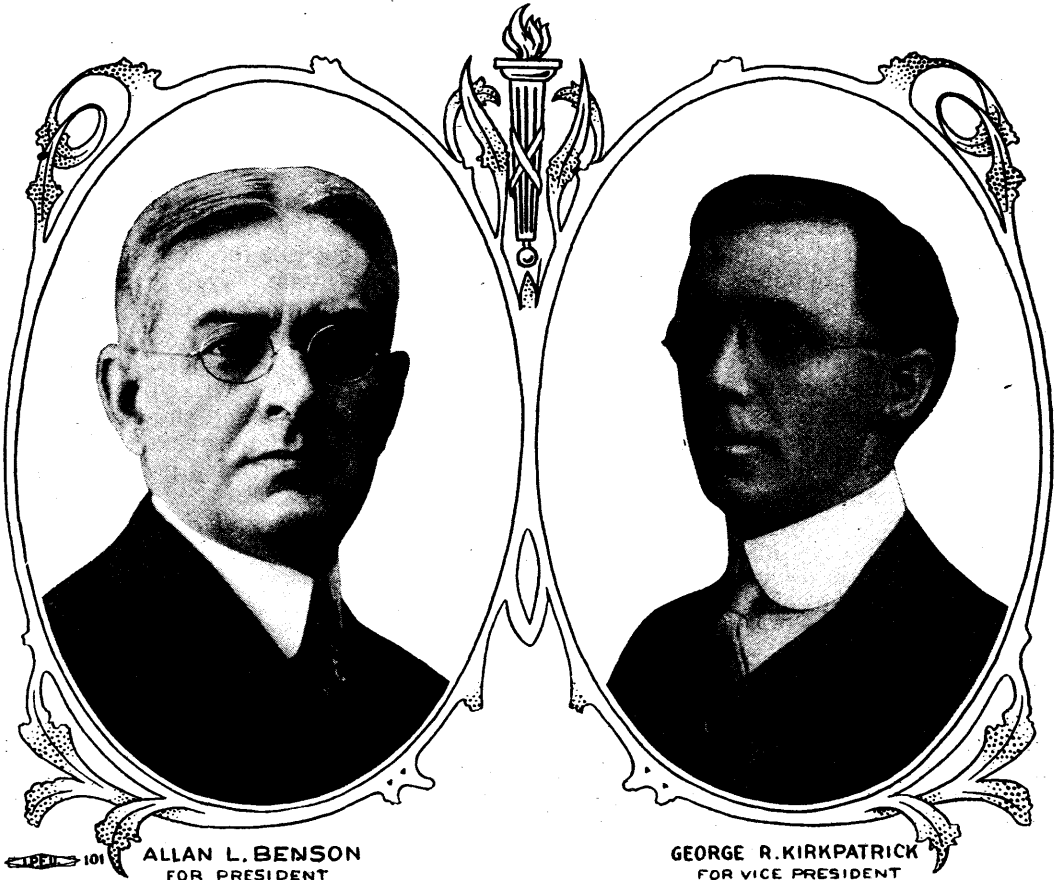
After being held from one to three weeks in jail the grand jury unanimously adopted a report exonerating the miners from all charges. District Attorney George W. Maxey in an interview which appeared in the Scranton Republican, said: "Sheriff Phillips and his score or

more of deputies presented no legal evidence against any one for rioting, or for unlawful assemblage, or related offenses, and consequently the bills had to be ignored. . . . We called the sheriff himself before the grand jury, and found that his testimony was worthless. . . . These cases were so important that I took the precaution to have the testimony taken down, and after the testimony was all in, all parts that the jury desired to have read to it were read. . . . There was not a man on the jury who was not disgusted with the way Phillips had handled this entire matter. . . . The sheriff's evidence not only failed to make out a case of the graver crime of riot, but failed even to make out a case of the pettiest misdemeanor known to the law." "Sheriff Phillips blundered all through this matter. Any official clothed with a little brief authority can make raids, but

when such an official makes raids without legal cause, he himself becomes a law-breaker and subjects himself to the law's pains and penalties."

The motive behind the raid is a desire on the part of the coal mine owners of Pennsylvania to break by force of arms and legal machinations the growing solidarity of the miners. Industrial Union principles, as expressed in the I. W. W., have been traveling as fast as prairie fires during the past few months. Hence the enthusiasm of Law and Order to stamp out this militant organization. How eagerly the business men in any strike zone form mobs to raid and fight organized labor!

Speed the day when every working man will realize the full meaning of industrial organization. The revolver, the riot club and the jail are the last resorts of the rulers.



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THE RAILWORKERS' "VICTORY"

By S. J. RUTGERS

IT is the worst of all policies to deceive yourself, to claim victory when you are beaten.

The new laws proposed and partly passed by Congress leave the railroad workers to be exploited sixteen hours as before the "victory" and the sixteen hours may even be increased by simply recording the fact to the proper authority, which has been done, and will most likely be done hereafter in hundreds of thousands of cases.

In dropping the punitive overtime the leaders, who, from the very beginning of negotiations, looked for an opportunity to do some kind of a trade and to avoid a strike, dropped the eight-hour working day.

The new laws are only another example to show that all capitalist officials, be it a president or a policeman, are bound to talk or to club labor into submission, and that no fraud is bad enough but that it is considered worthy for that purpose. Is it not an insult to the intelligence of American labor to hear Mr. Wilson advocate a set of laws, the object of which is to crush the fight of labor, by saying that public sentiment nowadays is in favor of an eight-hour working day and proposing a law called "eight-hour law," which he knows perfectly has nothing to do with a working day of eight hours?

But how about the increase in wages? One-fifth of the railroads did already figure their wages upon an eight-hour basis. And as the "hundred mile" basis remains in force this excludes a great number of passenger train crews from the benefit. Soon the increase in freight charges will have been secured to an amount several times greater than all

possible wage increases, it being absolutely impossible for a commission to control the administration of the clever railroad managers. The speeding up of freight trains will do away with the greater part of whatever expenses may come to the railroads and will leave a fair amount of clean profit. At the same time the work of the trainmen will have been intensified without reducing the work-day.

These results, very meagre indeed, have been "conquered" after preparing for a fight during the last three years, after building up a strong organization with millions and millions of dollars in its treasuries and under circumstances extraordinarily favorable to labor—circumstances which most likely will not return for any length of time.

The wage increases, which will be, at most, 25 per cent, but will dwindle down to perhaps 10 per cent or less, are given at a time when, according to the capitalist index figures of Bradstreet, the food prices have increased 36 per cent in the last two years. And one month after a capitalist commission will be through with its investigations, which are sure to result in an increase of freight rates, the railroads will be free to suggest all kinds of new frauds to cut down the wages of the "loyal" workers.

This "victory" would be shameful enough, but the worst is still to come. Together with the so-called "eight-hour law," and a law that practically increases the freight rates, of which increase labor will have to pay the greater part, there have been proposed two other laws which were not rushed through at that time, but which by no means have been withdrawn.

To the contrary, President Wilson has most solemnly pledged himself to take this matter up immediately after his reelection, and labor did not even protest seriously. About the law to draft railroad men into the army in case of military urgency, the labor leaders declared that, altho not in favor of drafting in general, they would accept this special draft for "military urgency," at the same time declaring their most loyal feelings to defend a country and an administration that gave an "eight-hour law," enabling the leaders to deceive the rank and file.

Those workers, however, who did not go crazy because President Wilson shook hands with more than six hundred of their own inferior class, will be compelled to admit that the capitalist class will be sure to declare it a "military urgency" if a labor revolt or a labor strike should threaten their profits. And what is not less important just now, our fight against militarism and war gets a setback that could not even be compensated for by a few more dollars of wage increase.

The most humiliating part, however, in this well staged drama is the compulsory arbitration, the very principle against which the railroad workers were supposed to fight, and which is to be enacted in a special law. What did the labor leaders answer to this insult? They declared that they are opposed to such a law, but that if Congress passed the law, they would have to accept it altho they would continue fighting the law. No indignation, no threatening whatever, with serious fighting opposition. Is this the

language of representatives of an army of 400,000 prepared to fight and in command of the situation?

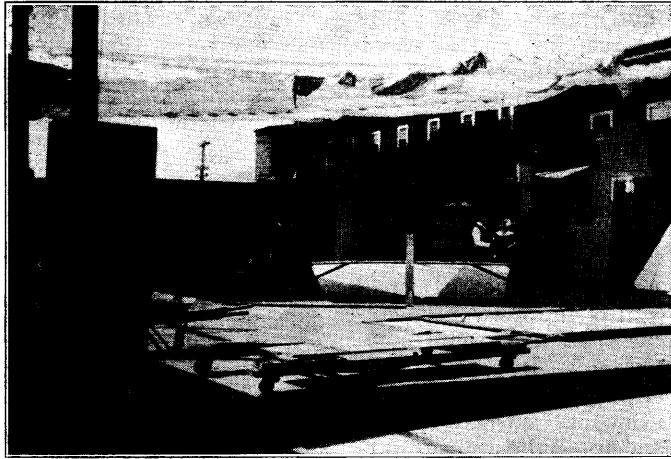
If labor has to submit to such an infamy, it should not claim a victory, and if there is any common sense left, it will not support a President on the recommendation of the very fraud with which he is to forge new chains to enslave labor.

There is one hope left to redress, at least in part, what has been spoiled by the losing fight of the leaders. This hope lies in a relentless opposition of the rank and file against compulsory arbitration and a clear understanding that a strike as planned this summer will not be too high a price if it goes to prevent this reactionary legislation, which will be a stumbling block for all future action.

But whatever labor may decide to do, there should be at least a clear understanding of facts and no illusions, no show of power and victory to mask lack of vitality and defeat.

The street car strikers in New York after their first strike have submitted to a fraud and are being punished for it in a second strike, which is waged under much more unfavorable conditions, and the railroad workers will most likely awake soon to get the same kind of experience. May all the misery and pain at least result in a growing understanding, in a clear notion that each worker of the rank and file has to do his own bit of thinking and must be prepared to stick to his class struggle in the near future under conditions where only organized mass action will have any chance against the combined and trustified capitalists in the period of Imperialism.





STAGE—A SCENE BEING REHEARSED

THE TALE OF THE MOVIE

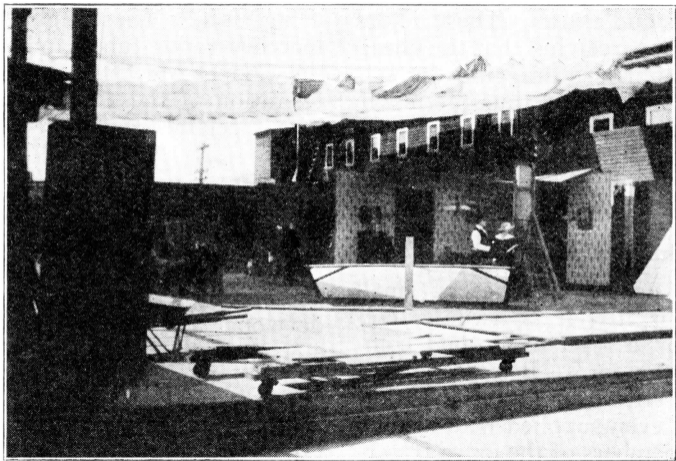
By JULIUS HESS

IN its earlier days, when its possibilities were as yet not understood, the moving picture presented itself, from the workers' standpoint, as an inaccessible and highly specialized industry. Only the few could break thru the barriers of influence which surrounded it and they, once belonging to the favored and highly salaried few, maintained a sort of sympathetic solidarity. They deluded themselves that, altho unorganized they could retain their standard, and even raise it, primarily because they were experts and few in number, and secondly because the moving picture industry could not, on account of the intense rivalry between the hundreds of small concerns, ever develop into the huge and dictating trust which it now inevitably is becoming.

But as the industry developed, the smaller companies soon found it more profitable to organize to produce their films. Instead of, as individual concerns, fighting furiously for actors, or photographic experts, etc., they organized their capital, three and four together, used one site as a producing ground and, as organized and concentrated exploitation, dictated the wages and conditions. Thus the "secure" and superior aristocrats of labor suddenly found them-

selves, instead of working a few hours for one company, working long and right lustily for several, at the same time facing a concomitant drop in wages. For instance, the Universal was a combination of twenty-eight units. The Majestic became the Majestic, Reliance, Komic, Broncho, etc., all claiming the same address, and the concentration of capital went merrily on. Finally came the union of these small groups into larger ones, such as the Triangle Film Corporation, containing the Fine Arts (which formerly was the Reliance, Majestic, Komic, Broncho, etc.), the Ince and the Keystone. Companies of this caliber own their own theaters all over the country and are exhibitors as well as producers.

Meanwhile there had sprung up the "big feature," such as the Clansman, which often necessitated the employment of thousands of people for one scene. Being at a loss to obtain these, the usual procedure is to connect with the Municipal Labor Bureau (I am writing of Los Angeles here), when a horde of unemployed are hurried out to work for \$1 or \$1.50 per day. After doing so these invariably burn with the desire to become movie idols, go to the company office and compete with the once high-sal-



STAGE—A SCENE BEING REHEARSED

aried stock-actors and extras. These actors are now gradually perceiving that the cheap and despised mob-man is dragging the salaries down to his level, and thus the movie industry has become ripened for organization. But there are huge difficulties and to understand them it is first necessary to know something of how the movie is made.

Making a Movie

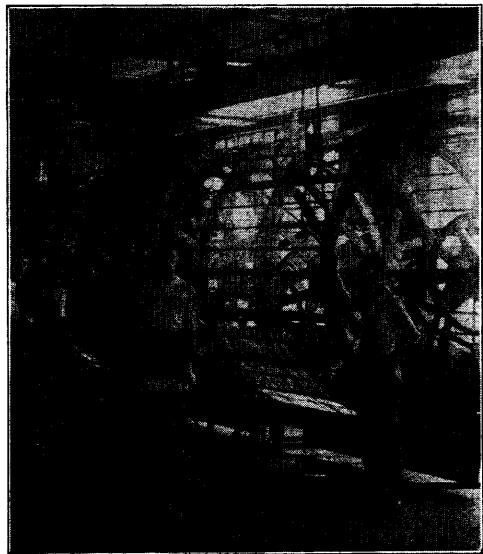
The studio is usually a series of small buildings, perhaps fifteen or twenty, collected together on a tract of ground commonly termed "the lot." It represents a small town in itself, with cafeteria, barber shop, etc., and is even supplied with a town "bull" to watch members of the extra fraternity who may become unruly during their search for work. The manufacture of the film itself is a more or less complicated process. The film is of celluloid, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width, and is coated with a light-sensitive substance called the emulsion. Down each side of the film are the sprocket-holes or perforations which enable the film to be projected. As in ordinary photography, there are two varieties of film, the negative and positive. The negative is the original film exposed by the camera man, and from which any number of prints may be taken until the negative is worn out. Film is received from the Eastman Company, of Rochester, N. Y., in 400 foot rolls, a four hundred foot roll being about the diameter of a small plate.

A scenario having been decided upon, a number of property men, carpenters, painters and helpers proceed to erect the first "set" (scene), which the director is to photograph. It does not necessarily follow that this is the first scene of the plot. Once a "set" is erected all the scenes which occur on it, during the progress of the plot, are filmed, without any sequence. So that sometimes one of the characters may be "shot" in the first scene taken, and then spend several weeks elaborating the plot which leads up to that event. After all the scenes in this room or rooms are taken the "set" is demolished.

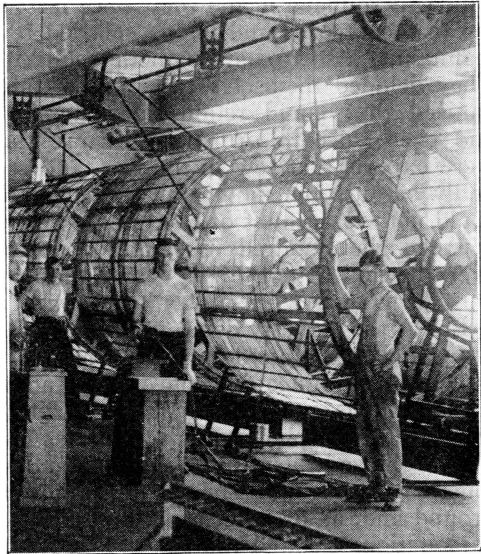
Overhead are the diffusers, which are long strips of canvas laid upon wires, and drawn along by ropes. These enable the camera man and his assistant to regulate the quantity and locality of the light necessary for clear photography. Scenes are often taken at night time indoors, artificial light

being used. These lights are a series of mercury-vapor tubes and a type known as the Cooper-Mewitt is generally used. The operation of these necessitates the services of a specially trained electrician and assistant.

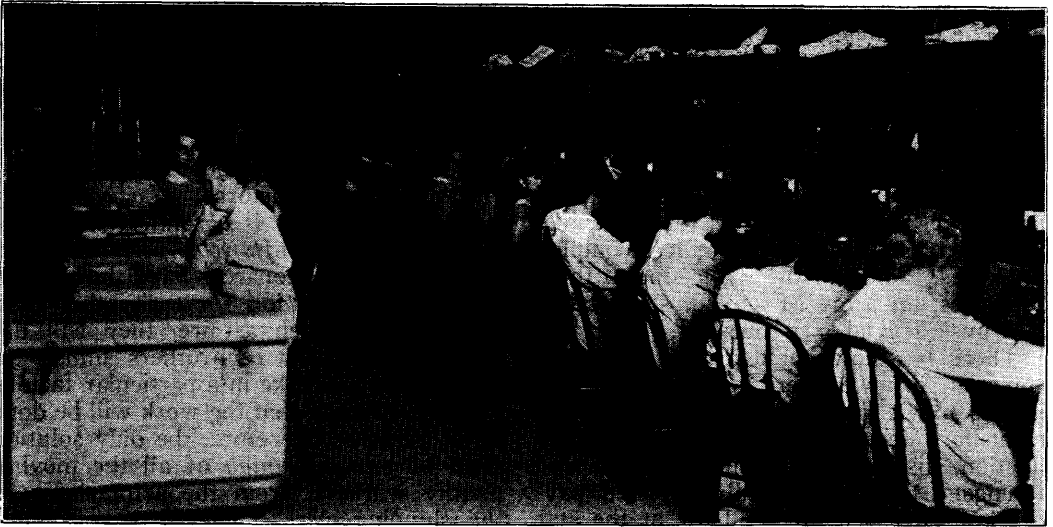
When exposed the roll of negative is taken to the factory. The first process is to wind it around a square frame called a "rack." This is next taken to a dark room and is placed in a wooden tank by a negative developer and developed. After being immersed in liquid the emulsion becomes soft and gelatinous; hereafter, until dried, it requires great care in handling as the least touch rubs off the emulsion and the entire roll may be spoiled and the scene would have to be retaken. Upon leaving the developer, the film goes to the hypo man, who makes it possible for the light sensitive surface to be taken out into the washing room. Here it is washed on drums revolving in water. Some companies use racks instead of drums for this purpose. All of the men who handle the film in the factory are skilled or semi-skilled. The cost involved in taking some scenes in large productions may be from \$500 to \$8,000, and it can be readily seen that the handling of a negative of this description involves great care and responsibility. A single false move, a touch on the jelly-like surface, and the entire scene is useless.



FILM DRYING RACKS IN LABORATORIES OF SELIG POLYSCOPE CO., CHICAGO



FILM DRYING RACKS IN LABORATORIES OF
SELIG POLYSCOPE CO., CHICAGO



WORKING ON THE FILMS DEVELOPING AND PRINTING DEPARTMENT.
SELIG POLYSCOPE CO., CHICAGO

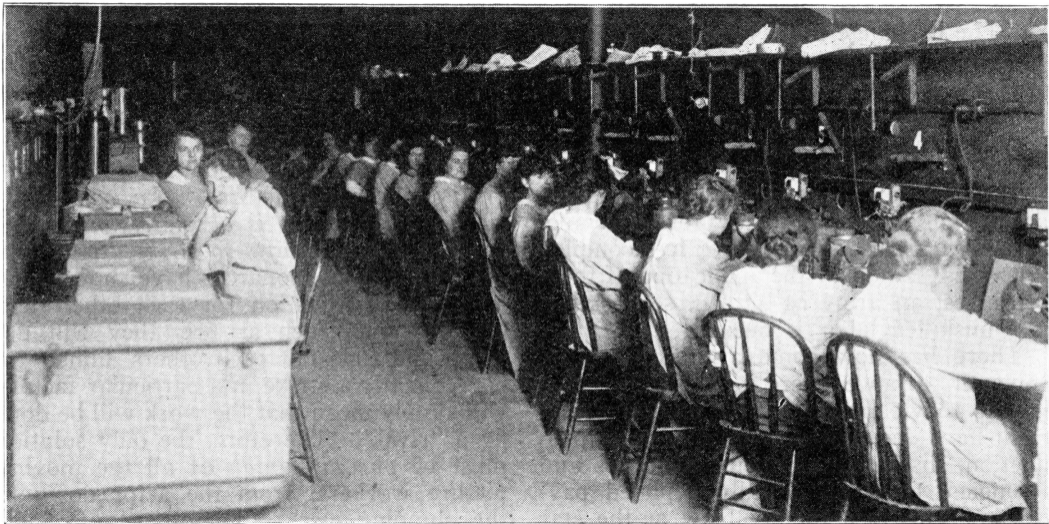
Having been developed, hypoed and washed, the negative is handed to the dryers who wind it on huge skeleton drums. There may be from twenty to thirty of these in the drying room and they are electrically driven. Revolving rapidly on these, in a high temperature, the film soon dries. Having been wound from the drum into a compact roll it is next taken to the negative inspection room. Here are girls who examine it on rewinders to see that there have been no scratches or rough handling during the chemical processes it has undergone.

All being found correct, the printing room is the next to receive the roll. If you were to examine the negative now you would find that it resembles in appearance a kodak negative. The black portions are white and vice versa. The printing room is, of course, dark, that is to say lit only by red light. In it the printer takes our roll of negative and another roll of positive, places them together on the printing machines and reproduces the scenes from the negatives on to the positive. The positive film reverses the lights and shades of the negative and is the true film which is projected upon the screen in your theater. Nothing can as yet be seen upon it, for it too has to be developed. The process of developing, hypo, washing and drying is similiar to that of the negative. The positive developing, however, is distinct from the negative developing, and

is a trade in itself. Positive film is invariably colored. This is done on a rack, while still wet from the washing room and before drying. Analine dyes are generally used. The coloring of film, since the war, has become increasingly difficult as the cost of dye has increased as much as 750 per cent. We now see that the film is completed in itself, but it still remains to be "assembled," that is to say, the rolls placed in sequence, the titles in order, ready to be "spliced" or joined together. The inspectors do this work after first seeing that the quality is good, the density of the prints correct, and the coloring even.

The process of joining film together is semi-skilled work. First the scrapers, usually girls getting about \$7 per week, carefully pare off the emulsion at the junction of the scenes leaving the raw film exposed. Next comes the splicer who places the ends together and applies some amyl acetate. The action of this is to melt the celluloid, this softened part immediately hardens again and the scene is joined. There are approximately one hundred splices to be made in a thousand foot reel, consequently the speed of a splicer determines her salary. It would take you between 12 and 20 minutes to see one of these reels on the screen.

The completed picture is now taken to a projecting room, which is a miniature theater, and run upon the screen to see if all is well. Then comes the shipper who



WORKING ON THE FILMS DEVELOPING AND PRINTING DEPARTMENT.
SELIG POLYSCOPE CO., CHICAGO

sends it to the exchange that has purchased it. The exchange rents it to the exhibitor. Then one evening you pay your dime, the operator places the first reel upon his machine and the show begins.

Future of the Movie

Thus, it will be seen, that the complete production of a film, ready for screening, involves a number of more or less complex processes. And, for the application of these processes, an army of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labor is needed.

There has now come a time when, in common parlance, there is a "slump," that is, the movie magnates, by mutual agreement have decided to practically cease production, discharge all their employees and re-engage them on a sadly depleted paycheck. This is a mighty blow at the star as well as the smaller salaried man. Whereas, previously, corporations were wont to struggle for the services of the more brilliant of the film luminaries, these are now forced to return, contracts having expired, at any wage considered sufficient by the concern. The Fox Film Company has been discharging employees of all kinds. So has the Lasky and the Fine Arts.

The only Moving Picture Union in California (outside of the Operators) is the A. F. of L. Laboratory Workers' Union, recently organized and consisting of about forty members (there are approximately 4,000 laboratory workers in Los Angeles

alone). It is composed mainly of washing room men, with one or two printers. They are all attached to the Lasky or Fine Arts Studios. The rest of the companies are untouched. The making of a moving picture, as shown, needs the skilled or semi-skilled attention of about fifty different crafts (including actors). *To completely tie up a factory it is absolutely necessary for all of these crafts to strike.* Not only this; the movies monarchs have shown such a degree of affection for each other that, on occasions, such as fire, they will develop and turn out each others' films. So consequently a strike in a particular factory will simply mean that the work will be done by a "rival." Therefore, the only solution must be *one big union* of all the moving picture workers, from the actor down to the shipping clerk. They have not individual companies to fight, but a gigantic trust *and the battle for more and more of the fat profits cannot be won by an isolated strike against one particular concern.*

Finally, this industry is becoming one of the largest in the United States. The few rebels I have come in contact with already realize the futility of a petty craft union among such a net work of little crafts. The I. W. W. has sought—and has not yet abandoned the seeking—to establish an *industrial union* of moving picture employees. Such a union is the only kind to achieve results, so it is to be wished that its birth will be soon and its growth rapid.



How We Robbed Mexico in 1848

By ROBERT H. HOWE

THERE is one page of our own history that our historians pass over lightly and to which America cannot point with any feeling of pride, but only with shame and disgrace. I refer to the Mexican war. When the causes and results of that war are studied it can be readily understood why the Mexicans hate us and why the rest of the South American republics view us with suspicion.

Prior to the Mexican war the Nation was divided over the question of chattel slavery. That form of property had been abolished north of the Ohio river and Mason and Dixon line, but altho the South was still in the saddle, it felt that its seat was by no means secure. At that time the Nation consisted of 28 states, 14 of them free and 14 slave. States were admitted to the Union practically in pairs—one free and one slave state being admitted at the same time. This kept the United States Senate equally divided. But the more rapid growth of the population in the free states of the north threatened the political supremacy of the slave holding power. Wisconsin was applying for admission, and further west Minnesota, Dakota, Kansas and Nebraska loomed up as future free states. Louisiana, admitted in 1812, was the western limit of slave territory. Beyond Louisiana lay Mexico. Adventurers not only permitted, but encouraged by the slave power, entered Mexico and joined in a revolt against Mexico, and Texas was declared an independent state. Negotiations were immediately begun, looking to the annexation of Texas with the intention of dividing it into four states, and thus securing the South with a new lease of power.

Upon its admission a conflict with Mexico arose over its western boundary—Mexico claimed that the Nueces river was the dividing line, while the United States claimed the territory to the Rio Grande. This left a strip about 150 miles wide as debatable ground. Here was a question that could easily have been settled by



ROBERT H. HOWE,
Socialist Candidate for Congress, Illinois

diplomacy and a treaty drawn up and the War of 1848 prevented. But the American army invaded the disputed territory and were met by resistance by the Mexicans—a number were killed and wounded and the rest compelled to surrender. The war spirit always lying dormant in some people was lashed into a frenzy by such public declarations as “Our country has been invaded,” “American blood has been spilled on American soil,” all of which sounds strangely familiar to us today.

General U. S. Grant was a soldier in the army at this time and it is pertinent at this point to quote the following extracts from his Personal Memoirs:

“There was no intimation that the removal of the troops to the border of Louisiana was occasioned in any way by the prospective annexation of Texas, but it was generally understood that such was the case. *Ostensibly we were intended to prevent filibustering into Texas, but really as a menace to Mexico. . . . And to this day I regard the war which resulted as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies.*” (Vol. 1, Chapter 111, page 53.)

“The same people who, with permission of Mexico, had colonized Texas, and after-



ROBERT H. HOWE,
Socialist Candidate for Congress, Illinois

wards set up slavery there, and then seceded as soon as they felt strong enough to do so, offered themselves and the state to the United States, and in 1845 the offer was accepted. *The occupation, separation and annexation were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states may be formed for the American Union.* Even if the annexation itself could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico cannot."

"The southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. *Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times.*" (Vol. 1, Chapter III, pages 54-56.)

"The presence of United States troops on the edge of the disputed territory furthest from the Mexican settlements was not sufficient to provoke hostilities. *We were sent to provoke a fight, but it was essential that Mexico should commence it. It was very doubtful whether congress would declare war, but if Mexico should attack our troops, the executive could announce: 'Whereas war exists, by the acts, etc.' and prosecute the contest with vigor.*" Vol. 1, Chapter IV., page 68.)

War was declared and it ended in the complete defeat of Mexico. And then the greed that incited the war gained full sway. The 150 miles of debatable ground, the dispute over which brought on the war, was lost sight of. Mexico, defeated and helpless, was forced to sign a treaty giving to the United States not only all of Texas, which in itself is as large as the whole German empire and New England together, but in addition, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Is it any wonder that the Mexicans hate us and call us "Pigs?"

In the present agitation in America for the invasion of Mexico, ostensibly for the purpose of establishing order or punishing a bandit for an invasion which it has been declared on the floor of the United States Senate was organized and financed by Americans, they see a cleverly planned scheme of financiers to force intervention and they know that once the army and the flag were in Mexico they would remain permanently. They see that unless this is

resisted to the death the ultimate fate of Mexico is to be absorbed by the colossus of the North and her independence as a nation destroyed.

There is abundant proof that their fears are well grounded by the record of events that have recently occurred in Central America and the West Indies. Some years ago Nicaragua borrowed \$3,000,000 from J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York. A revolution broke out and this was urged as an excuse to land the marines from American warships to protect American interests. They are still there. America has established a protectorate over that country and the present congress has ratified a treaty and appropriated \$3,000,000 for the exclusive right to the Nicaraguan canal route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and it further stipulates that the money shall be used to pay its foreign debt under the advice and supervision of the Secretary of Treasury of the United States.

This is an example of what is known as "dollar-diplomacy." First get a nation into debt and the rest is easy.

United States troops are also in possession of the Republics of Hayti and also of Santo Domingo under precisely similar conditions. The troops were landed and took possession of the Custom Houses; in other words, of the Nation's finances. Representatives of the United States are at the elbow of the native officials, dictating the expenditures and in general telling what may and may not be done.

Porto Rico is the absolute property of the United States. Cuba is dominated by the American tobacco and sugar trusts and cannot make any treaty without the consent of the United States government.

The Panama Canal strip was seized as the result of a plot formulated in Washington and of which President Roosevelt was fully advised—American warships were in the harbor when the so-called revolution was sprung. A provisional government was organized and immediately recognized by the powers at Washington; a treaty already drawn up was hastily adopted and accepted by Washington; the troops were landed and took possession of the ten-mile canal strip, and when the navy of Columbia, which consisted of one small gunboat, arrived, it was confronted with the American fleet and was helpless. All this was done within the space of forty-eight hours

And this dastardly piece of land piracy was endorsed by all the governments of Europe—Kaiser Wilhelm personally congratulated President Roosevelt. Ten million dollars was loaned by J. P. Morgan & Co. to the Republic of Panama and the bonds are guaranteed by the United States.

In 1848 the dominant economic class was represented by the slave-owning, cotton-growing element in the South. They sent troops to the border of Mexico with the sole purpose of fomenting trouble so as to have some valid excuse for the invasion of Mexico. They succeeded and took from Mexico one-half of her territory.

The dominant economic class today is represented by Banking, Railroad, Oil, Mining and other interests and they are playing the same game that the exploiters of chattel slaves played in 1848. To prove this is an easy matter, all one has to do is to read a few extracts from the current press. From the *Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1916:

INTERVENTION GROWS IN FAVOR.

Members of Congress Fear It Is Inevitable
—Favor Annexing a Part.

* * *

It also transpires that many senators and representatives who advocate immediate intervention also favor annexing the northern portion of the republic as compensation for the cost of the undertaking.

Typical expressions of opinion follow:

Representative Rainey—Events of the week seem to make it clear that there is no way of escaping intervention in Mexico. We have striven and striven to get along with our neighbor, but it seems impossible. We have on our southern border the longest boundary in existence between a civilized and a semi-civilized nation. To police it properly would require over 2,000,000 men. I favor taking over the northern tier of Mexican states.

Representative Sabath—I hope it will not be necessary to intervene, but if we do and are forced to lose the lives of a number of men, we should annex the country either wholly or in part.

Should Do a Good Job.

Representative Britten—If it becomes necessary to go into Mexico, we should make a complete job of it by annexing the northern tier of Mexican states.

Representative Denison—If it turns out that our troops were treated treacherously, we should not hesitate to intervene. We should go southward, taking the border with us. We should either do this or receive a large indemnity.

On June 24, 1916, the *Chicago American* printed a cartoon that pictured in the most brazen way what the capitalist intended to do, and followed it later with an editorial from which the following extracts are taken:

“Nothing worth while will be accomplished by occasional ‘punitive expeditions.’”

“The way to IMPRESS the Mexicans is to REPRESS the Mexicans. The way to begin is to say to them: . . .

“We are no longer planning to catch this bandit or that. We are GOING INTO MEXICO. And as far as we GO, we’ll stay.”

“When you see an American soldier one hundred feet inside of Mexico, you may take it to mean that ONE HUNDRED FEET ARE NO LONGER MEXICAN, BUT UNITED STATES.

“If you make it necessary for our soldiers to go in two hundred MILES, you can change your geographies and add two hundred miles to the United States.

“In this way we hope to make you realize that it is not wise to make us go in TOO FAR.”

“The United States OUGHT to make one single bit of the cherry, go down all the way, and civilize everything between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal.

“The right kind of American enthusiasm will eventually DO THAT.”

March 24, 1916, Senator James Hamilton Lewis introduced the following resolution in the Senate, recounting the fact that Villa, the “bandit,” was notoriously receiving support of both munitions and money from Americans.

“The text of the Lewis “treason” resolution follows:

Whereas, It is known to the authorities of the United States that funds and supplies are being furnished to the force and following of Villa in Mexico from foreign countries, and from sources in the United States of America, and

Whereas, Such supplies and sustenance are being delivered for the purpose of being used against the soldiers of the United

States and to oppose the authority of the United States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That those who are furnishing supplies and sustenance to the force of Villa for the purpose of opposing the United States are the enemies of the United States, and those in the United States who are furnishing supplies and sustenance to the said Villa forces, either of money or provisions, arms and ammunition, are within the provision of the laws of the United States defining treason as giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States." . . .

"I shall push my resolution vigorously,"

said Mr. Lewis, after the splutter of Mexican debate it had caused, died away. "I may call it up Saturday." The administration is in possession of a means of information as to the identity of the persons or corporations who have been assisting this murderous Mexican bandit for the sake of filthy money or dirtier politics.

"The nation would be amazed to learn the names of some of the men of national repute who are mixed up in the intrigue against national peace. Many of them are noisy champions of the campaign for preparedness."

THE CAMPAIGN FORECAST

By A. N. OBSERVER

THERE will be no 2,000,000 Socialist votes this November. Nor will there be "eight Socialist Congressmen" elected this fall, at least.

Even the most optimistic Socialist who does not permit his enthusiasm to get the best of his reason will concede this.

Notwithstanding the above assertion, the prospects for progress of the Socialist movement are such as to encourage all of us who believe in the evolutionary character of Socialist growth.

If on November 7th of this year we can place to our credit 1,200,000 votes and can return Comrade Meyer London to Congress reinforced by two Socialist Congressmen from Oklahoma we shall be doing as well as we have a right to expect. This estimate is based on close study and observation of conditions as they actually are and not as we might wish they were.

Local conditions in Milwaukee indicate that the party's two Congressional candidates whose chances are best make their election impossible, for the present, though they will poll a heavy vote. The atavistic regeneration of the erstwhile dormant nationalist spirit will play havoc with the prospects of a victorious vote in that city. Poles are going to vote as Poles for a candidate of Polish descent and name. The Germans are going to vote as Germans for an old party candidate who is pronouncedly pro-German. The above holds true at this writing and

the outcome can only be changed by an unexpected political situation which may alter the predicted result.

In New York Comrade Meyer London's chances are as good as they could possibly be. Of his re-election there is no doubt. This, of course, with the proviso that the comrades in that district are fully prepared against some eleventh hour election trick that Tammany might plan to put over. Morris Hillquit's prospects for an unusually large Socialist vote are good indeed, but again there enters a psychological factor that militates against his being elected. His strongest opponent is popular with the mob, and has a history that is "politically clean." What effect the "carpet-bagging" charge that is hurled against our candidate will have remains to be seen. The campaign against Hillquit is not conducted on a basis of fundamental issues, but on the allegation that Hillquit is not a resident of the Twentieth Congressional district.

In the Fifth Indiana district, from which all of us would like to see Comrade Eugene V. Debs come out the victor, there is a problem the solution of which it is hard to foretell. Comrade Debs' popularity with the masses down there is unanimous. All the workers within that district, with hardly any exceptions, are going to cast their ballot solidly for Debs, even if not all of them vote "straight." But the vote of the industrial

workers is not sufficient to carry him through. The farmers here hold the balance of power. What they will do is a puzzling question just now.

Most of the farmers within the boundaries of this congressional district are what is commonly termed "well-to-do." Practically all of them are employers of labor either during parts of or the entire year. Congressman Moss, Debs' opponent on the Democratic ticket, is a "farmer." Nevertheless, these farmers, many of whom have never heard of Socialism before, are giving Debs record audiences that exceed in numbers any of those that gathered to hear the old party candidate.

The question: Will Debs be elected? can only be answered by the question "What will the farmers do?"

In Oklahoma there are only two congressional districts that can be grouped as "sure winners," while in a third our candidate may come within a few hundred votes of election.

The writer will not make any estimate of the prospects for Comrade A. Grant Miller's election to the U. S. Senate from Nevada for the good and sufficient reason that he knows nothing about the situation out there.

The prospects for the capture of the city of Minneapolis are good—just as good as the prospects for the three congressmen. Of Comrade Van Lear's election as mayor of that city the writer has no doubt, but is not at all certain that enough members of the city council can be elected to give the mayor a solid backing in that body.

The estimate of the 1,200,000 vote is based on close observation and investigation. The writer has had occasion to interview numerous eastern labor leaders; he also carefully perused the editorial and news attitude of the labor press.

Had both the Democrats and the Republicans conducted their campaign in the usual manner and had Wilson failed to throw out a sop to labor as an election trick, there would have been some justification for the expectation of doubling our vote. Even with the vote doubled we would be about 200,000 votes shy of the longed for 2,000,000. Wilson in his action during the railroad controversy played a

good card, threw out some bait to labor, and labor insists on its right to be fooled whenever it pleases, and it will bite, not perceiving the hook hidden within the bait.

No doubt that a number of the 900,000 who voted our ticket in 1912 are among the group that is going to bite for Wilson's bait. We shall, therefore, calmly expect some desertions from the 1912 ranks. On the other hand, however, it is reasonable to assume that all of our propaganda of the last four years must bear some fruit. Then again there are a number of states in which the women were enfranchised since 1912. We have a right to expect a fair portion of the feminine vote. During these four years, no doubt, many young men have grown mature enough to vote, and that their numbers exceed the number of Socialist voters that have died since 1912.

Should our estimate of the possible November results become a reality then we shall certainly have no cause to complain. We should rather look the facts in the face NOW instead of building air castles about impossible immediate achievements, and then have them shattered by a result out of proportion with our dreamy hope.

With 1,200,000 Socialist votes recorded at the November election, with three Congressmen, with an increased number of municipal and state representatives, we should energetically set ourselves to the task of organizing and educating this army of over 1,000,000 that have voted our ticket. We should make of every one of them an agitator or an organizer so that our propaganda may be multiplied ten thousand fold. That is our big opportunity—to reach and educate these people!

There is a big job ahead of us. We shall look upon the total Socialist vote this fall as we would look upon a thermometer, watch whether the temperature is rising, and after having cast a look upon it turn away with a satisfied determination to raise the temperature, to make the mercury climb up higher and higher until we will have succeeded in making it so hot for capitalism that it will be unable to survive the change in our industrial and political temperature.



HOMES OF FREE BORN AMERICAN CITIZENS IN OKLAHOMA CITY
One room for each family. Rent, \$4.00 per month. Owned by a leading merchant

Hunger in the Midst of Plenty

By L. D. GILLESPIE

OKLAHOMA is wonderfully rich in natural resources. With her exceptionally fertile soil and mild but healthful and invigorating climate, she is capable of supporting ten times her present population in comfort and happiness.

But comfort and happiness are not the portion of the masses of her citizenship. Poverty and wretchedness abound in the midst of plenty; and hunger haunts the mind of giant strength.

In June, 1906, Congress passed an act to enable Oklahoma and Indian Territory to form a state government, and on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma, with boundaries as now fixed, became a state of the Union.

The total land area of the state is 69,414 square miles and the population at the time of admission to the Union, in 1907, was 1,414,177, of which 19.3 per cent was urban, while 80.7 per cent lived in rural territory.

As to color and nativity, 87.2 per cent were white; 8.3 per cent negroes and 4.5 per cent were Indians. The native whites

constituted 79.1 per cent of the total population of the state.

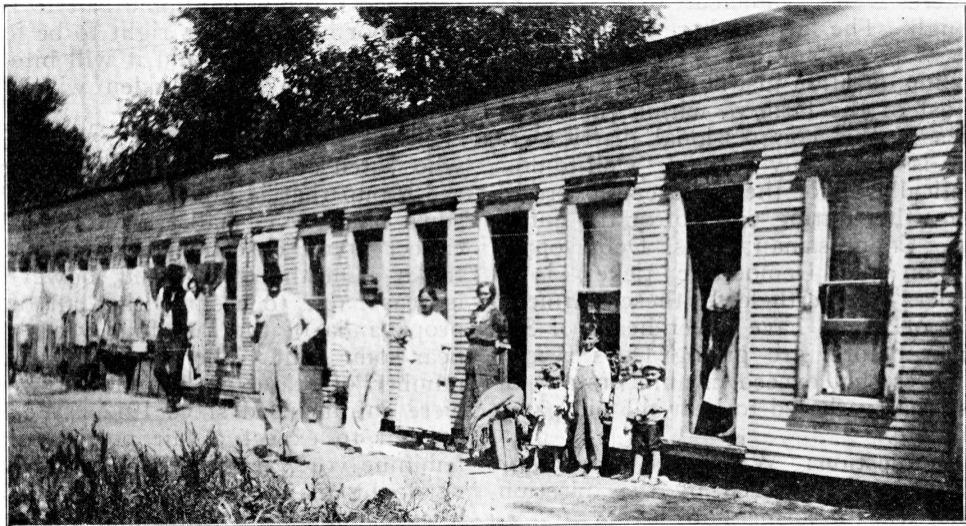
Industrially, Oklahoma is classified in order of importance, into agriculture, mining (including the production of oil and gas) and manufacturing.

The principal agricultural products are: corn, cotton and wheat. The valuation of those three products for the year 1915 was as follows: corn, \$47,940,000; cotton, \$38,640,000; wheat, \$32,707,500.

The amount of oil, gas and mineral production for the year of 1915 was: Oil, 107,429,208.26 barrels, the actual cash value of which was \$49,069,765.51; gas, 65,458,756 M. feet, the actual cash value of which was \$2,116,389.11; lead and zinc, 26,963.76 tons, valued at \$1,732,808.14; asphalt, 417,931 tons, valued at \$31,292.38.

The coal production of the state has not been officially reported since 1912. The production for that year was 3,183,457 tons, representing a cash value of \$6,617,645.54.

During the few brief years since the beginning of statehood various groups of



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Real Estate Broker and Speculator in Oil and Gas Lands

pharisaical parasites have sprung up in this state who are waxing fat through the conscienceless and merciless exploitation of the working class.

They are the gentry constituting the eminently respectable citizens of the cities and county seat towns of the state; the directors and officers of the chambers of commerce; the deacons and pillars of the aristocratic churches.

They are the bankers, the credit store merchants and the heads of enterprises operating under municipal franchises; the landlord and the corporation lawyers.

One of the most oppressive and the most hated of these groups is the bankers, who through their organized associations have obtained control of the political machinery of the Democratic party, through which they control legislation and exert a most powerful influence upon the court decisions of the state.

They are thus enabled to evade or ignore the laws of the state governing interest rates. Evidence gathered by John Skelton Williams, the comptroller of the currency, establishes the fact that some of the banks of this state have been charging from forty to one thousand per cent interest on some of their short time loans.

Landlordism is another form of exploitation, equally as oppressive and no less conscienceless than the banking system.

According to the census of 1910, there were 190,192 farms in the state of Okla-

homa. Of this number 104,137 are operated exclusively by tenants; 20,520 farmers operate partly owned and partly rented land; 651 farms were operated by managers.

This makes a total of 125,308 farm operatives out of a total of 190,192 who must pay tribute to the landlord for the privilege of working the land.

In addition to this there are 36,036 of the 64,884 farms operated exclusively by owners that are under mortgage, which raises the number of exploited farm operators to 161,337. In other words, only 28,855 out of a total of 190,192 farm operatives were free from exploitation by either tenantry or interest on mortgage.

Of the 36,036 farms reported as mortgaged, the amount of mortgage debt was reported for only 24,488 farms, which was \$27,384,765.

This form of exploitation is absorbing more than \$40,000,000 annually from the producers of agricultural wealth in the state of Oklahoma.

This represents the exploitation upon land values only. The cattle mortgage business of this state is enormous, and this is the most vicious and iniquitous of all forms of exploitation.

It is with such mortgages that the conscienceless bankers and loan sharks keep the tenant farmers hopelessly in debt.

The landlord, the loan shark and the



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Real Estate Broker and Speculator in Oil and Gas Lands



A FAMILIAR RURAL SCENE IN OKLAHOMA. AN EVICTED TENANT FARMER AND HIS "PROPERTY"

credit merchant have preyed upon the tenant farmers of this state until these farmers are reduced to a state of economic wretchedness that beggars description.

The wretched and miserable shacks in which they are housed, with their cheerless and dingy walls and barren floors, are indeed a sad commentary upon the civilization of the twentieth century, but the more heinous phase of their economic condition is manifested in the disconsolate expression in the faces of their ill-clad and over-worked children.

The children of these tenant farmers are kept out of school to work in the cotton patch during the growing and picking season of the cotton crop.

The return from his crop is insufficient to enable the farmer to employ adult help, so the wife and children are compelled to work in the field.

All day little children may be seen drudging through the cotton rows, in the broiling hot sun, coining their sweat and lives into gold to appease the rapacious avarice of a conscienceless landlord.

Tenant farming in Oklahoma is rapidly approaching a state of peonage, unsurpassed by any country in the western hemisphere, an ever-increasing number of tenants, who are unable to produce enough to clear their teams and personal effects from mortgage find themselves as firmly tied to their masters' land as the most helpless serf in the days of feudalism.

But peonage, indefensible and abhorrent as it is, is overshadowed by the dramatic climax to Oklahoma tenantry in

the evictions of the tenant. After the cold-blooded and bestial landlord has exploited his tenant to the point of physical depletion, he takes by process of foreclosure the last dollar of his tenant's worldly possessions and turns him and his family out into the highway to swell the vast army of homeless and wandering outcasts of society.

Turning to the miners, the largest group of the organized forces of the working class in the state, we find a condition prevailing little, if any less oppressive, than that affecting the tenant farmers.

The report of the Department of Interior for 1915 shows that there were 6,850 underground and 1,128 surface men, or a total of 8,078 men, employed in the mines of this state during that year.

No data have been gathered by the state since 1912. The coal production for that year was 3,183,457 tons, having a cash value of \$6,617,645.54. To produce the above named tonnage, it required the services of 5,167 miners, 2,395 inside or day men, 1,382 outside or top men, making a total of 8,743 in all. They worked 13,953 days, using 149,194 kegs of black powder, 48,795 pounds of carbonite, 121,005 pounds of masurite, 26,094 pounds of monobel, 3,536 cases of dynamite. Nineteen and one-third tons produced to each keg of powder used. There were 103 fatal accidents, making 72 widows and 169 orphans. There were 30,610 tons of coal produced for every fatal accident, or for every man killed.

The report shows that the 5,167 miners taken to produce the above named ton-



A FAMILIAR RURAL SCENE IN OKLAHOMA. AN EVICTED TENANT FARMER
AND HIS "PROPERTY"

nage show an average of 616 tons each, for the year ending June 30, 1912.

Placing this tonnage at the average rate of 90 cents per ton, including yardage and other dead work, would make the earning capacity of each miner \$594.40. The grand total cost of all explosives to produce the above named tonnage was \$361,771.48, making it cost each miner the sum of \$70.

Deducting the \$70 for explosives leaves a net balance to each miner of \$524.40. This is not including the cost to the miner of blacksmith work, fuse, oil and blasting paper and other incidental expenses.

The living quarters furnished the miners by the company are very much the same as that furnished the tenant farmer by the landlord, the buildings consisting chiefly of a two-room house with a one or two-room lean-to, for which they must pay \$8 per month rent.

The unorganized group of the working class constitute the largest body of workers in the state and they are the poorest paid of all, their average wage being \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day.

These men are the victims of that large hoard of real estate grafters infesting the electric light towns of the state, who are growing rich from inflated prices upon real estate and high rents.

They are the residents of the industrial sections of the cities, and occupy the dingy shacks and dilapidated houses that invariably surround the industrial quarters of the cities.

This class of workers constitutes the source from which the great army of migratory workers are being recruited. Being without means of support

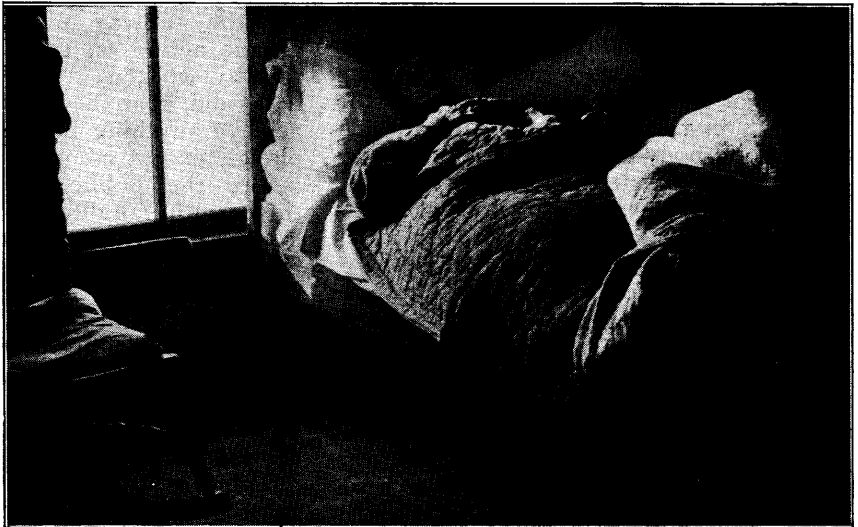
during periods of enforced idleness, he goes from city to city in search of employment until his scanty savings are exhausted and he becomes the victim of the vagrancy ordinances, so common and so rigorously enforced in the cities of this state.

The upkeep of the streets in such cities as Tulsa, Muskogee, Oklahoma City and Ardmore, and the construction of the country roads in the counties where such cities are located, are maintained principally by fines assessed against this class.

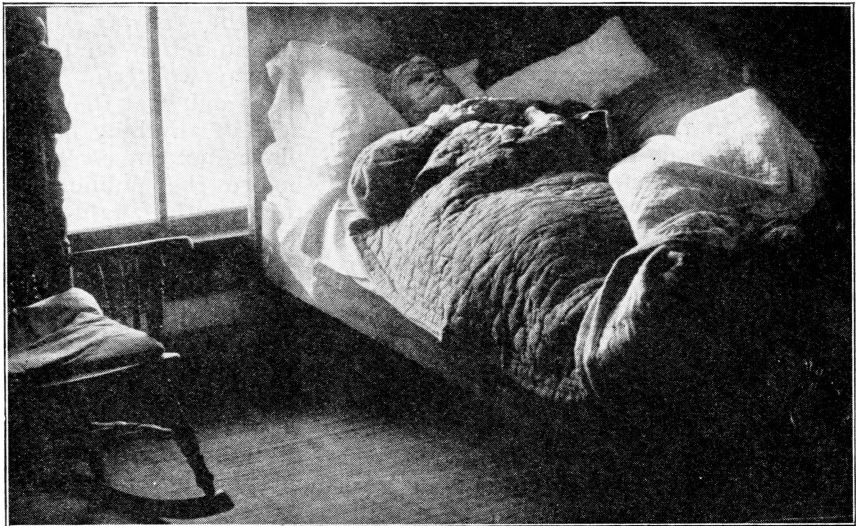
Oklahoma is a concrete example of the baneful influence of unrestrained commercial greed, supported and augmented by the political power of a sordid machine.

The class struggle, in this state, is vividly portrayed in the marked contrast between the luxurious lives of the master class in its arrogant possession of wealth and the melancholy condition of the working class, whose incessant toil leaves them hungry in the midst of plenty.

But the day of reckoning is near at hand. A new and revolutionary organization, known as the Working Class Union, is being formed among the tenant farmers and wage workers of the state. This organization is growing with the marvelous rapidity that characterized the formation of the revolutionary clubs that battered down the Bastille in Paris and overthrew the feudal lords of France.



THIS OLD LADY WAS EVICTED ALTHO SICK IN BED. HER FOREFATHERS FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR



THIS OLD LADY WAS EVICTED ALTHO SICK IN BED. HER FOREFATHERS
FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The Strike of New York Carmen

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE scene is laid in the City of New York, early in August, Nineteen Sixteen. Enter on the stage: Theodore Shonts, the Panama Canal Building Grand Fiasco and the New York Street Railway Looting Grand Success; James L. Quackenbush, won first renown as a spy on the death cell of Czolgosz, assassin of McKinley, brought to New York to succeed Robinson, attorney for the New York Street Railways, who was removed when the practice of the company in suborning witnesses, bribing juries, judges and court attendants was revealed. Behind them came arrayed the gigantic powers that be—the elephantine press, trumpeting its mastodonic lies of the hardships to the capitalists and prosperity of the workingmen. Mayor Mitchell, oily and foxy, rubbing his hands, with a friendly smirk to the workingmen on his face and loyalty to the capitalists in his heart. Commissioner Strauss, a good man as good men are found, but steeped in capitalistic bias and prejudice as a herring is steeped in pickle. Behind all of them loomed Wall Street, greedy, ugly, and brutal, ready to pounce, tear and devour.

And who were the men that opposed this mighty force? William Fitzgerald, indomitable fighter in labor's cause, who, standing on the threshold of a vision, yet would not step across. William Mahon of the Amalgamated, one of the "aliens" on the side of the strikers. A fairly solid body of surface street railway car men; a substantial minority of the subway and elevated railway car men; organized labor of New York City in its pledged sympathy and support; American Federation of Labor, loyal, yet extremely cautious.

Trouble started in the suburbs of the City of New York in the beginning of August. The car men of Yonkers walked out. Some car men of the Bronx joined. It was suddenly bruited about that the entire street railway system of New York City was going to be tied up by a walk-out of all the carmen. Organizer Fitzgerald admitted the possibility. Presi-

dent Mahon came to New York. The revolt of the street, subway and elevated conductors was at hand. This any one could observe. Conductors in vast numbers, attended openly, in their uniforms, the organization meetings called by Mahon and Fitzgerald, defying the companies to discharge them. Union buttons were openly flashed from cap and coat by men at work, challenging the companies to "put up or shut up."

It was evident that the companies were panic stricken. The railway men had just grievances from any point of view. They were paid less than the street railway men of any other great American city. Yet the street railway magnates were piling up vast profits. Also the scandal of the subway building contracts, disclosed by the Thompson Commission, revealing the looting of the city, blackmailing and bribing under the guise of "commitments," were still fresh in the memory of the people. On the whole, the situation and conjecture of circumstances seem to be favorable to the street railway employes. It was a strategic moment for them to strike out, straight and true.

For that very reason it was incumbent for the railway magnates to prevent drastic action on the part of the street railway workers. They knew, the magnates did, that they could not personally achieve anything before the railway employes, except complete submission; nor before the public, which would treat them with laughter of derision. Here is where oily Mitchell and "good man" Straus stepped in to lend a hand. They rolled up their eyes heavenward and avowed that they were going to be absolutely honest, just and fearless in judging the issues between the railway employes and their employers. They invited both sides to submit the matter to the judgment of the Public Service Commission, in which Mayor Mitchell sat by courtesy.

With that fatal gullibility which seems to obsess the laboring man since the

first time when one man labored for another for hire, the street railway employes rushed into the trap. Everything went through swimmingly. The only demand made by the employes was recognition of the union to the extent that the companies should not refuse to deal with representatives of the employes regardless of whether the representatives were themselves employes of the companies or not. The question of wages and hours they were willing to arbitrate. An agreement was signed and "underwritten" by Mayor Mitchel and Commissioner Straus. "Everything is settled," said Mayor Mitchel. "Do you think so?" queried Fitzgerald, doubtfully. "Well, they have signed it, have they not?" His Honor reassured him.

Yet only a few days have passed and the companies withdrew their satin-gloved hand and put forth their cloven hoof. Full page advertisements appeared in the newspapers setting forth the grievances of the companies. We may laugh at the matter contained in such advertisements, but the companies know better. They do not throw money out without weighing results. The advertisements served a two-fold purpose: they bribed the newspapers and arrayed public opinion against their employes. At the same time individual contracts were circulated and submitted to each employe of the street railways. In many other brutal ways the companies sought to intimidate and terrorize their employes. Bribing employes by the offer of double pay was resorted to.

It must be remembered that the subway is owned by the City, which has formed a partnership with the Interborough Rapid Transit Co., the company gathering all the profits and the City paying all sorts of strange liabilities, but never receiving any profits. It was openly announced by the companies that the City will have to pay the increased running expenses, meaning the cost of breaking the Union. The companies ignored the signed agreement underwritten by Mayor Mitchel and Commissioner Straus, and began to discharge every employe who was active in the Amalgamated, including the committees that were sent by the employes to ne-

gotiate with the companies' officials. At the same time the companies began to organize "Yellow" Unions, pretending to concede the point of collective bargaining. They announced that they will deal directly with their men, individually and collectively; that no "aliens," meaning the representatives of the National Organization, will be allowed to interfere; that theirs was a happy family, all working for a common cause, all having a common interest, Theodore Shonts, of \$100,000 annual salary, James L. Quackenbush of \$75,000 annual salary, and the ticket chopper of 21 cents an hour.

Yet some may wonder how such a raw deal could go through. The sufficient answer is—it went.

There was a reason. The favorable conjuncture of circumstances for the railway workers has passed away. Say what you may, yet it must be admitted that public opinion is a weighty factor in strikes. For the public includes all other wage earners whose conservative views are molded by the press. And public opinion has veered about. At the beginning of the controversy, attention was centered on the fact that the railway barons were organized, yet would not permit a similar privilege to the railway workers; that the railway plutocrats were piling up vast fortunes, yet refuse to pay their employes a living wage. Now, the newspaper campaign of the companies began to tell. Firstly, only shortly before, the Four Brotherhoods "held up" Congress and President and, at the point of a stop-watch, exacted nobody knew what, but something tremendous. It meant the overthrow of organized government, yelled the newspapers. The public was taken aback. Anyhow, attention was diverted from the original issues. Also the work of bribing employes to remain "loyal" to the companies began to bring results. There are always "weak brothers" in any labor controversy. And at this time the impression spread that the companies will not yield, no matter what may happen. It was natural that thousands of the employes were little inclined to abandon the meagre subsistence which their jobs afforded them and plunge their families into privation and suffering. At the same time the companies brought down from

the West the cohorts of professional strikebreakers, brought together by the steam railroads for the eventuality of a strike, and marched them with great ostentation for the intimidation of their employes.

The Amalgamated Union found itself in a situation where it could pursue one course only—it declared a strike of all street railway employes. Charges of breach of faith and other recriminations, between the leaders of the street railway employes on one side and the street railway magnates and public officials on the other, filled the air. But never was a great labor victory achieved by leaders who resorted to guile and shrewdness instead of courage and audacity. The representatives of street railway employes were outwitted and outgeneraled completely. They were compelled to accept battle under most unfavorable circumstances.

Here it must be noted that the confidence which other labor leaders placed in Fitzgerald and the support which they were ready to lend him were remarkable indeed. There was no length to which many of them were not prepared to go to help a just cause out of a great difficulty. The employes of the surface cars went out in a fairly solid body. But the subway and elevated lines continued to run, manned by their old employes. What proportion of the subway and elevated employes went out I will not state here for the reason that I do not desire to come into conflict with any statement made by the leaders of the strike. It was, however, admitted that only a small minority of them struck. The bulk of the subway and elevated employes remained at work.

With great skill and perseverance Fitzgerald raised squarely the issue of destruction of all unionism. It was not, he claimed, a question of the local organization only. If the Amalgamated should be defeated in New York City, it will be attacked everywhere and destroyed. And it would mean not the destruction of the Amalgamated alone. It meant an attack on all labor unionism. He called upon all trade unions to accept the gage of battle and make of this strike an issue involving the existence of labor

unionism. Color was lent to Fitzgerald's contention by a statement of Quackenbush, attorney for the companies, who, paraphrasing Lincoln's statement that "the country could not exist half free and half slave," said that the country could not exist half union and half non-union.

The Central Federated Union of Manhattan lined up solidly behind Fitzgerald and appointed a committee with the authority to call a general strike. It must be here noted that the C. F. U. itself had no such authority as all union men know. For the calling of strikes of members of national organizations authority is vested only in the national officials. Whether the rank and file of labor unionists were at this time in favor of a general strike, I greatly doubt. General strikes are not brought about by skillful engineering and manipulating. Yet all that the labor leaders could do in the matter of a general strike at this time was engineering, manipulating and threatening. But of that anon.

The reader may get some original impressions by perusing the statements issued at this time by both the strikers and the companies. Here is the statement issued by the strikers published in a leaflet form and distributed broadcast:

WHY THERE IS A STRIKE ON THE NEW YORK CAR LINES

More than eleven thousand car men are on strike in Manhattan, Bronx and Queens boroughs and in Westchester on subway, surface lines and "L." They want a living wage and organized themselves into a union to demand an increase. They were getting LESS than traction employes in any other large city in the country. The men were organized and Shonts, Hedley and Whitridge yielded. They granted slight increases and signed a compact with the union officials and with the mayor and chairman of the Public Service Commission that further increases and other demands would be arbitrated. The union officials were glad to arbitrate. The men returned to work.

This was early in August. A month later Shonts and Hedley discharged hundreds of employes because they would not quit the union. They demanded that the carmen throw away their union buttons. "We have you signed up on individual contracts," they said, "and that means you cannot belong to any union but ours."

The men refused to give up their union for Shonts and Hedley. Whitridge started to imitate Shonts and Hedley. He was hiring strikebreakers in anticipation of forcing the men out just as Shonts and Hedley had done.

The men were compelled to leave their jobs.

Shonts and Hedley want to break the union. They want to control the wages and lives of the men and their families, just as they have done. The men want to be free. They are taxed from seventy-five cents to a dollar a month for Mr. Shonts and Mr. Hedley's "Benevolent Society." They would rather pay that sum to a union of their own. They don't want to pay that much to the company's union to be further "controlled" and subjugated. They don't get anything back if they leave the company and they lose the sick benefits they paid for. In their own union they retain this benefit if they resign or leave.

Shonts, Hedley and Whitridge are only tools. They must enforce the will of the masters. Rockefeller and Morgan want the men subjugated. They want unionism destroyed. They want to control their employes like chattels.

WHAT THE CARMEN WERE RECEIVING

Electric surface lines: Conductors, 25 cents an hour first year; 28 cents an hour fifth year and after. Motormen: 26 cents an hour first year; 29¼ cents fifth year and after.

Storage battery lines: Conductors: 23½ cents first year; 24 cents second year and after. Motormen: 25 cents first year; 26 cents second year and after.

Horsecar lines: Conductors and drivers, 22 cents first year; 23½ cents second year and after.

These wages were increased one and two cents an hour AFTER the union was organized. Subway and "L" guards and conductors who were receiving \$2.10 and \$2.45 a day for ten hours, were increased ten and twenty cents a day. Motormen, special officers and other employes were also increased as a result of the union's activities.

THE MEN ARE NOT STRIKING FOR HIGHER PAY OR SHORTER HOURS. These questions they agreed to arbitrate. They are striking because Shonts, Hedley and Whitridge want to destroy the unions which compelled them to grant the slight increases. They deliberately violated their solemn pact and discharged men who would not quit the unions and sign the company's individual agreements. Many of them had signed through fraud and intimidation. Now Shonts says the directors were no party to the compact which Hedley and Quackenbush made on August 30th for the Interborough and which the Public Service Commission says they broke. Had they not broken this agreement there would be no car strike, says the commission.

Quackenbush made the issue. He told the commission, "I believe that as Lincoln said, 'This country could not exist half slave and half free'; and that it could not exist half union and half non-union." Quackenbush, attorney for the Interborough, N. Y. Railways Co. and Third Avenue Railroad, admitted under oath that he drew the individual agreements which, if accepted, would destroy trades unionism in

America. Quackenbush, advocating peace in August, was preparing for war on trades unionism in September. **THIS IS NOT A TRACTION FIGHT. IT IS A FIGHT AGAINST UNIONISM.** Roads on which there was no strike loaned car crews to break the strike.

Some portions of the strikers' statement, not pertinent to the strike were omitted by me.

And here is the statement issued by the Interborough Rapid Transit Co., which dominates all the street railways in Manhattan:

TO THE PUBLIC

Let no one be misled by the charge that the Interborough is trying to crush out unionism.

WE ARE NOT FIGHTING UNIONISM.

The fact is that the company actually encouraged the formation of a union, to be entirely controlled by the men themselves and to include every employe on the payrolls not having disciplinary power over other employes.

The fundamental ideas of the company in encouraging the formation of such an organization were:

1. That the men in their dealings with the company should enjoy the benefits of collective action without expense;

2. That the public should be protected against sympathetic strikes arising out of disputes in which this company and its employes were not concerned;

3. That more efficient service to the public would result if the relations between this company and its men collectively were conducted within the company's ranks and without the interference of third parties;

4. That the interests of this company, its employes and the public they serve would be fostered if all relations between this company and its employes were conducted in the light of their common interests, rather than with reference to the interest of outside parties.

Some 9,700 men out of 11,800 eligible to vote embraced the opportunity to ballot for representatives to form a general committee of this union.

A working agreement was arrived at between the company and this union providing increased wages and improved working conditions for the next two years.

This was a "collective bargain" just as much as any union agreement is.

But the company went one step further: it not only agreed to a contract with the men collectively, but it asked that the agreement also be submitted to each man individually.

That it was satisfactory to the men individually as well as collectively is shown by the fact that over 10,500 have signed and are now working under it.

* * *

An important feature of the Interborough Union is this provision for arbitration in the constitution adopted by the men, and unanimously approved by formal action of the board of directors of this company:

"If for any reason the general committee for the entire Brotherhood and the officers of the company are unable to settle any matter of mutual interest between them,—it is then the plain duty of the Brotherhood and the officers of the company to submit the matter in dispute to a board of arbitration."

Thus the men of the Interborough have an effective union of their own which is obviously satisfactory to them.

The real point underlying the existing difficulty is the determination of the Amalgamated Union to impose itself upon the company, and to supplant the union of the Interborough employes against the expressed will of the men themselves.

* * *

This company is only protecting its employes in their right to work and the public in its right to ride as against the efforts of the Amalgamated Association to prevent the doing of these two things.

Interborough Rapid Transit Company,

Frank Hedley,

Vice-President and General Manager.

Approved:

Theodore P. Shonts,
President.

New York, September 11th, 1916.

The forces of labor and capital were lined up without any confusion. Mayor Mitchel placed policemen on every car to protect the scabs; every subway station and elevated platform was manned by the police. It was shown at the public hearing that policemen were used to hold forcibly strikebreakers in the sheds and to club the few who became recalcitrant. Commissioner Strauss repudiated all sympathy for the strikers, charging them with breach of agreement. There was nobody behind the strikers but organized labor. There was no question of public opinion or sympathy. All available material of that sort was controlled by the companies.

GENERAL STRIKE

The New York general strike is famous for the fact that it never occurred. As a matter of fact and in justice to Fitzgerald and other labor leaders it must be stated that it was never called. The men in charge of the matter were experienced, old-time labor union leaders. They knew very well that the strike of the building trades could be called only by the Building Trade Council, and a strike of unions belonging to International bodies could be called only by national officials. Now, the question first

occurred as to the strike of trades that would cause most harm to the railway companies, as the longshoremen, boat men, who handled and delivered coal and other material to the companies, and of the firemen and engineers who manned the power houses of the companies. The local longshoremen were willing enough to line up with the strikers, but the national officials vetoed such action, claiming that they must stand by their contracts with employers. The National Typographical Union officials acted likewise, giving the same reason. Some thousands of brewery workers, machinists, painters and some other trades came out on a sympathetic strike, evidently believing that the general strike was on. They had to return to work, as they had no controversy with their own employers, at that time. So the general strike was not.

And it could not be. The New York Times said editorially: "It would have been a marvelous strike that could feed the laboring men and starve the capitalists." Indeed the general strike involved a problem which the labor leaders could not solve by any means of reasoning—how could the millions of working people in this city exist with all food industries tied up? Yet, we hold, that a general strike is far from being an impracticable proposition. It could take place in New York City right now. But it must be inspired by a greater motive than the labor leaders have shown at this time. It must fire the imagination of the masses and lead to an outburst of revolutionary fervor before which all engineering and manipulating pale into insignificance and all difficulties become evanescent. Great revolts and even revolutions have occurred before with a suddenness that defied reason. How were the people fed at those times? The sufficient answer is—they were. In the City of New York, during the month of September, Nineteen Sixteen, a general strike, a revolt of organized and unorganized wage earners, which would have shaken the present economic system off its foundations, could have taken place; that it did not take place was due to the want of two great indispensable things in the labor leaders and the masses—ideas and vision.

ORGANIZE—ORGANIZE RIGHT!

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

(Note—The following letter was written by Fellow Worker Haywood, to a worker in Indiana. It so well explains the difference between craft and industrial unionism, that we reprint it here in full.)

YOU ask me to give you ten good reasons why any craft union should withdraw from the A. F. of L. Here they are:

If the membership of a craft union has no broader outlook on life than the narrow confines and limitations of their craft, there is no reason why they should withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, as that is the institution in which they belong.

But, if the membership of the said craft union has had experience and knocks enough to make them realize the class struggle that is going on every minute in present-day society, then there are reasons why they should change from the craft to the industrial form of organization.

1st. The modern method of production, new inventions and the development of machinery, has eliminated many craft unions. I have on my desk a glass paper weight, in which is a picture of the Owens Glass Bottle Blowing Machine. This machine has eliminated the trade or craftsman in that particular branch of industry. Other machines are doing the same thing in other lines.

2nd. The American Federation of Labor recognizes what does not exist, and that is mutual interest between capital and labor. The Industrial Workers of the World deny that there is any such mutual interest and reply that labor creates all wealth, some of which is converted into capital.

3rd. The American Federation of Labor asks for a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The Industrial Workers of the World demand the best wages paid, but wants wages abolished altogether and the worker to receive the full social value of his labor.

4th. The American Federation of Labor is a loosely constructed association of craft unions without common industrial and so-

cial interests. The Industrial Workers of the World are One Big Union of the working class, organized as the workers are assembled on the job in the industries without regard for state lines or national boundaries.

5th. The American Federation of Labor divides industries into small craft unions. The Industrial Workers of the World unites the crafts and trades into large industrial unions.

6th. The American Federation of Labor discriminates against women. The Industrial Workers of the World recognize women as industrial units and the cards they carry are the same as the men and are acceptable universally, transferring them into any branch of industry in which they may be employed.

7th. The American Federation of Labor refuses children admittance into their unions. The Industrial Workers of the World recognize children are doing much of the labor and carrying a great part of the burden of industry. We say that those who are old enough to work are old enough to say the conditions under which they shall work, whether they have passed an apprenticeship or not.

8th. The American Federation of Labor discriminates against the negro, the Asiatic and other foreigners. The Industrial Workers of the World freely admit the negro, barring neither race, color nor creed.

9th. The American Federation of Labor fosters the apprenticeship system and limits the number of boys that should learn a trade. The Industrial Workers of the World proclaim that every mother's son and every mother's daughter should have the privilege of learning applied mechanics, that they should be encouraged in acquiring such knowledge that will urge them into some vocation where they would produce things beneficial to society.

10th. The initiation of many of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. is prohibitive, made so to *restrict* membership. The Industrial Workers of the World say that membership in a class labor union is a necessity of life to a worker. Therefore it is fixed annually at \$2.00.

11th. The American Federation of Labor, in some of its departments applied rigid examinations to applicants for membership. The Industrial Workers of the World has no such examinations, leaving it to the boss to discover his employe's ability.

12th. The American Federation of Labor in all of its branches stands ready to divide against itself and enter into contracts and agreements with the employing class, thus dividing labor's great force into smaller groups or sections. The Industrial Workers of the World recognize that these contracts are the death warrants of labor. No time agreement has ever been entered into by any part of the organization. The settle-

ment of any difficulty between the workers and the employing class is but an armed truce. The workers organized are ever ready to take advantage of any situation that will improve their condition, and thru this kind of action, unity and solidarity, will emancipation be achieved.

13th. Some unions of the American Federation of Labor, when times are slack, close their books and refuse to accept new members. The roster of the Industrial Workers of the World is always open. New members are ever welcome.

These reasons will apply to nearly all kinds of crafts. These should be sufficient to convince a member of any craft union, but I know that they will not, as most craft unionists have the same psychology as small business men. They are getting a little more than the majority of the working class, and with this little improvement they are satisfied. They are craft conscious instead of class conscious.

Building a Union At 40° Below

By FRANK HANSON

AS you all know, Uncle Sammy has started an experimental railroad in Alaska. In fact 18 months has gone by since actual construction started.

At the main camp, or headquarters, which is at Anchorage, the work opened up in May, 1915, in charge of Lieut. F. Mears. Thousands of workers came in here with the intention of making a living, but they were badly disappointed. It was pretty near impossible to get a job of any kind and if you did happen to get a day's work it was only at \$3.00 per day and eight hours, or 37½ cents per hour. Work one day and lay off four was a common thing here. Nor could you buy any grub from the commissary for Uncle's hard, cold dollars. You had to have a commissary book and before you could obtain one of them you would have to have at least two days' work to your credit.

No construction work was done by day

labor. The officials adopted a system of station work. That is, they let a piece of work on contract to a gang of men and these men had to do two men's work each in order to be able to make common wages. These gangs had to put up their own camps, too, and in many cases it was only for a couple of months' use.

Anyone familiar with camp life knows that it does not pay a small gang of men to put up a camp for a short period like that, but as they were working for Uncle Sam—why then it was all right! Prices were low, too, so it looked like cheap labor was wanted. Nearly every American was hollering about how the foreigners were cutting down the American standard of living, but it looks to me like it was the U. S. government that was doing it. Remember, you Americans, that all the aliens that come to this land are not all dead-heads. Many of them have fought for the right of every man

to live long before they ever landed on American soil, and let me tell you that these are fighting for the same standard as you, if not a better one.

The season was a very short one, too, so at freeze-up there was not much more to do. At that time there was about 1,400 men in Anchorage, most of them with not enough money to buy grub for the winter. And there was no work in sight for several months. Nearly everything was shut down. A few men were working here and there, but I don't think that the whole force outside of the foremen and the office force was 150 strong. The biggest gang was the steel gang in charge of "Hurry-up Jones." The steel gang was a little better than 50 strong and they lived in four box cars 9½ feet by 40 feet. One of these cars was used as kitchen, one as office and the other two as sleeping quarters. It was just like sardines in a box and the sanitary conditions were very poor. The eatings could have been a whole lot better, too, but what do the workers expect for a dollar a day when there is no profit on it. Some days it was a little cold up here—35 degrees below zero—and these poor devils had to handle rails and ties in that kind of weather for 37½ cents per hour.

These are the things that led to the first walkout and the forming of the Alaska Labor Union.

On the 7th of February the steel gang demanded 50 cents per hour or there would be no steel laid. They did not receive any answer to that, but the engine coupled on to the boarding cars and hauled them into town.

That same night there was a mass meeting in town of the workers. Some one that was looking for a pie-card had sounded a call to try to organize the workers into the A. F. of L. The carpenters had already sent for a charter and, of course, they wanted the support of the rank and file as they realized that they themselves were helpless. The hall was crowded to capacity and about 500 men were turned away, so enthusiasm for organizing was good. After much discussion it was decided to form an independent industrial union for Alaska and to try to get them all under one banner.

It was voted to support the steel gang in their struggle and delegates were sent out along the road. Four hundred joined that first night and the next five days the number

increased to 1,200 members. Not so bad when you take into consideration that *every nationality was represented*.

A committee was sent down to Mr. Mears and presented to him the following demands: Common labor 50 cents per hour; mechanics, 75 cents per hour; cooks, from \$90 to \$125 per month and board; flunkies from \$60 to \$75 per month; teamsters, \$90 per month and board. Mears said he had no authority to settle any labor disputes which may arise, but that he would communicate with Secretary of the Interior, F. K. Lane in Washington, D. C., but that it would take two weeks to get an answer from the outside as the cable was broke.

Things moved along in shipshape manner in those two weeks. A lot was secured and a hall 48x100 feet in the clearing started. Hundreds of men donated their labor. Logs were cut and hauled in and fifteen days after the first log was cut the walls were up 12 feet. Two more weeks saw the completion of the hall, and today this hall stands as a monument in Alaska as to what labor can do.

Will have to mention here that the Alaska Engineering Commission had been trying to get men to go out, but they were not very successful. One day they got a few to go out under false pretense. When the men found out that they were going to lay steel they refused to work. The foreman, "Hurry-up Jones," threw some of the bedding off the car. One of the men spoke to said slave-driver about transportation back to town. Mr. "Hurry-up" drew a big gun and said, "Now we will talk about transportation." Of course, the fellow-worker had to foot it back to town, which was twenty-two miles distant.

On the 19th day after we put in the demands Mr. Mears came and delivered part of the Secretary's answer. A conciliation committee of three was going to leave for Anchorage in the first part of March and said committee was going to settle the trouble, and set a scale of wage satisfactory to all. At the next meeting it was then decided to go back to work under the old scale and wait and see what the future would bring. On the 26th of March the committee arrived. The worthy gentlemen were: J. A. Moffett, Hyvel Davies and B. M. Squires.

The investigation went very slow. Day

went by after day, week after week, but no results. When three weeks had gone by in that manner it was decided at a meeting to call a general strike on the whole line to go into effect on the 22nd of April at noon. Everybody responded nobly when the call to strike was sounded, so by the 24th, at noon, everything was tied up once more. Of course, there was a few A. F. of L. members working—and did they receive a royal reception coming from work in the evening? Even the dogs would not associate with these skunks. On the 4th day after the strike broke out, Mears laid them all off. That's what they get for being traitors to their class. On the 27th of April the union received an answer from the conciliation committee. The offer was 40½ cents per hour for common labor; 70 cents for mechanics; pile-drivermen, 60 cents; drillers under ground, 60 cents; cooks from \$90 to 125 per month and board; flunkies and other help around the kitchen, from \$60 to \$80 per month and board; teamsters, \$85 per month and board.

It took these gentlemen one month to find out that the common laborer could live on a 25-cent-per-day raise, while the mechanic needed \$1.60 per day. I wonder if that fat Moffett could get along himself on that wage in this country?

That offer was not considered at all at the meeting of the A. L. U. held that afternoon. It was a solid vote for the continuation of the strike, and that vote showed that these men or the majority of them know the first commandment of labor, which is Solidarity.

The committee now had to go to hard work again and draw up a new scale. This time it took them two days to raise the scale for common labor to 45 cents per hour. At the meeting that same afternoon it was decided to go back to work on the first of May and to accept the wages that were offered.

Many may think that we have not accomplished much, but if we consider that this was the first time that common labor has struck against dear old Uncle Sammy, why then I think that the workers gained a big victory!

Working conditions have improved a whole lot, but some of these slave-drivers need a lesson in handling men. The grub and accommodations are very poor in some of the camps and this is not the model job which it ought to be.

On Labor Day the union had a holiday. Nearly everybody was in from the work and took part in the parade.

After the parade there was all kinds of sports and games and by next spring we will be ready to take another tumble with the old fellow.

WHO PAYS THE TAXES?

By MARY E. MARCY

KARL MARX, the greatest economist of modern times, says that the working class, on the average, gets, for its labor, just about enough to live on and to raise children to become future workers. And this is true whether the wage workers live in a land where the general cost of living is \$2.00 a day, \$6.00 a day or only 10 cents a day. In each and every place the worker receives, on the average, just about enough to exist on.

At the end of twenty years the wage worker who receives and spends \$6.00 a day has just about as much to show for his labors as the native in Central America who has worked for ten cents a day. It is the

cost of living; food, clothing, coal, shelter, rent, taxes that *determine* the wages paid the working class in any particular country at any particular time.

Take a cotton mill worker in Central America and consider his wages. His employer is able to hire native cotton workers for 12 cents a day. The cotton worker is only able to get 12 cents a day for his labor power. Why? Because in the part of the country where the cotton mills are located much of the land is still free. The workers can go out and build a thatch hut on this free land. The climate is warm and the worker needs no steam-heated apartment, no furnace nor stoves to keep himself warm.

The few cents he receives a day are more than enough to buy what little food he cannot secure in the forests and what little clothing he desires.

In England, where the *taxes* on a house are added directly to the rent, the cotton mill workers receive *in their wages* enough *more* money than the Central American workers, to enable them to pay not only the low *rent but also the taxes*. In one place the employing cotton mill owner gets the labor of his worker for 12 cents a day; in another the employer has to pay \$1.00 a day—because it costs him more for food, for clothes, for rent and taxes, for his workers.

Now, who ways the taxes?

In the eastern part of the United States, where the cost of living is still higher than it is in England, the cotton mill operatives receive higher wages than they get in England.

If all taxes are removed from house rents in England, what would happen? Would the English cotton workers be able to save any more from their wages than they do now?

In any industry, or any country, or city you will always find that when the cost of living is reduced wages fall correspondingly except where there is a great scarcity of labor—because the wage workers who need work compete with other workers for jobs. One offers to work for less than the other and the second offers to work for less than the third and fourth, and so on—they keep *under-bidding* each other for the job until the wages again just about correspond to the cost of living.

Where the cost of living is reduced, wages fall because the workers can work for less and have to work for less. The boss always hires the cheapest man or woman.

Rent is one form of taxes. Just consider one city for a moment. Suppose there is only *one* landlord who owns all the houses for rent to the factory workers. And suppose there is one great factory owner and a lot of small grocers, clothiers, butchers, barbers, coal dealers, etc., etc. These make up the basis of the town. And then, of course, there are, say, 1,000 factory workers. Somebody has to pay the rent on the houses these factory workers occupy.

If the factory owner were to *buy* the houses and the land and let his employes live in these houses for nothing, he could

hire them for just that much less wages. And the *factory* owner would be *saving the rent for himself* formerly charged for the homes of his employes.

On the other hand, suppose the landlord *doubles* the rent on the factory-hand cottages in a single night. *Who* pays the increase? Not the factory workers. They haven't the money. They demand *more* wages from their employer, who is compelled to grant the increase, because he knows that *all* other wage workers will ask the increase before they can go to work for him.

A high tariff is a form of tax and many people believe that wage workers ought to oppose a high tariff rate because it means a higher cost of living. But the wage is determined by the cost of living. One of the reasons working men and women receive higher wages in America than they do in England is due to the high tariff. Food and clothing cost more in America than they do in England. But the American wage workers do not pay this increase. Their *employers* pay it. Their employers have to pay the workers *higher wages* to cover the increased cost of living caused in part by a high tariff.

You know and we know that the working class produces all the commodities in the world. The workers build the houses, raise the crops, produce the food, clothing and homes of the world. But all these things, which the workers *make*, are *taken* from them by their employers and the workers are paid *wages*. No matter where you may go, you will nearly always find that, owing to the number of unemployed workers, wages fluctuate very closely around the cost of living. The employers of workers *have* to pay enough wages to enable the worker to live.

A high tariff (or tax) on sugar enables the sugar manufacturers to sell sugar at a higher price than a low tariff, because foreign sugar manufacturers are unable to pay the tax and compete with the American manufacturers. Sugar and all other high tariff articles sell at a higher price because the high tax (or tariff) eliminates foreign competition. And so the wage workers are able to get higher wages. Without a high cost of living we in America would receive the average English wage, or, if the cost of living was forced still lower, the 12-cent-a-day wage of the Chinese laborer.

An employer sometimes regards his employe as the farmer regards his horse. The employer has to see that his employe is fed, clothed, sheltered—or he has rather to see that his employe receives enough wages to permit him to do these things for himself. The factory owner hates to see his employes forced to pay high rents, or high taxes, because he knows these come out of *his*, the employer's, *profits*.

Like the owner of a horse, he wants cheap fodder, cheap oats and corn, cheap pasturing, cheap *bread* for his worker.

Suppose somebody passed a law providing that every single week in the year the owner of every horse was required to inject two dollars' worth of anti-toxin into the equine's blood, or that the horse had to pay \$2.00 *taxes* every week.

Suppose you received a notice that *your* horse had to pay \$2.00 taxes every month. What would *you* do? Would you leave it *to the horse*? Would the horse pay the taxes? Or would the man for whom the horse works have to pay the taxes? Would *you* pay the taxes?

The employer of the wage worker is in the same position. It is true, we regret to confess, that the employer *takes* all the useful and beautiful things the worker *makes*. But the *expenses* of the worker determine what wages the boss will have to pay the worker!

Of course, the more widely the workers learn to organize with their comrades against the exploiting, propertied class, the more they can force from their bosses in the shape of wages. Some unions have long been able to get back a little more than just enough to live on.

Is a Raise in Wages a Real Raise?

There have always been casual students of economics who have claimed that it was useless for workers to strike for higher wages because the boss would turn right around and raise the cost of living.

But you know, and every other wage

worker knows, that this is both impossible and absurd. We know that your boss and my boss cannot raise the cost of living. We know that they cannot even raise the price of the things they sell, because they have to compete with other manufacturers. And if they raise the price of the things we have produced higher than their competitors, they will soon be forced out of business. We will buy of the other fellow. Individual employers, except in rare cases, such as mining communities, where the miners are compelled to buy at company stores, are unable to raise the cost of living.

Karl Marx wrote a book and called it "Value, Price and Profit," precisely to show that a rise in wages is an actual gain to the workers. Marx says that even a *general* rise of the wages of the working class of one country would not affect prices in that country to any considerable extent.

He says, however, that if, say, 2,000,000 workers received an increase in wages and began to buy more woolen underwear during one particular winter than they had ever purchased before, the new demand and inadequate supply might force the price of woolen under-clothing up for one season. But because of these high prices the following winter would see many new names in the woolen suit manufacturing business. Dozens of companies with capital to invest would be attracted to the woolen industry and its high rate of profit for the preceding year.

Then the working class would find these manufacturers competing with each other to sell their goods. There would be an over-supply of woolen underwear and prices would fall. Ultimately prices would stay at that level where the manufacturers were able to make only the *average* rate of profit.

Marx says: "A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, would not affect the prices of commodities." (Value, Price and Profit, page 127.)

Work And Play

FOR something like a hundred thousand years the naturalists, and anthropologists, the sociologists and ethnologists and a lot of other "ologists" tell us, man lived in a state of lower savagery. He lived in the tops of trees, in rude thatch shelters, in caves and dug-outs; he loved widely and freely; he fished in the rivers and found sustenance also in fruits, nuts, berries and in the hunting grounds. Only recently in the life of the human race, they tell us, has man overcome his natural inclinations and concentrated his attention upon *work*.

And he has set about working with all the aversion that thousands of years of playing, hunting, and loafing ancestors have wrought in his natural tendencies. Necessity has compelled him to fix his roving attention, to limit his playful moods, to restrict his freedom and to get down to the misery of sowing, reaping, of hewing and building, of confining his old bold spirit in the dank walls of great office buildings, adding up endless columns of horrible figures. Schiller declares that man is only fully human when he is at play.

We believe the tendency still persists, and we hope it always will endure, for man to throw off the burden of work at the sound of the whistle at five o'clock, or six o'clock, or whatever o'clock the blessed signal of release may come—and revert to his original nature and *play*.

When men or women leave an office, a factory or mill in which they have violated all their natural instincts for eight or nine hours, they want diversion, light, music, good food, dancing, the theater—in fact, they want to relax and play. They desire something that does not require their *fixed* attention, concentrated thought or effort.

And this is why the seats of our lecture halls remain empty and the theaters put out the Standing Room Only signs; why the libraries are never worked to their capacity and the saloons and music halls, the cabarets, dance halls and saloons are often jammed to the doors.

This is why a group of workingmen will go to sleep over the most learned lecture

and stay up all night to laugh over a good comedian, or a witty story-teller.

The man or woman who rises at six or seven o'clock, goes to work at seven or eight, returns home to supper at five or six and *works* all evening over three hundred days in the year is no longer a human being. He is a *machine*.

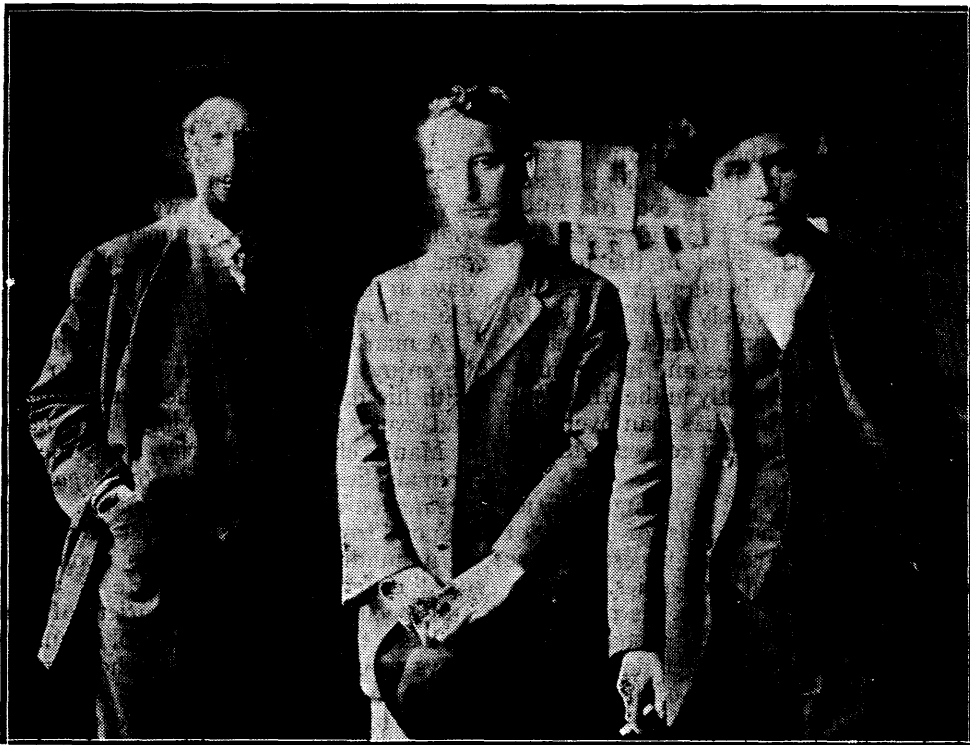
A man *lives* according to the experiences he enjoys, the variety he is able to mingle with his days. Doing the same thing over and over again is not living. It is *habit*.

Man's chief superiority over the other animals lies in his *ability to respond to a greater variety of ways to stimuli*. He may respond to nearly the same set of conditions in a hundred different ways upon a hundred different occasions. He is attracted and repelled by an infinite variety of things; he has a thousand places to go, innumerable ways to occupy himself; a whole world of things to think about.

But to the large percentage of men and women these opportunities are closed. For man must have the earth under his feet—and the earth has been grabbed up by those who charge *rent* for permission to live upon the land. You must have money to pay rent. Likewise a man must have food to live by and the propertyless man has no food; neither has he money to buy food; neither has he clothing, and clothing also requires money from empty hands.

The average man possesses nothing and so he must sell his strength and his brains to get money to pay rent, and buy food and clothing. And when he has done, over and over again, day in and day out, the same things in factory, shop or mill, for several years, all his instincts for play drive him from the factory, not to books and lectures and a study of how to better his conditions, but to—*play*.

Propagandists want to remember this. They want to remember to mix a whole lot of laughter with their learned speeches; they want to learn to mix music and song and dancing with new ideas and books and lectures. The propagandists must learn to attract man through his *play* instincts when they cannot catch him by solemn ideas!



CARLO TRESCA

SAM SCARLETT

JOSEPH SCHMIDT

Legal Side Lights on Murder

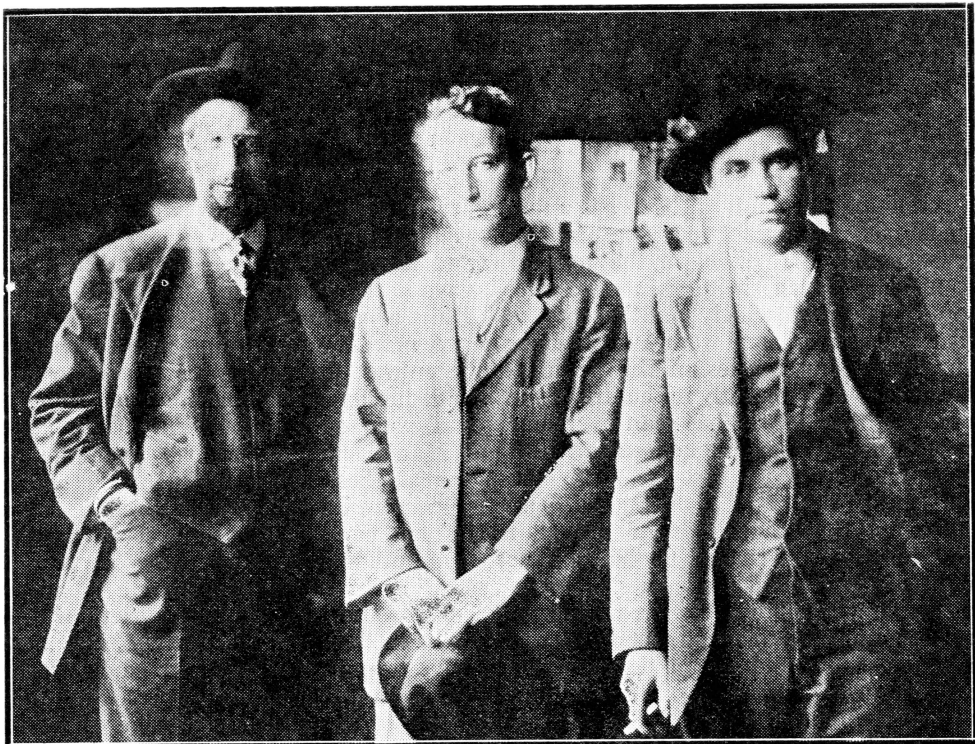
By ARTHUR LESUEUR

EIGHT men and one woman are under indictment for murder in the first degree, on the Iron Range in Minnesota; this, as a result of the brutal attacks of mine guard deputies in the effort to break the strike of the iron miners.

Philip Masonovich, Joe Orlandich, Nick Nickich, Joe Cernogortovich, and Milica Masonovich—the wife of Philip—were attacked in the Masonovich home by mine guard deputies, and, in the fight resulting, one deputy and a bystander were killed. The miners were unarmed. The deputies were all armed, and there were four of them.

To this point, nothing unusual occurs, from the legal standpoint. It is the usual, sordid, soulless tragedy of the effort of corporate wealth to break the spirit of the workers in a strike; but there have been indicted, also, for the same offense and in

the same case and for the alleged murder of the same deputy sheriff, four other men; that is: Carlo Tresca, Joseph Schmidt, Sam Scarlett, and Arthur Boose; who were engaged, at the time of the killing of the deputy sheriff, in an effort to organize the miners during the strike. On July 3 none of these last named men were within twelve miles of the place where the deputy was killed, some of them being sixty or seventy miles from there; and yet they are indicted by the Grand Jury, and the indictment charges them with the killing of the deputy by means of a dangerous weapon, to wit: a gun. If the Grand Jury for St. Louis county, Minnesota, believes that their indictment is a true indictment, and that such a gun exists as would make possible the killing of this deputy by these four men—all of them located at different points, and more than a hundred miles apart, none of them



CARLO TRESCA

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within twelve miles of the place at the time of the killing, and yet all of them committing it with the same gun described in the indictment—they should, in the interests of humanity, convey this information to the warring powers in Europe, so that the very terror of such a weapon would end the war.

The Constitution of the State of Minnesota provides that any one charged with the commission of a crime must be informed "of the nature and cause of the accusation" against him. The indictment, in this case, does *not* carry any other or further information to these four men, than that they are charged with killing the deputy sheriff with a dangerous weapon, to wit: a gun, on July 3. This gives them absolutely no information concerning what the State expects to prove against them in the way of connecting them with the killing of the deputy. This is not a new method of procedure on the part of the State. It involves practically the same principles as were fought out in the Haywood case in Idaho, and in the Chicago anarchist cases, wherein men are held bound as principals in the commission of a crime by virtue of things said or done, which had no immediate connection with the commission of the crime, but which are con-

strued by the law as calculated to assist in bringing it about.

In the Iron Range case, there can be no possible contention, on the part of the State, that the four organizers were in any way actually involved in the killing of the deputy, and, therefore, it is to be expected that the State will attempt to prove a case—if it attempts to prove a case at all—on the theory of conspiracy, and, as evidence to back up this theory, proof will doubtless be offered by the State of statements made in speeches by the four organizers.

This shows the unfair position in which the defendants are placed in cases of this kind. They are not informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against them—they do not know what the State will claim they said that incriminates them, until they hear it from the lips of the witnesses on the witness stand. There is then small opportunity, if any at all, to procure witnesses to rebut the statements of the witnesses for the State; and unless they are able to do this, should the State bring witnesses testifying to incriminating statements, imprisonment for life will be the penalty to be visited upon these men—not for any crime committed, but because of their inability to



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MILITZA MASANOVITCH

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deny the statements attributed to them by mine guards and other low types of criminals.

It is hard to convey to the lay mind the enormous difficulty of such a situation on the part of the defendants. For instance, Arthur Boose is not under arrest. There is no chance to consult with him as to things which he said, and yet, if he made incriminating statements, his statements may be used against all of the others. Unless the rigor of the strict rules, as heretofore applied in similar cases, is abated by the trial judge, the defendants, Tresco, Scarlett, and Schmidt, will have to go on trial, knowing nothing whatever of the things that will be charged against them as connecting them with the crime of murder.

No more striking illustration of the lack of care for the personal rights of a worker, on the part of the State, can be imagined than this. It would be impossible to get a judgment, in a Justice Court, for so much as seventy-five cents, without serving notice to the party against whom it was to be entered, of the nature and cause of the indebtedness, as a basis for the judgment; and yet these men are put on trial for their very lives, without a word of notice as to the things which they must meet in Court.

This is just one of the things which Labor must meet, in its contest with the real power that governs the State of Minnesota, and this power is Organized Wealth. The powers of the State are thus prostituted to the purpose of persecution of the workers who demand fair treatment, and they will continue to be so persecuted until the workers learn the efficiency of organization, and by

their solidarity on the industrial field, meet the organized power of wealth with the organized power of brain and brawn. If every working man and woman in Minnesota belonged to a Labor Union that was class-conscious, and could act in that spirit of solidarity that actuates organized wealth in all of its dealings with the workers, these men would never be tried, for it is known in advance that they are innocent, and the only reason for trying them is for the purpose of putting out of the way men obnoxious to organized wealth, who are, in a measure, standing between the Steel Trust and its victims.

It ought to be very plain, even to those not versed in the law, why it is necessary for Labor to rally to the defense of these men—all of them—and to the defense of this woman, as well, with finances that will enable them to act instantly and effectively in their own defense, while the trial is going on, in the matter of procuring evidence to meet the case which the State presents against them, which they can not deliberately prepare in advance of the trial, for want of notice.

Labor should rally to the support of these defendants, from coast to coast, as one man, for this reason: That if Labor's leaders and champions can be "railroaded" on such a flimsy frame-up, and put out of the way for life under such circumstances as are presented in this case, then, indeed, is Labor's cause hopeless. Labor must protect its own; otherwise, the power of the State, and Organized Wealth that rules the State, will make of Labor nothing but slaves.



THE LEFT WING

Mass Action and Mass Democracy

By S. J. RUTGERS

THE disadvantage of a series of articles, especially in a monthly review, is that nobody can be expected to recollect what has been said a few months, or even a month, ago. We live in such a hurry and have such a variety of impressions, provided we are not yet dumbfounded and crushed by modern capitalism, that we are prevented from fully enjoying even *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*. Most of us have lost the art of reading properly. If you only try to experiment with yourself in reading an article which interests you, asking at the end about the beginning, you will be astonished at the results, unless you read very carefully several times. To remember the contents of an article which was read a month ago is practically beyond human effort and this means a serious setback to the greater part of the American people, who, for their mental development, depend largely upon magazines and newspapers, rather than upon books and pamphlets.

To develop any kind of logical reasoning on a serious subject generally demands more words than can be pressed into one article, the more so because lengthy articles are very seldom read carefully. The only half-way remedy seems to give a short summary at the end, which, altho it will always lack logic and force, may induce some of the readers to take up once more the original articles and re-read them as a whole.

The Left Wing series, not being the expression of the point of view of some individual, but of a growing group of International Socialists, it is worth while to reconsider their new conceptions and to compare their experience with American practice.

To facilitate this, I give the following summary:

Capitalism with its concentration of capital and growing productivity of labor, develops monopolistic tendencies, which enable the monopolists to get a bigger share in the general surplus value. To invest these big profits in a profitable way, it is

necessary to extend big business and monopolies, broadening the field by opening new territories or deepening the monopolistic tendencies by subjugating new industries. This leads to aggression, both abroad and at home and to a complete breakdown of whatever was left of a more or less independent capitalist class. The big monopolistic interests, concentrated in the banks, secure complete control of the so-called independent capitalists and middle classes, economically as well as politically, which are only two sides of the same condition. (July issue.)

This leads to a new aggressive policy of the capitalist class against the workers all over the world and it is this new form of class struggle which we call *imperialism*, of which the foreign aggression is one face and brutality against the workers at home, another. In this sense, the United States are by no means behind in the imperialistic race, altho the special form of development here has prevented the workers from recognizing its complete form in time. (June issue.)

Instead of a growing democracy, this development means the end of the old middle class democracy. Democratic forms are used in the political control of financial monopolistic capital, and develop into a new form of absolutism, the so-called "plutocracy" (government of money kings). The United States show the most typical and most advanced form of this political system, and it is the worst of self-deceptions to tell the workers that there is so much as a political democracy in this country. (August issue.)

The new forms of capitalist class struggle and the fundamental change in what we may expect from middle class democracy greatly affects our own class struggle. The old form of Socialist parliamentary action becomes ever more obsolete; we can no longer hope to gain practical results by instructing our leaders to skilfully exploit the differences in the interests of capitalist groups, even if we put our power into the

hands of the most prominent lawyers. We gradually realize that we confront one solid opponent, who succeeds only too well in fooling the workers by all kinds of promises or even by accidentally voting a labor law, that often is not even put into effect, or that is more than checked by other measures.

The situation certainly must look hopeless to those comrades who fail to see the new development which brings its own solution of the problem.

Instead of putting our hope on leaders, on which we were fully dependent in the period of political negotiations, the workers are forced to take their fate more in their own hands. We have to realize that the "leaders" generally belong to a (middle) class, which becomes ever more antagonistic to labor, which makes it still more dangerous to depend upon them, and at the same time the issues at stake lose the complexity of old style politics and become more and more straight issue of class power. It may require a competent lawyer to understand at least some of the tricks of politicians and bankers, but to protect against the shooting of peaceful strikers requires class sentiment and courage in the first place. Our Socialist politicians and office holders gradually become useless, because they have no success and cannot have any real success in their old style fight for the working class. They are worse than useless, because the rank and file trust in the ability of leaders to protect their interests and fail to develop their own energy and class power.

The cleverest and strongest among a group always will have a certain amount of influence, but experience has already shown that those who have influence upon the workers in critical times of class war are thrown into jail. And we cannot hope to gain the slightest advantage when our methods of fight are not such as to allow every open place in the ranks to be readily occupied by another worker during the fight. This demands simple, open methods of fighting and a general class consciousness and understanding among the rank and file.

Strong leaders who did complicated fighting were a feature of the old form of "democracy" and they failed, together with the general failure of middle class democracy. In fact, a class of powerful leaders is out of harmony with the very principle of real democracy. The new form of class

fighting, in which the masses (rank and file) will have understanding and control, solves the problem of democracy, as the very meaning of democracy is the control of the masses.

Mass action and mass democracy have to develop gradually; in fact, there is a beginning of this development, mostly on the economic field, and there is no use in denying that the future of labor belongs to these new forms and not to the Gompers, Hutchinsons and other leaders of the A. F. of L., nor to the politicians and officials of the Socialist party. (October issue.)

So far, this is a summary of what has been illustrated more fully in the preceding articles. It seems to me that the facts as stated are very plain. They may be wrong and then you should say so, but if not, if the facts are all right, then it cannot be denied that this conception of the Left Wing is very important; that we have to make up our minds what to do; how to help the new developments, the new methods; how to act to increase our class power.

Somebody asked me: how can you expect the workers to understand their own interests without sufficient schools and teaching and time to read and to study? and, as in Europe, as well as in the United States, imperialism has decided that the present school system is already too expensive, that the workers know already too much to be good slaves, to agree with this view means to give up all hope in a victory of the working class in the near future.

We readily admit that, very likely, the workers will never learn to clearly understand what is their interest in fighting for certain laws, discussing whether labor is a commodity or not; they will not learn to understand what it means when the same policy is called first a protective tariff, then a competitive tariff, then fiscal, then anti-dumping, etc.; they will not understand parliamentary fighting as long as their own leaders follow the capitalists in their methods, which are established by the capitalists for the sole purpose of fooling the workers.

But the workers will easily understand their interests in important class issues, they will understand their interests, when their fellow workers are shot by thugs or militia, or jailed by capitalist judges, and they would rise to protest if they had not lost the control of their own interests and their own self-respect, and yet the victims of capitalist

power will not have fallen in vain, because the brutality of the ruling class will gradually awaken the workers. They will see this series of bloody crimes from Ludlow to Minnesota and they will note that their leaders did nothing to prevent or even to protest seriously. And if the class consciousness of the workers is not dead, if the workers are not prepared to be beaten to pieces, one group after another, they will back up protests with their masses, if necessary, over the heads of their leaders.

It is not, in the first place, the difficulty of understanding what are the real interests of the workers in the class struggle, it is the difficulty of how to act, how to break the old forms of power, including the power entrusted to leaders, and how to get the habit of fighting and experience to fight and to control the fight, both on the political and economic field. The capitalist class uses political instruments, militia, judges, etc., as strong, efficient tools in their class

struggles; the workers will have to fight those tools as well as the economic instruments, but in a manner that suits their purposes and not according to the methods their foes invented for them; not in parliamentary negotiations and hair-splittings, but by the power of their masses, compelling the capitalist class to openly oppose or to submit to their demands.

Fighting, as everything else, has to be learned in practice, and mass fighting means that the rank and file has to do some independent thinking and has to get its own understanding of important class issues under imperialism, not resting before there is organized protest and organized action in each special case. The form of this mass action will develop with a growing class consciousness and a growing international understanding, and will at the same time enable the workers to acquire the qualities necessary to organize a co-operative commonwealth.

The German Minority and the War

By CARL WITTMAN

MANY comrades left the Socialist movement because on August 4, 1914, all the 111 Socialist deputies in the Reichstag failed to do their duty. Among them are some of the best members in Germany and also here in America.

From Comrade Rühle I received the following explanation of those critical days at the beginning of the war: The great majority of the members of the Socialist group took unconditionally the ground that the Fatherland must be defended; once war has begun, they said, everyone must fight for his country. Ten members held that everyone must fight in case the nation is attacked, in case it is not waging a war of conquest. These ten are not fundamentally opposed to war of defense; their doubts are of purely opportunistic character. Only four were definitely, fundamentally, opposed to all war, even defensive war. These were Liebknecht, Rühle, Herzfeld (from Rostock), and Henke (from Bremen). Their view is that during this imperialistic era all wars are carried on for the purpose of conquest; that no land is safe as long as there are

capitalist armies; that for the proletariat of any nation the army of that nation is the greatest source of danger.

The fourteen members of the last two groups were prepared to vote against the war appropriation in the Reichstag. In order to prevent this the majority passed a resolution providing that every member was to be present and was to vote for the appropriation. The fourteen faced the alternative of voting in accordance with the resolution or splitting the group and the party. The voting of the appropriation thus became a subordinate issue. The division of the party was the great issue up for discussion. The fourteen had to decide for or against it on August 4, 1914. The ten opportunists were unwilling to see the thing thru, to vote as they wished to do at the expense of a split in the party. They pleaded with the other four and threatened them. As their trump card they said that a movement begun by only four members would excite nothing but ridicule. To divide the tiny minority of fourteen would be to rob it of all influence with the majority. In order to prevent this the four yielded to the fourteen. That Lieb-

knecht on December 2, 1914, in spite of the resolutions of the group, in spite of the pleadings and threatenings of the ten, voted against the war appropriation—this was his great deed. But he was the only Socialist in Germany who could defy the whole group, the whole party machine, the whole press. He could do it because he had an international name, a name which had international weight when he received it from his father. Had Rühle done, alone and unsupported, what Liebknecht did on December 2, he would have been disgraced before all Europe. It would have been thought that he imagined that he could, single-handed, bring about a division in the great Social Democratic party.

Thus vote for the war appropriation became on August 4 the great issue. This issue must be settled in every village, every city, every nation where there are Socialists. It is the question which faces the Socialism of our day. It will divide friend from friend and sever the false from the true. It will leave nothing as it was. Those who believe in defense must grant everything—appropriations, taxes, cannons, cannon-fodder, constitutional rights. Everything must be granted. On the crooked track of defensive warfare there is no halting place. In the hour of danger every sacrifice must be made. Necessity knows no fine distinctions. Once place the Fatherland above internationalism and you must sacrifice your party, your Socialism.

There is a sharp division between international Socialism and national defense. The opposition between these two is not new. At nearly every congress of the second International it was on the program. It was a nut that could not be cracked. We should not crack it now were we not forced to do it. The days of theory are past. The catastrophe has arrived.

After two years of experience with the

miserly which follows in the trail of this policy of national defense we, here in America, still stop our ears and close our eyes to the facts of the matter. Everywhere we have the poor courage to say to Liebknecht and Rühle that they also failed on August 4. If they, right at the start, had voted no, how much better it would have been, how great a disillusionment we should have been spared! But they could not do it without splitting the party and the group. They understood the state of the case perfectly and they did not for a moment betray our cause. Almost hand-to-hand they fought against the defense-Socialists in the party caucuses.

Sad to say, many Socialists are bewitched by their notions of bourgeois parliaments. To them the part they play in the parliamentary debates is everything. This, too, will be changed after the war. All European parliaments have resigned their prerogatives or had them wrested from them since the outbreak of the war. They have become maids-of-all-work to military dictators. We have to bear in mind that Liebknecht and his friends have definitely cut themselves off from the majority. They refuse to pay dues and call upon the comrades to refuse further support to the party officials.

The American Socialist party must take some position with regard to this division with the German party. What this attitude is to be is a question which is being carefully side-stepped at the present time. But it is a question which cannot forever be avoided. When the conditions demand an answer it will be fought out among our members. Any American who condemns Scheideman's fight-to-a-finish policy and then allows some one to unload Berger's Patent Preparedness upon him, resembles the Pharisee who wished to pull the mote out of his brother's eye but was unconscious of the beam in his own.



EDITORIAL

State Capitalism After the War

A well-meaning clergyman named Thomas J. Hughes is the author of a disappointing book on the subject of immense importance.* His publishers state that he has devoted years to the study of his subject, and since the outbreak of the war has been in close touch with several British statesmen who advocate a form of State Socialism for their country when the great conflict ends. The book itself, however, compels us to be skeptical as to this last statement.

Mr. Hughes, with a few swift and clumsy strokes of his artist brush, connects what he has to say with current events in this fashion: The Great War ends; there is industrial unrest in England; the government proposes the nationalization of additional industries; the owners object; they compromise on a plan for establishing state-owned industries in British East Africa, and prepare to transport a large population to virgin soil, where State Socialism is to be Established under the Dictatorship of a Parliamentary Commission.

At this point the author cuts loose from all connection with historical or economic facts and gives free rein to his middle-class imagination. He proposes government ownership of industry, but not government control. In other words, as appears from the elaborate details which he works out, his idea is that a multitude of small capitalists should carry on industry with all the wastes incident to small production, but that the government should supervise the distribution of the product in such a way that no worker should receive less than \$42.60 a month and house rent. People of superior brains would get increased incomes proportioned to their "earnings," and those show-

ing a disposition to shirk would do the unpleasant work under compulsion.

To any one in touch with the modern proletarian movement, Mr. Hughes' Utopia is a grotesque and ridiculous nightmare. One thing may be said for it: it is American thru and thru. The alleged British statesmen who collaborated must have been overruled on every important point. Evidently the reverend author thinks that the golden age of the world was the small-capitalist stage of the Middle West of the United States, when the middle class was virtually the only class, and the aim of his whole book seems to be to reconstitute such a society artificially, while abolishing inheritance laws so as to prevent the re-appearance of the big capitalist.

The book may have some popularity, because it voices certain middle-class desires which are still prevalent, but except as a photograph of petit-bourgeois class psychology, it is worthless.

The real State Socialism (or rather State Capitalism) which is impending is an entirely different matter. It is probably not so unendurable as the status Mr. Hughes would establish, but it is bad enough. In its main outlines we can see it already working in England, France and Germany. Efficiency in the production of munitions and supplies for the armies is as vital to the continued existence of each of these nations as is efficiency on the battle field, and neither profits for any particular capitalist nor liberty for the worker is allowed to stand in the way of this efficiency. But the worker can not be underfed, as he has been in the past, since this would reduce his efficiency. Under the stress of war, State Capitalism is taking more definite form every day, and if the war lasts two years more, as now seems more than likely, there will be little

**State Socialism After the War. An Explanation of Complete State Socialism. What It Is: How It Would Work.* By Thomas J. Hughes. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. \$1.50 net.

left of the "competitive system," and little chance for re-establishing it.

One piece of immensely important news which has passed the official censors from Germany is that since the beginning of the war the organization of all the important industries into trusts has been practically completed. Thus the war is hastening the process predicted by Engels in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," pages 120-135 of our edition. We quote a part of this remarkable passage:

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into State-property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the postoffice, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crisis demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts, and State property, shows how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalists are now performed by salaried employes. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, altho not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become

the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonizing the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialized character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of all productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilized by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces; blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual ap-

appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. **The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.**

But in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was pro tempore the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labor). The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of process.s of production. The State is not “abolished.” It dies out.

Frederick Engels, writing in 1877, foresaw with wonderful clearness the process of industrial evolution from the little capitalists thru the trusts to the capitalist state. His only mistake was in underestimating the time that would be required for the process. Now the great war has speeded up the transformation, so that we can see the new State Capitalism taking definite shape before our eyes. Even were the war to end tomorrow, the world will not move back to

where it was in the spring of 1914.

The question may be raised of whether this change is not confined to Europe. In answer we will not quote any Socialist writer, but one of the ablest exponents of modern capitalism in the United States. The *Chicago Tribune* says in its leading editorial of October 7:

Today in Europe there is going on a tremendous transformation. In England changes are taking place hardly less profound than those which took place in the age of invention, when machinery began to replace the hands, when the great industries were born and finance and commerce spread over the earth.

The nations opposed to the central powers are being reorganized primarily to beat down the mighty engine which the German genius for organization and collective action has built, but with a second thought for commercial efficiency after the war. Each great nation of Europe is today thrice a nation. All resources of moral energy and of national strength have been organized and concentrated so that the nation may exert all its powers in the maximum. Back of the huge armies, welded into weapons of warfare, are economic armies as carefully and completely controlled by the collective wills of government. If Europe before the war was an armed camp, today it is one vast battlefield in which every energy is taken up and directed to the collective purpose. Every great nation is at its highest point of organized might, with its spirit raised and stimulated by the most intense nationality. Every Briton is thrice a Briton, every German thrice a German, every Frenchman, Russian, Austrian, Italian is conscious of his race as never before.

For the moment this tremendous fact does not bear directly upon us in America because the nations are preoccupied with the war. But the moment the war has ceased we shall find ourselves in the midst of the world current where are floating these mighty engines of national organization.

Isn't it clear to any man's common sense that we shall suffer if we do not match the powerful nationalism and the iron organization of the European nations with the same strength and preparedness?

This is all plain and logical. American capitalists are today reaping immensely greater profits than have ever fallen to the ruling class of any nation since history began. But when the great war ends their profits will be imperiled and they realize it. What they must do and what economic laws show they surely will do is to build up a war machine that can meet that of any European nation on equal terms, and to organize the productive forces of the United States under a centralized control that will make it possible to compete successfully in the world market.

We Socialists should wake up to an un-

derstanding of the big things that are taking place. Our old fight for "public ownership" is a thing of the past. The wage workers have been slow to understand the need of it; the capitalists have been quick. Soon it will be a condition, not a theory. It will eliminate waste and increase the production of wealth at a bewildering rate. Who will

get the new wealth, the new comforts, the added leisure? The owners or the workers? The owners now are in control. But by the very acts necessary to keep their vast income, they are making themselves as a class wholly superfluous in the industrial process. The workers are just beginning a new fight in which final victory is sure. C. H. K.

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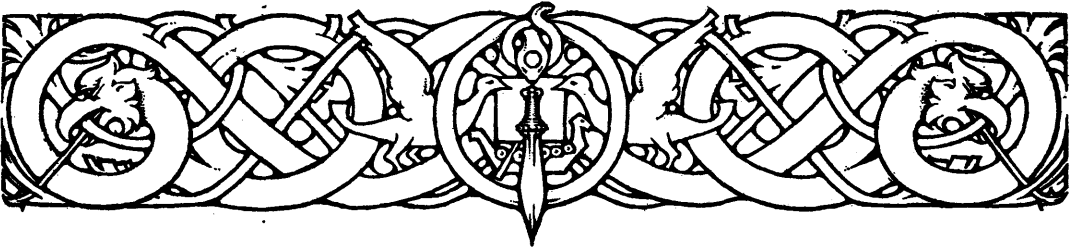
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

*The War—
a Look
Forward*

The war has now gone on for two years and three months. In that time much water has flowed under all sorts of bridges. Both rulers and people have had time for more than one sober second thought. Even Socialists have learned something. At least some of them have

During the past two months the great conflict has entered upon a new phase. A change is noticeable in all countries, and with regard to all sorts of activity. The REVIEW and its readers are not usually interested in purely military or diplomatic achievements. It is only when they have a definite influence on popular thought that they become important for us. There is no doubt that recent events have brought the nations almost face to face with the issues of peace and war. So we must take account of them.

*A New
Military
Situation*

For two years the war has been a deadlock. The great drive into France was beaten back within six weeks. The Gallipoli campaign was begun and discontinued. The Germans made a great incursion into Russia and were partly driven back. The Italians entered the arena and carried a vigorous fighting to the south. But on the whole, the struggle has led to nothing. England has been gathering her forces. It has been generally understood that the Entente Allies were not using their maximum power. All the time Germany has held large slices of French and Russian territory. So matters have stood. For six months the Germans battered in vain at Verdun. The same redoubts were taken and retaken a dozen

times. But the line, as a whole, stood still.

In July began the long advertised offensive of the Entente. Progress has been slow, but in this case there has been a definite advance. The capture of Comblès on September 26 was only a dramatic incident in a progress which has been going regularly from day to day. At the same time the Russians and Italians have been advancing their lines. The great iron ring has begun to tighten.

*Roumania
and Greece
Pick the
Winner*

The various neutral states of the continent soon discovered the change. Roumania and Greece had been looking on with frightened and covetous eyes. The Socialists in both these countries stood out nobly for peace. But everyone knew that the controlling politicians would go in for war as soon as they could pick the winning side. By the end of August, Roumania was able to make up her mind. Instantly her old scores against Austria-Hungary began to burn. She declared war and threw her army over the border in a fine imitation of the Germans. And at the present writing (October 9) Greece is preparing her hostilities against Bulgaria.

Poor Balkan states! They may pick the winner, but they are sure to be losers. If they had formed a Balkan federation after their own war, they might have stood by themselves and developed their own resources. As it is Bulgaria looks to Germany for help, while Servia, Roumania and Greece expect it from the Entente Allies. They are all in a fair way to lose their independence. But for the moment we are chiefly interested in the effect they will

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have on the great war. Roumania and Greece, entering the conflict at the same time, bring important military forces and exercise a tremendous influence on the psychology of the warring nations.

Von Hindenburg to the Rescue

No doubt the effect on the Germans has been a very depressing one. Early in September, General von Falkenhayer was removed from the head of the German staff and von Hindenburg was put in his place. It is by no means certain that the new leader in the great headquarters is a better general than the old one. But he is a popular idol. He drove the Russians out of East Prussia and public imagination made a hero of him. The occasion of his promotion was seized by press and platform to start a rally of national enthusiasm. The Kaiser who had the genius to select such a commander was celebrated even more than the commander himself. It looks very much as tho the whole episode had been carefully arranged to buoy up the spirits of a people who saw the battle turning against them.

On the other hand, there probably was a real military reason back of the change. Van Falkenhayer was all for pressing the fight against the French. He it was who planned the long battle of Verdun. When that failed the Kaiser naturally lost faith in the policy back of it and looked for a man with another one. Von Hindenburg won his great battle in the east, and he favors bringing matters to an issue there. So the transfer of authority is, in a sense, an acknowledgement that the English and the French cannot be beaten.

A New Note in Germany

When the Reichstag opened on September 29, the Chancellor's speech was entirely defensive. There was no talk about peace on the basis of the war-map, as there was in mid-summer. But Germany's house is on fire, and all hands were needed. There was a detailed account of Roumania's action to show that German statesmanship had done the utmost to prevent it. And, finally, the Von Bethmann-Hollweg expressed sympathy with the people of Germany in their trouble. He expressed it in a form which suggests that he was making a desperate effort to allay discontent.

There has been, too, a change in the tone of German newspapers. At first they

DER IMPERIALISMUS, DER WELTKRIEG UND DIE SOZIAL-DEMOKRATIE

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talked of civilizing the world. They wanted a place in the sun, fortified with goodly slices of territory to east and west. Now the talk is chiefly of fending off the enemy, an enemy so fierce and so numerous that the utmost effort is necessary. Frequently the editors refer to the numerical and economic superiority of the enemy as tho it were the sad result of some unforeseen accident.

The war will not end soon. The Central Powers are said to control 2,000,000 square miles of territory and 200,000,000 inhabitants. The defense of the realm will become easier rather than harder as time goes on. No one can tell when the collapse will come.

*Germans
and Other
People*

As Socialists we are not at all interested in the defeat of the Central Powers. The anti-Germans among us do not represent Socialism. There is something peculiar about Germany's economic position, and that is why she began the war. But there is nothing peculiarly dangerous about Germans or German civilization. The small number of American and English Socialists who cry out that there is, have forsworn their Socialist theory in the very act.

For us the important point is that people everywhere have begun to think about the end. We are now looking forward instead of back.

*Effect of the
Hague
Conference*

This statement applies especially to Socialists. The Hague Conference came at the psychological moment. The discussions carried on there and the resolutions adopted seem vague and stupid enough, but coming thus at the time of uncertain forward-looking they have served a real purpose. They have become a focus for German and French thought.

In this capacity they have suffered the fate of most neutral proposals. The Germans say they are anti-German, the French find them anti-French. The German majority, apparently, looked forward to the Conference with a good deal of hope. They had distributed to the delegates copies of a pamphlet explaining just why making war is good Socialism. But the Conference was profoundly unimpressed. Tröelstra referred to the Germans as citizens of a backward nation and suggested that they had

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better spend their time trying to get some sort of rudimentary rights at home. The *Hamburger Echo*, an ultra militaristic, "Socialist" paper, grew very wrathful because no similar advice was given to the French. The Conference resolution proposed that French and German Socialists get together and agree about the Alsace-Lorraine question. The *Chemnitzer Volk* another patriotic "Socialist" paper, replies with heat that there is no such thing as an Alsace-Lorraine question. The *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, organ of German Labor Unions, accuses the Conference of prejudice against German Socialists, who have steadily advocated a meeting of the International Bureau, and in favor of the French, who have thus far made such a meeting impossible. Heinrich Cunow, now a leader of the German majority, denounces the Hague delegates because they did not limit themselves to the one important question, "How can the Socialists' parties of the warring nations get together?"

*What Is
the Great
Problem?*

This remark of Cunow is in line with much of recent German Socialist propaganda. The German majority are evidently trying to put the French into a predicament. The French refuse to meet with Germans who support the war. So, superficially, they may be said to be the enemies of reunion. If indignation is directed against them it may detract attention from the great crime of the Germans.

French comment on the Hague Conference is in part an effort to counteract this move of the Germans. The Conference was a failure, says Marcel Cachin, in *L'Humanité*, because it did not take up definitely, and energetically the question of responsibility for the war. "There was no necessity," he goes on, "of lamenting the calamities which have followed in its train, but there was need of going over the events of July and August, 1914, determining the facts and visiting punishment on the guilty

after they had been dragged forth." This thought is also the main staple of a pamphlet recently issued by the French party. Past wrong must be righted, says the French, before there can be a solid rebuilding of the International.

*An American
View*

If the question of the French were differently stated many of us here in America would agree to it as a definition of the issue. The German Socialists did not start the war. The question as to whether German capitalists or others started it is not fundamental for Socialists. The real question for us is, What was wrong with the Second International? How did it happen that a large body of persons, like the Germans, could belong to this international, take an important part in determining its policies, and then betray its principles under the influence of a capitalist government? And how can the membership of the Third International be limited to international Socialists who can be depended upon to stand together against all enemy influences? These are the main questions.

The Germans are not the only traitors to internationalism, and while we are denouncing them we must be on our guard lest we ourselves fall into their predicament. And if they are the arch-criminals, you French, you English, why have you allowed them to control the affairs of the International? Why have they been allowed even to be members? And will you permit men who believe in the duty of making war to sit with you in the Third International?

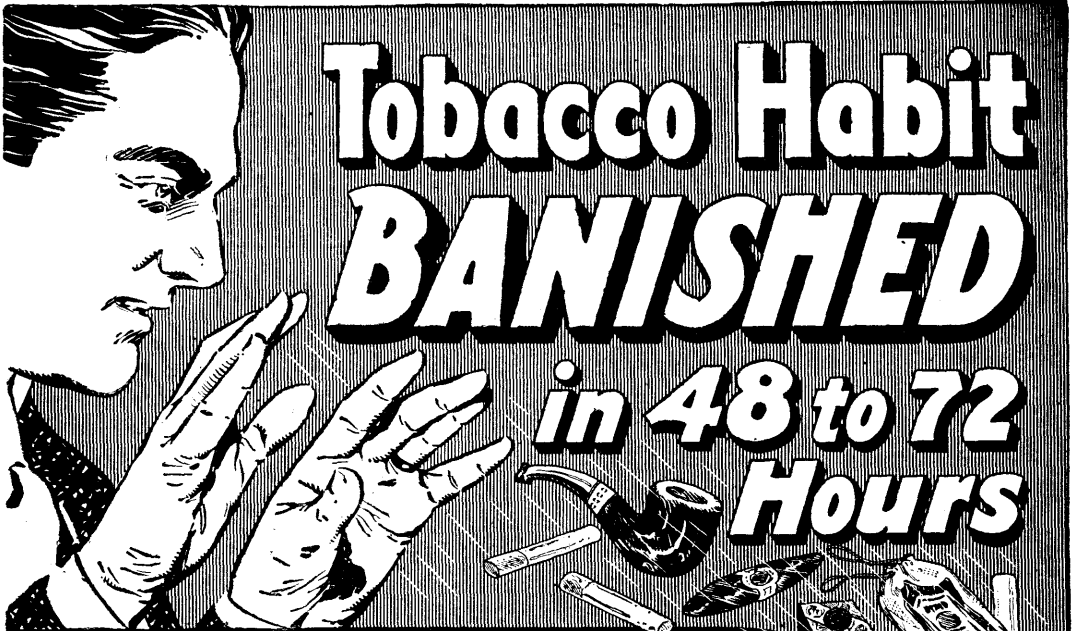
*These Things
We Know*

With regard to the important facts we already have sufficient information. Being among neutrals we do not have to stand off and ask for an investigation—as do the French. We know that many German "Socialists" made patriotic declarations long before the outbreak of the present war. We know that for years past their efforts were lim-

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ited to the promotion of little, national reforms. We know that up to the beginning of August, 1914, they denounced the evident intent of Austria to make war on Serbia. We know that suddenly, when Germany turned in by the side of Austria, they discovered that the war was for defense and voted for the war-budget. Meantime, the French were still holding off. We know that since the war began, the German majority have defended their action by developing a systematic theory of nationalist Socialism. This theory has been expounded in scores of speeches and articles.

What we need is not so much an investigation as a little clear thought and stern determination. What shall we do with this nationalistic Socialism? Let the French, Russians, Italians and English think it over. There is in Germany a growing group of international Socialists. Shall they constitute the German section in the Third International?

*No Truce
in England* During the past month many things have tended to crystallize working-class thought in Europe. First in importance comes the great trades union congress at Birmingham. There were 2,850,547 members represented, a gain of nearly 200,000 over last year. The majority of delegates were patriotic. A violent attack was made on the Independent Labor Party for its work against the war. But a resolution to exclude it from the Labor Party was voted down. That the delegates were nearly all for the war and against the Germans was, however, perfectly clear.

It was on this account that the American proposal to hold a labor conference at the time and place of the peace negotiations was not favorably received. Those Englishmen cannot picture themselves sitting down with Germans to discuss peace. After the enemy is out of France and Belgium it may be different. But not now. A good comrade who explained that capitalism is the same everywhere got scant attention. But Jack Jones got an ovation when he told how the Germans at the last international conference promised to refuse to fight. He wound up by shouting, "and now see what they did." All reference to the American proposal was omitted from the resolutions adopted.

But there is no such thing as a truce

with the English capitalists. The cost of living still mounts. Stock companies are declaring unprecedented dividends. The unions have for the time being given up their rules, but they passed a resolution proclaiming that if the government does not keep its promises there will be a special congress and the cabinet will be summoned to face it.

*German
"Socialist"
Imperialists* On the 15th of August the executive committee of the German Social Democracy issued a proclamation. It is against the German annexationists and in favor of an open discussion of the purposes of the war. In two respects it is rather a pitiful document. The poor authors feel obliged to defend for the hundredth time the position of their party. And afterwards they tell about a letter they have sent to the chancellor asking him to allow them to discuss the purposes of the war in which their comrades are dying. It seems not to occur to them that it might have been wise to have the discussion first and the war afterwards.

In fact, the hope of the executive committee has been realized. Socialists imperialists are allowed the freest possible expression of their opinion. Our old friend, Conrad Haenisch, has published in *Vorwaerts* a very clear statement of his notions. "And concerning annexations," he writes, "I have never concealed the fact that I consider a great shift of our line toward the east to be in the interest of the nation and of the working-class. We ought to hail with joy a liberated Poland. We ought also to obtain guarantees that Belgium will no longer remain a port lying open for English invasion of Central Europe, such guarantees to be compatible with the independent political existence of the Belgians."

This declaration has led to a violent controversy. It is evident that Haenisch had no right to speak for the majority. But it is evident, too, that many members of this group have long since left behind their original prejudice against the war of conquest.

*A German
Socialist
Conference* This and other similar matters have by this time been threshed out in an imperial Socialist Conference. The date of this gathering was set for September 21, and Berlin was to be the place. At the time of going to press no

reports of the proceedings have reached this country. It will be remembered that the minority Socialists objected energetically to the calling of a regular congress. Under present conditions anti-war Socialists cannot speak their minds. The so-called majority might seal the fate of the party while the police took charge of their opponents.

So a congress was not called. The conference was arranged to take its place. It was to be made of party officials, Socialist deputies, including Otto Ruhle and the twenty who stand with Haase. The elected delegates were to be chosen according to a system giving the small electorates almost equal influence with the largest ones. So the minority comrades were deeply discontented with the arrangements. Nevertheless, they took a vigorous part in the election of delegates. At a meeting in Berlin a resolution against the policy of the executive was adopted and then anti-war delegates were elected. At Leipzig, also, minority delegates were elected. At Kile, Stettin and Cologne majority delegates were selected. Probably Scheidemann and his group were in control, but it is certain that there was a strong band of real Socialists there.

Breaking the Truce? A cablegram from Berlin brings unexpected news. The truce among German classes and parties is famous. Thus far the war "Socialists" have kept it perfectly. But the Saxon Socialists are different. The agreement is that when a member of the Reichstag dies or retires his party shall appoint his successor without contest. Now a certain Conservative Deputy Giese, has died, and those Saxon Socialists announce that they are going to put up a candidate and make a fight for the seat. Another sign that a good-

many German Socialists are coming back to consciousness.

*Ultimate
Leisure for
English
Workers*

In England more than anywhere else workers and capitalists are facing the future. Justice publishes enlightening excerpts from a series of articles running in the London *Times*. An author signing himself "D. P." writes on July 24 that after the war, labor must have "something more than the pitiful old struggles." "It is an idle dream," he thinks, "and all too prevalent a dream, to suppose that any great economic reorganization can be brought about by quiet meetings of bankers and big business men and unobtrusive bargains with government departments." Compulsory unemployment and child labor are to be done away with. Industry is to be nationalized to the extent of letting the government in as a partner. This partner will assure the worker of "that most attractive of all wages, security," and will guarantee "a man's ultimate leisure and independence." Of course, there are to be no strikes in this paradise. Probably the agreeable partner will see to that.

The articles are typical of many now going the rounds. English labor is expected to make a tremendous fight "when peace comes." So the capitalists are taking on a battle of intellectual preparedness. If labor strikes quickly it may derive real benefits from the habituation of the English mind to government control of industry. If it allows itself to be lured on by hope of ultimate leisure and independence it will find its last state worse than its first.

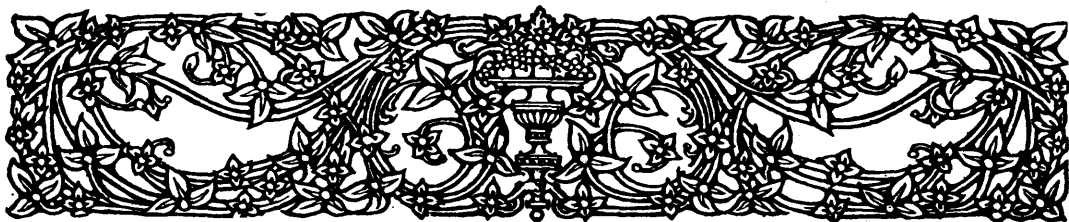
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NEWS AND VIEWS

The Iron Miners of Minnesota have declared the strike off for the time being. Meetings of all branches of Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 490 were held. The Central Strike Committee on Sunday, September 17, announced the vote.

The mine workers have made a good fight against overwhelming odds. Unorganized when the strike began, no funds on hand, they struggled along for more than three months. The general headquarters, the unions of the I. W. W., with the contributions from other sources, were able to meet every call of the strikers with money for relief, for counsel and for organization work.

The needs of the strikers were comparatively small, but they realized that expenses would soon be increased on account of the trials of Mrs. Masanovitch, the four strikers and the organizers, Carlo Tresca, Jos. Schmidt and Sam Scarlett, who are under indictment, charged with first degree murder.

Every striker has promised the men who came to their assistance their whole-hearted support, and have pledged themselves to go on strike again if the men in jail are not released. They are determined to stand by the Union and be prepared for action the coming spring. Well organized, with some funds on hand, and with the other iron ore districts in line, they will be able to strike a blow at the steel trust that will count.

From a New Jersey Red—Comrade Urbaniak of Trenton comes across with eight new yearlies. This is the kind of cooperation that counts.

From a French Comrade—Paris, France, Sept. 17th. Dear Comrade: Enclosed I send you \$1.50 postal order, amount of my subscription to the REVIEW. We are in war. I can neither send you more nor say more! International and brotherly greetings to you and thru you to all Socialists who stand with Comrade Liebknecht.—Filiol.

News From the Northwest—Organization work is going on at a fast clip in the lumber industry. The fake industrial unions started three years ago by a few craft union pie card artists have been put out of business by the bosses, and efforts to organize the workers along craft lines have met with no success.

Many active I. W. W. members have left the harvest fields and are busy these days in the logging camps and lumber mills. Over 100

loggers and shingle-weavers joined the I. W. W. at Seattle during September.

What Others Do—Comrade Whalen of Buffalo, Okla., comes in with eleven subs. in one letter to wind up the month of September with a whoop, and Comrade Weathers of Lenapah sends in four, while Comrade Becker of Sharpville, Pa., adds eight new ones to the list. You could do as well if you would ask your shop-mates and neighbors for a short-time sub. Write and ask for our special campaign offer.

A Letter of Thanks—I wish to personally thank all members of the I. W. W. and other radical groups for the aid rendered me during the time I was forced to spend in jail at Aberdeen, S. Dak. Most of you are familiar with the case, but wish to briefly state that the incident which made me spend one year in jail, occurred on the 9th of Sept., 1915, near Aberdeen, S. Dak. It was purely and simply a case of SELF-DEFENSE, and I am sure that I was justified in what occurred. On Oct. 19, 1915, I came to trial and the verdict the jury brought in was 10 for acquittal and 2 for conviction, so you see it was decidedly in my favor.

The case was again to come up in Oct., 1916, but for lack of witnesses on the part of the state, was thrown out of court. Such being the case I was RELEASED at 12:30 p. m. Oct. 3, and immediately left for Minneapolis, where I was given a cordial WELCOME by all FELLOW WORKERS. Now that I am again FREE, will, in the very near future, take up the work in assisting to build up the ONE BIG UNION. Again tendering my personal thanks to all concerned, and wishing them every possible success, I remain, yours for one big union. Signed, James Schmidt.

Chicago Branch of Letts—The Cook County Branch of Lettish Comrades are doing great things. They are not only educating their members in scientific Socialism so that all shall possess a sound working basis for revolutionary activity, but they have successfully produced a large number of three, four and even five act plays, with a company of their own, sometimes numbering forty comrades. The plays of Suderman, Bernard Shaw, Ibsen and Galsworthy were among their repertoire last winter. This year they expect to produce some of the successes of the Irish players, among these, Synge's plays and those of Lady Gregory. Why can't we English revolution-

ists succeed in our community endeavors like the Lettish, Finnish and Hungarian comrades?

Japanese Strike at Yokohama Shipyard.

The strike was started in the evening of August 14th. by 50 lathe workers, when the company had rejected their ten demands. On the following day 200 file workers joined the strike. The chief cause of trouble was dismissal of two lathe workers by their boss. The demands of workers are as follows:

1. To dismiss the boss, who is directly responsible for firing two workers and to reinstate the two.

2. To deprive the power to fire the men from the boss hereafter.

3. To increase ten per cent on wages for the entire workers in the company. And other demands.

The Socialist monthly *New Society* points out the deeper meaning of the present strike

1. It is a result of awakening of workers to the common and mutual self-interest, as a basis of motive to protect fellow workers assuming their claims and interests are common to each other. 2. To demand the increase of wages not only themselves but also entire workers is an indication of spirit of their organized action for the interest and right of the whole in the one, and to invite the rest of workers to join them on the other. This must be recognized to be their wisdom and judgment, viewed from the tactical standpoint. 3. Yu-Ai-Kai, the friendly society of laborers, the government certified organization, stepped in and offered its good office for sweet reconciliation, to which strikers paying a least respect and went on the fight by their solidly organized power to get their right. 4. They gathered at gates of the company, attempting to induce others to join them; thus they followed the western method of picketing. 5. A fact must not be overlooked that the strikers have chose nthe busiest season for shipbuilding industry.

In spite of police interference and an unfriendly attitude of the press, the strikers obtained their whole ten demands from the company on the 16th of August.

File workers employed at the Kokura munition factory, a branch of the government arsenal at Osaka, struck for the increase of wages on the 17th ult. Entire employes of the electric railway company, with exception of foremen, went to strike for higher pay.—(*The Heimin*, Japanese Socialist Paper.)

Attention, Cleveland Socialists!—Comrade Theodore Lockwood has been handling the REVIEW for ten years. He gets all over Cleveland with his literature and has been the means of starting many a Dubb on the road to revolution. Comrade Lockwood is going night and day, and depends on the sale of the REVIEW and other literature for a living. He informs us that his REVIEW sales in the last two months have not been what they were in previous months. Now we are going to ask our many friends in Cleveland to assist Comrade Lockwood in every way possible. He has been a faithful and tireless worker for many years and deserves the active support of every rebel in Cleveland. He carries a full line of radical

literature dealing with all phases of the movement of revolt. You that read this will confer a favor on the publishers of this magazine by giving Comrade Lockwood a boost.

Can You Beat This?—We quote the following from an editorial in the silk manufacturers' official journal:

"An ideal location would be one in which labor is abundant, intelligent, skilled, and cheap; where there were no labor unions and strikes; where the laws of the state made no restrictions as to the hours of work or age of workers; where people were accustomed to mill life; and where there were no other textile mills in the vicinity to share in the labor and bid up its prices. * * * In towns where there is a fair population and no manufacturing industries of moment, a good supply of female help can usually be had at low prices, but should other industries come to the town, the demand for help may soon exceed the supply and the employer find, owing to the bidding up of the labor, that its cost is greatly increased, and its character arrogant and independent, and with no growth to the town equal to the increasing employment offered, he finds himself in a very uncomfortable position. * * *"

From Montreal—"To the Editor: I bought a copy of the REVIEW the other day, and believe me it is just the magazine I have been looking for for a long time. It is brim full of straight from the shoulder statements, and is written in a clear and precise manner, which you do not often find nowadays, and in future you will find me a regular subscriber, as I would not be without it, so allow me to congratulate you and your associate editors for producing which I may correctly define as the best magazine of its kind published, and I am sure it is destined for a great future, so again thanking you and your very able staff for such brilliant results, I remain, Sir, Yours truly, John."

Palestine, Texas—Gentlemen: For some months the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and other Socialist literature, has been coming to my address. I am of the opinion that some one has paid a year's subscription to one of these papers to be sent to me.

I truly appreciate good literature, and enjoy logical and broad-minded discussions on any question; but I can not allow myself to read or countenance such "rot" as you are publishing and sending out over our country.

A better feeling, a better understanding, and more appreciation of each other should exist between the classes in this country; but so long as the unthinking, the vicious, and ignorant man reads such literature as you are sending out, strife and hatred will exist.

You will please strike my name from your list, and mark me as one who believes in the brotherhood of all men; and not in the arraying of one class against another. I believe in a man being a *man* in the broadest sense of the word.

Yours for peace, not "rebellion,"

W. C. QUICK.

The National Labor Defense Counsel

BY IDA RAUH

A PROMOTING committee consisting of Fremont Older, Helen Marot, Dante Barton, Lincoln Steffens and Ida Rauh has obtained the consent of the five following lawyers to form a National Labor Defense Counsel. They are: Frank P. Walsh, C. E. S. Wood, Edward P. Costigan, Austin Lewis and Amos Pinchot. These men are known thruout the whole country not only in their legal profession, but for the position they have taken in the struggle of labor against capitalist exploitation. The members of the counsel are serving without compensation.

In many legal cases Frank P. Walsh has acted as the unpaid counsel for labor, but it is as chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and later as chairman of the Industrial Relations committee, organized to carry forward the recommendations of that commission, that his position is thoroly understood and his place as a leader nationally appreciated. C. E. S. Wood and Austin Lewis have become two of the leading legal advisers of the Pacific Coast. Edward P. Costigan was in charge of some of the most important legal developments of the great strike of the miners of Colorado in 1914. Amos Pinchot has spoken and written for labor in every industrial crisis that has arisen in the last few years.

It is the service of such men as these that the well organized unions command; it has been valuable to them not only in the defense of their members in court, but has brought their cases before the country and the labor world thru the attention they forced from the press.

In order to give the *unorganized workers* the advantages of the organized workers, the National Labor Defense Counsel has been formed. It is obviously impossible for the counsel to give personal attention to the innumerable cases which continuously arise. Therefore, the counsel proposes to employ a man who is intimately connected with the labor movement; who is competent to report situations to the counsel; who is able to carry out the advice of the counsel; employ local attorneys; who will represent the counsel locally, and who will raise the

money for the conduct of the trials. To maintain such an agent in the field will need money.

The need of such a counsel has been recognized in scores of cases in the past few years, and the need is increasing. More and more the fate of a strike depends upon the abuse of the courts of their power, and this abuse is proportionate to the obscurity and helplessness of the victims. It is only necessary to name the most recent instances—Pittsburgh, Youngstown and Minnesota.

The existence of this counsel gives to every man and woman in the country who stands behind the unorganized workers a chance to make an investment where the returns to labor will be the greatest. All sympathizers of labor, all advocates of fair play in the courts, all members of well organized trades will make the work of this National Defense Counsel possible by becoming a subscribing member—by giving his share to the fund of \$5,000 necessary to maintain the field work.

The individual subscription is not fixed at a definite sum. The Promotion committee believes that in a project as important as this is to the most helpless workers, if the sum be left to the decision of individuals, they will contribute more. The counsel are giving their service without compensation. You who cannot give such service can give money.

The Promotion committee will have no part in the administration of the National Defense Counsel but will continue to act as the executive of the sustaining membership fund, that is, it will resolve itself into a finance committee.

Remittances are to be sent to Ida Rauh, treasurer, 33 West 14th street, New York City.

In a letter directed to the counsel, Miss Rauh says:

“At no time in the struggle of labor for justice has a defense against the abuses of the law been more needed than at present.

“A sense of solidarity is beginning to express itself among organized workers and the unorganized are feeling the defenselessness of their position and are groping toward organization.

"The unscrupulous power entrenched behind capital knows this and is using the force of the militia and the machine gun against them and the more insidious force of the law. Alien and unbelievable as it seems to the average American, who is remote from the struggle, the owning class can and does control the judicial powers, from the petty official to many of the judges themselves. In some cases unconsciously this is so; in many cases defiantly.

"This method of *justice*, dictated by corrupt capitalists, gives the great corporations the power to defeat any effort of the workers to improve their conditions. They can arrest or kill any leader of the working class who has aroused their anger and then find sanction and justification in their own courts. This they are doing and doing it repeatedly. We must stop this.

"For that reason the National Labor Defense Counsel has been formed. Help us to crush the forces that are trying to crush labor."

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It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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