

The International Socialist Review

NOVEMBER, 1909

TEN CENTS



J REYNOLDS

SKINNY'S TURKEY DINNER,

BY MARY E. MARCY

THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

Vol. X.

NOVEMBER, 1909

No. 5



TWO weeks before Thanksgiving Day every newspaper in Chicago began to tell about it. Mr. H. Harrison Browne, they said, President of Browne, Johnson & Company, one of the largest wholesale grocery houses in the city, would give away, on the day before Thanksgiving, a carload of choice country turkeys.

The amount of free advertising Browne, Johnson & Company, and Mr. Browne in particular, received upon the strength of this bare announcement is almost incredible. Every branch of every charity bureau in the city received requests from him for the names of families particularly "worthy" to share Mr. Browne's bounty. Several ministers mentioned his name in writing their Thanksgiving sermons as a man of wealth for other rich men to emulate and for the poor to thank God for.

All over the city people were asking each other, how many good sized turkeys go to make up a car-load and everybody declared it was really very handsome of Browne, Johnson & Company, with turkeys at 27 cents a pound. It would be a good thing, they declared, if he could shame the Beef Trust into being reasonable for once, instead of holding everybody up during the holiday season.

The city papers gave columns lauding President Browne, and a sympathetic cub-reporter spent several evenings among the hard-working, underfed people on the West Side, gathering local color for a Thanksgiving story on Browne's Turkey Dinners.

And fully ten thousand underfed families read about Browne's car-load of turkeys, and doubted and longed for one of them. The charity organizations were besieged with requests and pleas for notes of recommendation to the Browne Distributing Committee and the subject of universal interest in Packingtown, Bubbly Creek and all along Halsted street was Browne's free Thanksgiving turkeys.

Now Skinny McCarty was one of the scrappiest boys for his age, in Bubbly Creek, and he made up his mind to secure one of these free turkeys for the McCarty Thanksgiving dinner. His father, Dan McCarty, had been working on half time for so many months that the family well knew it was their only chance.

Skinny read all the papers and gathered sufficient information to know that the best way to secure one of the prizes would be to have a note from the Charity People. And, as Big Dan McCarty said, "Skinny was a bye with a turrible nerve." So to the Charity People he went. From past experience he realized that Miss Thompson, the investigator in whose territory he lived, would be the most likely person to approach.

Miss Thompson had long been prejudiced in Skinny's favor. When Dan McCarty had been laid off at the time of the advent of the last new McCarty baby she had found Skinny eager to get a paper route down town and to go into business. All the McCartys were cheerful, hard working, and, as a rule, self-supporting. She believed in encouraging them.

So when Skinny explained about the "free turkeys" and asked for a note to Browne's Distributing Committee, he got it. Three times he was compelled to kick his feet waiting for Miss Thompson in the Bureau Investigating Room, but the morning before Thanksgiving Day his patience was rewarded and he returned to Bubbly Creek the envy of every boy and girl along the Alley.

Five minutes before he reached home, Mrs. McCarty, bending over her wash-tub, heard his triumphant shrill whistle and the smaller

McCartys began to expand into the largest grins of which they were capable as they flew to meet Skinny.

This was the morning before Thanksgiving Day. The turkeys were to be given away from Browne, Johnson & Company's down town wholesale store at four o'clock in the afternoon. So Skinny assumed an air of great importance, ate a slab of bread spread with fryings, and departed for the scene of his hopes.

His mother gave him a nickel to take the car home, for it was over five miles to Browne, Johnson & Company's store, and she hoped the turkey would be a heavy one. Besides it was not always safe for a small inhabitant of Bubbly Creek to parade his worldly wealth too freely without possessing the strength of arm necessary to protect it.



As Skinny strutted proudly down the Alley, Mrs. McCarty took her hands from the tub and stood watching him from the basement steps and bragged a little to Mrs. Smith, who lived next door, and thanked God for giving her such a smart "bye."

It was a long and interesting walk for Skinny down to Browne's, and he enjoyed every step of it. He reveled too in the great masses of people that packed State street for nearly a block and swelled over and blocked the cars on Randolph. All these people had come

hoping to get a free turkey too, but few of them would have notes from the Charity People. And his boy heart swelled with the pride of his own cleverness.

Long before three o'clock the crowd had become an impact mass through which it refused to allow newcomers to pass. But Skinny had, long before, slowly and laboriously wormed his way near the side door, where the papers said the Browne Distributing Committee would give out the turkeys. And still the people came till the whole street looked like a hive dotted and swarming with bees. At last Browne, Johnson & Company sent a call to the Police Department and a little later a squad arrived to clear the streets and disperse the crowd.

Skinny managed to hold his position near the big doors, and when the Distributing Committee finally made its appearance he shrilled instantly,

"I've got a letter from the Charity People; read it. They told me to give it to you an' you'd give me a turkey. Her name's Miss Thompson," and he frantically climbed over the rude platform and thrust the note into a man's hand. So Skinny was one of the first to receive a turkey.

With a deep sigh of joy, he threw it over his shoulder, holding firmly to its legs. Then he backed cautiously against the walls of the building. The air was very cold, but Skinny heeded it not, and when a few belated policemen appeared driving the crowd before their clubs, he followed at their backs, out of the crowd, and made his way to a South Side car.

As it leaked out afterward (though it did not leak far) only five hundred turkeys were really given away, but Skinny never knew that, and if he had known, he would only have considered himself more lucky in securing one.

It was seven o'clock when he arrived home. Supper was on the table and a roaring fire in the stove, and the beaming smiles of his mother and the smaller McCartys sent Skinny's spirits skyward in an ecstasy of pride and joy.

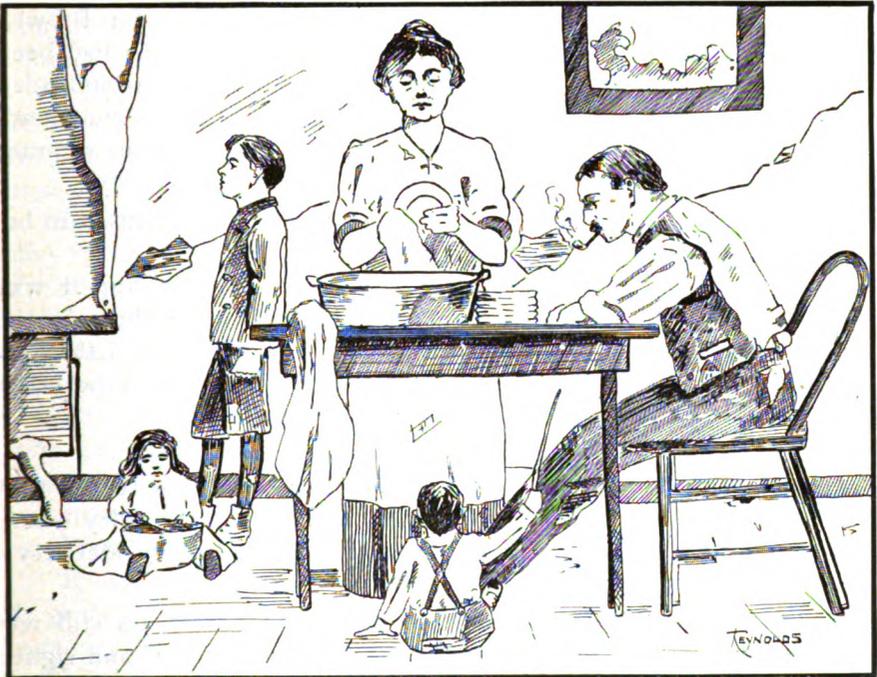
The turkey was hung on a nail outside the window, in the cold, but in full view from within. And Skinny persuaded Tim to sit in his place at the table so that he would not be compelled to tear his eyes from the lovely sight.

At eight o'clock came Dan McCarty home to dinner. Often it is not enough that a man shall work on "half time" but he must need work over hours to get out the job the boss wants done. So it was with Dan, but the smiling face of his wife and the grins on the faces of the children told him, at once, that Skinny had secured a turkey

"Well, Bye," he said, after he had soused his face in the tin basin at the sink, and seated himself at the table, "I'm sure glad you got it."

"You'll sure be a success in loife, if you kape on gittin' things you wants, loike you do now."

And proud and very red in the face, Skinny brought the treasure into the kitchen that the whole family, and his father in particular, might feel the heft of it and admire his smartness. Never in all his eleven years had Skinny accomplished a feat like this.



While Dan ate his supper, Mrs. McCarty sat beside him and the little McCartys chattered while Skinny walked about, alone, too big to play with the children (in the light of the day's work) and not old enough to sit beside his father. But all the joy and pride of a first success were his.

But the fire grew hot and Mrs. McCarty arose and began to clear off the dishes, as Dan wiped his mouth on the back of his hand and reached for his pipe.

"There's a turrible smell in here, Mary," he said, as he sniffed with his head in the air, while he filled it.

"There's sure somethin' dead in this kitchen, an' be the smell of it, I'd say it'd been dead a LONG time."

"Perhaps it's a rat," suggested Mrs. McCarty, while the children looked under the stove and poked behind the coal box. But there was no need to search long, for the heat from the kitchen stove had thawed the frozen treasure and an unmistakable odor of decayed flesh arose from the sink. Alas for the hope and faith we may have had in the philanthropy of the large advertiser! They are on the way to a severe set-back, for the turkey—Skinny's prize turkey—was bad beyond the hope of eating on that Thanksgiving Day.

We cannot tell the history of that fowl, whether his days had been many or whether they were few, we only know—for Browne explained to the Charity Organizations afterward, that he had been "shamelessly cheated by the packing company." They had unloaded a lot of spoiled fowls upon him, taking advantage of his confidence and sent a number of turkeys spoiled in a wreck the previous summer on the T. and P. R. R., between Joplin, Mo., and Kansas City.

But Skinny was very young and full of hope. He refused to believe the evidence of his senses.

"All turkeys smell that way," he declared at first, and it was only when his father had forcibly separated him from the prize he thought he had won, that the truth penetrated his brain and the iron entered his soul. His mother said the turkey was bad; the other children said it SMELLED bad; and his father insisted,

"It was turrible ROTTEN."

So it was, that amid a storm of tears and with deep regret, that Dan McCarty deposited the turkey in that portion of the Alley where the scavengers are supposed to remove refuse, and Skinny McCarty's first illusion was destroyed.

He went to bed crying and fell asleep with the tears still wet on his cheeks, while Big Dan and his wife talked it over, and sighed and wondered if they couldn't afford a turkey dinner after all.

"We might," said Mrs. McCarty in despair, at last, "we MIGHT get a RABBIT." But just then Big Dan thought of a way.

At two o'clock on Thanksgiving Day, garbed in their very best, Dan McCarty, his wife on his arm, and all the children began their long walk to Halsted street. With their free hands, Dan and Mary clutched the fists of Mamie and little Pete and kept them from falling over themselves. Kate piloted Buddie, and Skinny marched proudly before with a wary eye on Nick. For the moment, the tragedy of yesterday was forgotten by Skinny, in the joy of a new pair of shoes.

"You shall all have TURKEY for dinner," Big Dan had declared and Big Dan meant it. So the kiddies squirmed around and gal-

loped along risking their own limbs and the equilibrium of their fond parents.

At Mike's Place they all spilled noisily into the Family Entrance, and such a squeaking of chairs and pushing of tables there was that Mike himself stuck his head through the swinging doors to see what the trouble was.

"Well, well," he said heartily, looking from one expectant face to another, "If it ain't Big Dan McCarty," and he nodded to Mrs. McCarty and mussed the childrens' hair.

"Mill runnin' on full time yet?" asked Mike. Big Dan said "No, 'bout half toime," and ordered three beers, "an' a little of that Free Lunch for the kids."

"SURE!" Mike said, and disappeared through the swinging doors. He stayed so long that Dan began to fear he had forgotten the order, when the bar-keep's helper appeared staggering beneath a load that caused the small McCartys to squirm off their seats with joy!

For the helper bore a huge tray and upon that tray were there many plates, piled high with good things. Turkey there was—a whole leg for each one of the children, and mashed potatoes, pickles, bread and butter and CRANBERRY sauce!

Then began such a clatter of knives and forks and such a smacking of lips as would drive a hungry man green with envy.

When the last crumb had been forced downward and Mrs. McCarty had straightened Tim's tie, and washed Buddie's face and hands and rebuttoned Katy's dress, Dan permitted Mamie to press the button. A moment later Mike's red face appeared.

"Won't you come in and have a drink with us?" Big Dan asked,

"It was sure a swell feed you're handin' out today." "Purty fair grub," Mike nodded. "No," he shook his head, and waved aside the money Big Dan had laid on the table.

"You're money ain't good here TO-DAY. What'll-it-be?"

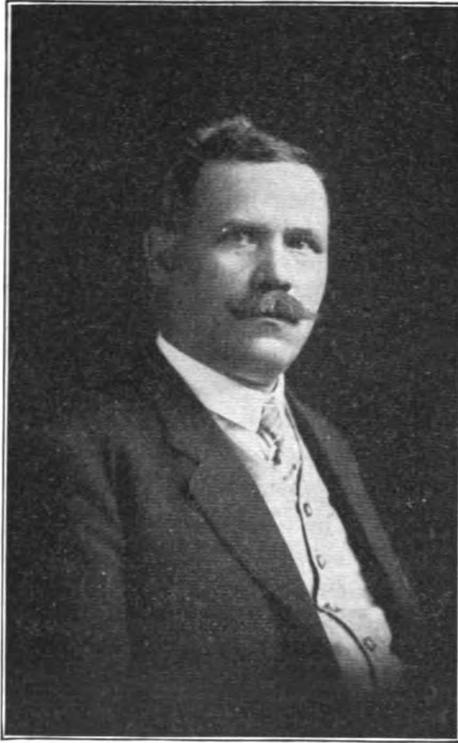
"Beer," said Big Dan; "beer," said Mrs. McCarty, and Mike once more disappeared behind the swinging doors.

"Gee!" said Big Dan leaning toward Mary. "Mike's a hell-of-a foine fellow!"

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"It's the folks whose fathers leave them
heaps of money—folks who never have to
stand on their own legs, who are always so
free with moral talk to the hungry ones."
From "Out of the Dump."
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The General Strike in Sweden

By J. O. BENTALL.



C. H. THOLIN

American Delegate of Swedish Strikers



YOU have refused to come to time. We therefore refuse to give you employment. We close our factories and we would like to know what you are going to do about it.

This was substantially the declaration of the Employers' Association of Sweden to the 160,000 workmen

it engaged.

The answer from the workers came firm and unflinching: "You

have declared a lockout against 160,000; we declare a general strike by 280,000."

The general strike in Sweden is unique.

There has been nothing like it in the history of the world. It is therefore necessary to give a resume of its main features.

For some time the workers in Sweden have been organizing and educating themselves. They have occupied the field with two distinct forces.

I. THE INDUSTRIAL FORCE.

Realizing what the workers all over the world have realized for some time, that to secure conditions where an existence is possible the workers must unite in organized form, the men in the different trades set themselves to the task of effecting such organizations as would afford them as much self protection as possible under existing industrial and political conditions. Every trade therefore was thoroughly organized. The farm hands, even, followed their brothers in the factories and made their union as strong as the strongest.

But they did not stop with the organization of the individual trades unions. All these—the machinists, blacksmiths, miners, carpenters, bricklayers, weavers, paper and saw mill workers, celluloid and textile laborers, printers and street car men, shoemakers, glass blowers and all others—linked themselves together into one strong unbroken chain called the national organization (Lands organization).

When therefore any individual worker or group of workers were imposed upon or demanded improvement in working conditions, shorter hours or higher wages, their grievance or demand was carried to the local union, and if the difficulty could not be settled there, this local union appealed to Lands organization.

This thorough form of organization has enabled the workers of Sweden to enforce many of their demands. The union had become so strong that it was generally feared by the employers.

II. THE POLITICAL FORCE.

While the unions thus strengthened themselves and became more and more a power in the hands of the working class the political field was not by any means neglected.

Sweden being a monarchy was slow to grant the people any participation in governmental affairs. It was only by persistent effort that the workers were given some rights of suffrage. Property qualifications have been adhered to and only by degrees has the male portion of the population been allowed to vote for members of the Riksdag.

The popular demand for unlimited suffrage has been so strong that a new law has just been passed providing that all men over twenty-one

years of age shall be allowed to vote. This has encouraged the workers to ask for more and a strenuous campaign began to be waged for the suffrage of women as well.

Very little protest on the part of the ruling class would have been raised against granting the women the ballot had it not been for the fact that the proletariat was rapidly drifting into Socialism. Even under the old law the socialists have constantly added new members to the Riksdag until now thirty-five seats are held by them. It is generally granted that at the next election, when all men may vote, the socialists will capture at least seventy-five seats.

Thus the working men of Sweden have organized thoroughly, both industrially and politically.

But that is not all. The industrial organization and the political organization work hand in hand. To be a union man means of course to be a Socialist. Over 50 per cent of the union men are dues-paying members of the socialist party and 99 per cent of the remainder vote the socialist ticket.

In order to destroy the Socialist movement and the entire labor organization, the employers took advantage of the industrial depression when the unemployed were numerous, threatening a general lockout if the workers would not submit to a reduction in wages.

In three different industries, and in rather insignificant places, wage reductions of a slashing character were dictatorially ordered. The increased cost of living made it entirely out of question to submit to them.

On August 2nd, therefore, a general lockout was declared and the workers were informed that they could not come back until after an unconditional surrender.

The representatives of organized labor at once convened. It was plainly seen by the workers that not only was the result of 25 years of struggle for a human existence endangered, but the very existence of the organization. The last and most powerful means of defense had to be resorted to—the general strike. This was ordered on August 4.

Not only did the organized workers vote almost unanimously to cease work, but even the unorganized men to the number of 100,000 went out with their fellows.

This tied up practically every industry. Bakeries and meat shops, street car lines and liveries, stores and freight houses, shops, mills and factories—everything was at a standstill. Railroad employes were not called out because they are mostly engaged by the government and get a pension after a certain period of service, but they had nothing to do, as all production and handling had ceased. They only drew their pay.

This cessation of work was too much for the owning class. The

rich could not secure their living and their stomachs began to feel the pangs of hunger.

The desire to misrepresent the situation was frustrated by the walkout of the typographical union. No daily papers could therefore be issued, except in letterhead size produced by mimeograph. The only daily paper regularly issued was "Svaret" (The Answer) sent out by Lands organizationen.

From the very beginning the unions arranged for committees to keep the workers peaceable when attacked by riot makers sent by the capitalists. It was therefore impossible to incite to riots and so no excuse for interference by the government could be found.

This angered the employers to such an extent that they demanded that the King send out the militia to charge on groups of strikers. But even this failed, for two regiments, ordered to fire into gatherings of workers refused and stacked their guns saying: "These men do no harm and we will not shoot our brothers without cause."

In several of the larger cities the mayors are socialists. This is the case in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. The police can therefore not be used by the employers in harassing the strikers. When the government placed the constabulary as guard over the workers in the gas and electric plants they responded by saying that they would leave the plants unless the constabulary was withdrawn. The demand of the workers was obeyed at once.

After six weeks of the strike 150,000 workmen were ordered back by the union, because they had then demonstrated the ability of the unions to control the situation. The command from Landsorganisationen is always obeyed. No strike breakers have been imported and no strikers have broken with the union.

The last cablegram from Landssekretariatet is as follows:

STOCKHOLM, Sept. 29, 1909.

"Attempts to arbitrate stranded—Employers' terms unacceptable. Struggle continues with all the power the Swedish workmen can command. Only hunger can compel our members to go back. We appeal for continued support. Inform Tholin and Sandgren.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET,

"Lindquist."

As soon as it became known that the strike had to continue, Landssekretariatet, the executive council of Landsorganisationen, sent C. H. Tholin to represent the strikers in the unions of America. Mr. Tholin has been speaking in all the larger cities in this country and the workers everywhere have responded liberally. Germany, France, Norway,

Denmark, Finland, England and other countries have given generous support, thus enabling the strikers to hold out.

After two months and a half not a break has been made in the ranks of the Swedish strikers, not a riot has been precipitated, not a drop of blood spilt. The union is stronger than when the strike started, and the capitalists are frantic because of the tremendous loss and because of their inability to break the strike.

The workers in Sweden have demonstrated what can be done when labor unites solidly in the industrial and political field and make the two forces act in harmony guided by intelligence and intensified by determination.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years. * * * * Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.—Communist Manifesto.

Punch and Judy



(Cartoon from Chicago Tribune)



As the Review goes to press preparations are being made in El Paso, Texas, for the dinner to be served upon the bridge that spans the Rio Grande at El Paso, at which President Taft will shake the hand of Porfirio Diaz.

There will be much ceremony at this little dinner for two. According to present plans, each president is to be

quartered close to the end of the bridge that touches his own country, and at a given hour to proceed to the middle of the structure. At that point a banquet table is to be spread exactly on the international boundary line. Each president is to sit and dine in his own country. The bells will ring; the bands will play; the people will stare and the Secret Service men of Taft and the soldiers of Diaz will regard everybody with suspicion.

For this meeting is taking place in defiance of the protests of the people of Texas, in spite of the appeals of editors and readers of papers and magazines all over the country. All along the border states, great mass meetings are welcoming Mother Jones and protesting against the alliance between Diaz and the United States Government which continues to violate our constitutional rights of asylum.

But the real hands that pull the strings of these two servant-presidents, the hands that arranged this little love feast—are the hands of the American capitalist. Very close commercial relations have developed between Mexico and the United States, particularly at the borderland, within the past decade. And Mexico is even a more fertile field for the exploitation of labor than Pennsylvania. It is a heaven for capitalism just as it is to-day, and the capitalists do not propose to allow a small band of half starved revolutionists to destroy the Diaz autocracy.

A correspondent from Mexico writes: "Diaz and his little oligarchy have put the greater part of the natural resources of the country into the hands of foreign capitalists, while they gobble up the ready cash. The central government's only concern is the taxes and the army.

"Popular elections are unknown. Diaz names every one of the state governors, who, in turn, name the governors of the towns. By these governors thousands of men have been murdered; property has been confiscated and women outraged. They regard their territories as so much field for plunder.

"The school system is almost extinct. And what still remains has fallen into the hands of the clergy whose only aim is to hold the people in ignorance and to bilk them out of the little money they may possess. Most of the people are illiterate.

"In the face of all these difficulties it seems incredible that Mexico should be seething with revolutionary activities. But this is the case."

It would seem that Diaz, as Chief of Police at the head of his own army, is doing better work for the capitalist class than Taft,

the figure-head, has ever done. John Kenneth Turner, in the October number of the American Magazine, gives further reasons why the large commercial interests should regard with fear and horror any change in the policy of the Diaz regime. Mr. Turner says:

"Mexico is a country without political freedom, without freedom of speech, without a free press, without a free ballot, without a jury system, without political parties, without any of our cherished guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a land where there has been no contest for the office of president for more than a generation, where the executive rules all things by means of a standing army, where political offices are sold for a fixed price, where the public school system in vast districts is abolished because a governor needs the money.

* * * * *

"I found Mexico to be a land where the people are poor because they have NO rights, where peonage is the rule for the great mass, and where actual chattel slavery obtains for hundreds of thousands. Finally, I found that the people do not idolize their president, that the tide of opposition, dammed and held back as it has been by the army and the secret police, is rising to a height where it must shortly overflow the dam.

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"Slavery is the ownership of the body of a man, an ownership so absolute that the body can be transferred to another, an ownership that gives to the owner the right to take the products of that body, to starve it, to chastise it at will, to kill it with impunity. Such is slavery in the extreme sense. Such is slavery as I found it in Yucatan, Mexico.

* * * * *

"Don Joaquin Peon informed me that the Maya slaves die off faster than they are born, and Don Enrique Camara Zavala told me that two-thirds of the Yaquis die during the first year of their residence in the country. Hence the problem of recruiting the slaves seemed to me a very serious one. Of course the Yaquis are coming in at the rate of 500 per month, yet I hardly thought that influx would be sufficient to equal the tide of life that was going out by death. I was right in that surmise, so I was informed, but I was also informed that the problem of recruits was not so difficult after all.

"It is very easy,' one planter told me. 'All that is necessary is that you get some free laborer in debt to you and then you have him. Yes, we are always getting new laborers in that way.'

"The amount of the debt does not matter, so long as it is a debt.

"The slaves of Yucatan, Mexico, get no money. They are half starved. They are worked almost to death. They are beaten. A large percentage of them are locked up every night in a house resembling a jail. If they are sick they must still work. They are not permitted the services of a physician. * * * There are no schools for the children. Indeed the entire lives of people are ordered at the whim of a master. * * * I have heard numerous stories of slaves being beaten to death, but I never heard of an instance in which the murderer was punished or even arrested. The police, the public prosecutors and the judges

know exactly what is expected of them, for the men who appoint them are the planters themselves.

"The slaves rise from their beds when the big bell in the patio rings at 3:45 o'clock in the morning and their work begins as soon thereafter as they can get to it. Their work in the fields ends when it is too dark to see any more, and about the yards it sometimes extends until long into the night."

A persistent rumor is afloat that the Steel Trust will start work on a \$50,000,000 steel plant in Mexico within the next few months. And we see every reason to credit it. It looks to us as though a land where it is unnecessary to pay workingmen enough to rear families; where men may be worked out—killed within a few years, and a fresh supply at hand—and no press to tell of the outrages—would appeal strongly to the BIG business men, with the BIG business instinct.

There are few lands left in the world which offer such tremendous advantages to the industrial capitalist as Mexico and the small Latin republics of Central America. The Chicago Tribune says in the Sunday issue of September 26th, 1909:

"Diplomats are well aware of a tacit but some day to be formal agreement between Mexico and this country to maintain peace among the bickering Latin republics of Central America."

Verily, verily, all things give way before the Great American Capitalist. Kings, Czars, Emperors, Sultans and Presidents receive him, consult him and, permitting him to secure control of the industries of other countries, at last bend the knee.

For it is now, as always, the men who possess the economic power who dictate to the State and the representatives of the state. The state is only a committee serving the interests of the real economic rulers.

So it is in Mexico. President Diaz is permitting big capital to entrench itself industrially in Mexico. Our correspondent writes us, from Mexico that Diaz is growing rich in the granting of these favors to capitalism. But economic power once relinquished, the economic kings attain the rank of masters. And woe to the little presidents in Mexico or Central America who refuse to serve the Lord Economic! For the Government will step forth in its capacity as guardian of class interests and put "the lid on the little nations" under some trumped-up pretext—and put a new servant-president into power.

It is well to understand that neither the Punch nor Judy of this little show are "making history" to-day but that the newer methods in machine production are remaking the kingdoms, autocracies, empires and republics, are changing the national boundaries, institutions and religions of the world to-day.

And that is not all. With the machine process everywhere arise vast armies of proletarians. With the growing strength of the capitalist class, the song of revolution begins to swell from nation to nation. For capitalist society bears the seed of its own destruction. It is digging its own grave. Even now in blood drenched Mexico the fires of revolution burn more fiercely day by day. Let us stand ready to help our struggling brothers in Mexico, for their battles are our battles; their victories are our victories and it is only by presenting a solid, united front to those in economic power that the working class can hope to win its way to economic freedom.

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The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. * * * * The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.—Communist Manifesto.

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Unionism and Socialist Politics

BY B. E. NILSSON.



WHICH is of greater importance to the socialist movement, politics or unionism? What position should middle-class socialists, especially "socialist intellectuals," hold in the socialist movement? However unlike these two questions may appear, they are in reality only one problem stated in two ways. As this problem is keeping the whole international socialist movement divided in two opposing camps, it is utter folly to regard it as a trifle that can be settled by silence; we should rather seek the cause of division and use our utmost efforts to remove it, which means that we should discuss the problem until we understand it.

The "Appeal to Reason" frequently uses the phrase "Let the nation own the trusts," thereby expressing a conception of the future form of government which is more or less distinctly accepted by John Spargo in "The Common Sense of Socialism," by Isador Ladoff in "The Passing of Capitalism," and by various other "socialist leaders" in short articles which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post a few months ago. In fact "Let the nation own the trusts" is the slogan of middle-class socialism, the watchword in the political camp.

On the other hand, the position of the proletarian socialist is well stated in this sentence, quoted from the preamble to the constitution of the I. W. W.: "The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The difference between the two positions is this: "Let the nation own the trusts" implies that the socialist government will be built on the same geographical plan on which the present government is built, and that this socialist (?) government shall control the industries; thus making the system of production conform to the present geographical plan of government. The proletarian idea is that the future government must be constructed according to the classification of industry, thus creating a new plan of government to fit the modern method of production.

Just as these two different conceptions of socialist government lead to the adoption of different tactics, so they are the products of different processes of reasoning, due to different material environments. "Ideas do not fall from heaven," they are the product of experience; hence where there is a difference of experience, there must also be a corresponding difference of opinion.

The present middle-class was at one time the economically and politically dominant class, and in those days of glory it created a political state after its own image. When the present ruling class, the plutocracy, had, by means of its improved methods of production, acquired economic supremacy, it took possession of the political state by right of economic conquest. But aside from its loss of economic and political importance, the middle class makes its living in pretty much the same way as it did formerly; the change in its living conditions is less than in the case of any other class. For this reason the middle class must carry a heavier burden of antique ideas than any other class; and it clings the more to the idea of the political state, because that is its own masterpiece. In short, the middle class loves the state as its own intellectual offspring.

Farmers, shopkeepers, professional men and countless other varieties of the middle class, are only indirectly connected with modern industry as operated by the great capitalists, and they can have no voice in the control of industry except through the medium of the political state; hence, when such men absorb the revolutionary theory of collective control of the machinery of production, they regard the state as the necessary medium of such control.

Their own productive labor being individual, and as such exempt from collective control, they yet want a voice in the control of the collective, or social, labor with which they have nothing to do, and which they know nothing about. They want undisturbed control of their own individual labor, and they want to utilize their surplus wisdom in instructing the industrial proletariat how to perform social labor. To make this possible, the political state is absolutely indispensable.

Industrial wage-workers have no especial love for the political state, they know it as an abstract idea which sometimes materializes into jails, clubs, bayonets and bullets. They had nothing to do with the making of the state, and have had nothing to do with its performances after it was made. Their struggle to make a living leaves them no time to study the political game; at most they compare the platforms of the different political parties, and vote for that party which promises the largest and fullest dinner pail. But while their knowledge of politics is extremely limited, they know quite a good deal

about industry. Their very first experience in industry teaches them that specialized knowledge is absolutely essential in modern production; they must know the work they have to do, and they are not permitted to meddle with work they know nothing about; further experience only gives further proof that this rule is necessary, not only in regard to their own work, but also in regard to the work of the various bosses and officials over them.

Occasionally some college graduate, with a world full of knowledge about nothing in particular, is appointed to boss their work, then they quickly learn that even a good-natured ignoramus can be a worse boss than a slave-driver who knows his business. A college graduate, who knows everything except the work he has to do, makes a bum boss.

When a wage-worker hears about Populism, or Hearst-ism, or any other ism that advocates government ownership of industries, his reasoning will be about like this: Government ownership of industry would mean that industrial boss jobs would be political jobs; even a wage-worker knows that political jobs are spoils that belong to the political victors; hence, if government ownership of industries should become a reality, it is only natural that those who helped the most to bring about this condition would be the ones to fill the most important industrial jobs. Our wage-worker will then begin to look for his future boss, and he finds that populism is composed of farmers, lawyers, doctors and other middle-class men, all equally unfit to be his boss; all may be classed with the college graduate I have mentioned; the same thing applies to Hearst-ism, except that this ism presents a greater variety of industrial ignorance.

When the wage-worker turns to socialism and finds such men as Debs and Haywood, who have had actual experience in industry, he sees readily where they could be useful in industry; but on closer investigation he discovers that socialists, who really know something about industry, have long since abandoned the idea of placing it under the control of a political state.

Thus, even among socialists, he finds that only those who know nothing about industrial production, are anxious to place it under national control; he therefore concludes that a vote for national ownership of trusts is a vote for inefficiency in the management of industry.

The closest study of socialism will only convince the wage-worker that this conclusion, which he has reached without knowing anything about socialism, is essentially correct.

The average wage-worker would like to have a voice and vote in the election of his own boss and in the making of rules and regula-

tions to govern his own shop, for in that case he could speak and vote intelligently; but he has no desire to show himself as a fool, as he would most certainly do if he should try to elect bosses, and make rules for a shop which he knows nothing about. He knows the limitations of his knowledge, wherein he is far in advance of the middle class political socialist.

The proletariat rejects the idea of national ownership of trusts, because, under such a system, the administration of industry could not be democratic without losing its present efficiency.

Why does the idea of a socialist state lead to parliamentary tactics? That is an easy question. If socialism has nothing else to do but to elect socialists for those political offices which are now occupied by capitalists, or the hirelings of capitalists, then a political party is the only organization that is needed. If a purely political victory is possible, it follows that the more we concentrate our effort to that end, the sooner will that victory be won; it also follows that any socialist organization, other than the Socialist party, will, by preventing concentrated political effort, greatly delay the desired political victory. Hence the purely political socialist consistently opposes the agitation for socialist unionism.

The reasoning of the industrial proletariat is also correct. What wage-labor wants is to control industries, not through the medium of the political state, but more directly by means of an economic organization, which can hold its elections in the workshop rather than anywhere else. That economic organization is now in existence, it does not have to be invented or created. The capitalists have already organized industrial wage-labor into an army of production which it has officered with bosses, who are slaves in relation to the capitalists, but autocrats in relation to labor. This army of production is exactly the form of organization we need, it will fill all our requirements just as soon as the autocratic boss-rule has been abolished; we merely want to exchange despotism for democracy. But, like the poor Filipinos, we are incapable of self-government; we lack the necessary training; therefore we organize unions to serve as training schools. Looking on the unions from this point of view, it is clear that the more closely they correspond to the productive army officered by the bosses, the better will they serve that purpose.

Whatever transformation a political party may bring about must be limited by its political form of organization, therefore socialist policies can not abolish the state; but the abolition of the political state, or its subordination under an industrial government, is one of the main conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat; hence, the

proletariat must organize in a non-political—or non-geographical—organization.

There is yet another tactical difference which springs from that difference of conception of the socialist government. Those "leading" socialists in the *Saturday Evening Post* were not agreed about paying for the means of production, but they were all sure that the socialization of industry would be a slow, very slow, evolution. That is quite a natural idea, for leading middle class socialists. They are socialists more from fear of what may happen to them in the future than from discontent with their present condition. If their brand of socialism becomes dominant, they think their future will be safe; on the other hand, they will remain in their present position of superiority towards the proletariat as long as that process of socialization can be made to last. But how they expect to get the support of wage-labor for such a program, or how they can think that wage-labor—after overthrowing the now dominant class—should quietly remain in misery and poverty while a gang of politicians "evolute" industrial title-deeds—well, that beats me.

We proletarians want the full product of our labor, we also want to take charge of the industries in which we work, and we are going to get these things as soon as we have the power to take them; when we have got what we want the title-deeds will be quite empty, so we won't care how they "evolve" nor who keeps them.

If the position of those "leading" socialists—which is also the position of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Party Press—is right, then the future society will be another class-society, in which the present middle class will be dominant, in which case wage-labor would have no interest in the revolution and should rather save its energy for the next time. But that would imply that socialist teachings are entirely incorrect. We may therefore assume that the proletariat will be the principal element in the revolutionary force, that the revolution will be carried out according to proletarian ideas, and that future society must meet the requirements of the proletariat. It is therefore up to "leading" socialists to revise their ideas about the future state, about the importance of unionism, and about the revolutionary process. When they have done that, they may become really useful to the socialist movement.

I am not one of those who would like to exclude the middle class from the Socialist movement. I know that middle class intellectuals were teaching socialist economics long before the proletarian ranks held men who were competent to do so. I know that even now socialist intellectuals are discussing questions and problems, that are of great importance to the movement, but which the proletariat has

so far neglected to study. Socialist intellectuals have an important place in the movement; but when they attempt to manufacture ready-made ideas for proletarian consumption, they place themselves in the same category as a Ruskin, a Henry George, or a Hearst, and the revolutionary proletariat rejects their services because it has had more than enough of would-be saviours.

Nor am I opposed to socialist politics. When socialist parties came into existence, a socialist labor union would have been utterly impossible; but without some kind of organization there could have been no systematic propaganda, and as a political party is especially adapted for propaganda purposes it was but natural that the socialist organization should take that form, and the fact that the party propaganda has many times multiplied the strength of the socialist movement is sufficient vindication for the socialist parties as a means of education.

It is in regard to the purely political work that I differ with the socialist politicians.

From the very nature of capitalist politics, the Socialist Party can never help to make laws that will benefit labor, all it can be expected to do is to prevent the making of laws that would injure labor; it could never use any part of the political machinery to help labor, but it may prevent the capitalists from using that machinery against labor. When a socialist is elected to a political office he becomes, as it were, a defective or misfit part of the capitalistic machinery of oppression—he does not fill the capitalistic requirements. Thus socialist politics is a negative force which, in order to be effective, must be balanced by a positive force, that is, by the positive power of unionism.

The capitalists would never need the political machinery for the purpose of oppressing labor, if it were not for labor's tendency to united action on the industrial field. So long as that tendency is hampered by lack of organization, or, still worse, by an antiquated form of unionism, the capitalists find the now existing laws amply sufficient to keep the workers near the starvation limit of oppression. It is only when labor is so well organized that it can engage in an economic conflict with a good chance of success that the capitalists feel the urgent need for new laws to restrain labor; it is only then they begin to invent new ways of using the political machine; if, at such a time, they should find the political machine out of order, there would be nothing for them to do but fight it out on the economic field, and win or lose, according to their economic strength.

To successfully carry out such a political program requires men who know every move in the political game, and such men are

few and far between in the ranks of wage-labor; the middle class socialists on the other hand, are especially fitted for that kind of work. As a rule they tried other political parties before they became socialists, they therefore have the political experience; and most of them have that special middle class education, that is so useful in parliamentary politics.

The fact that the labor unions in this country are not ready to take their part in the revolutionary program is largely due to the other fact that the Socialist Party has been controlled by middle class men who do not understand the importance of unionism. Even now, when industrial unionism—or Syndicalism as it is called in Europe—is the topic of the day, political socialists discuss it—if they think it worth while to discuss it at all—like they would a new brand of cigarettes or something equally important.

The ridiculous attempt to remain neutral in the struggle between the old form of unionism and the new, is ample proof that the Socialist party is as unprepared to play its part in the class-struggle as the old labor unions are to play their part.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.—Communist Manifesto.

The Passive Resistance Strike

BY LOUIS DUCHEZ.



THE working class of America has just entered a new period of activity. The reactionary spell which has gripped the workers of this country since the love feast and marriage of the American Federation of Labor and the Civic Federation has been broken. The officials of those two organizations who have been lulling to sleep and dividing the wage slaves of this country in behalf of their own fat positions and their masters' pocketbooks during the last few years, will have harder rows to hoe from now on.

The "ignorant foreigners" at McKees Rocks, whom Frank Morrison thought not worth bothering with, have been the spark in the powder magazine. The wage slaves of America have been taught a lesson—one that will long be remembered and profited by.

The McKees Rocks strike, without doubt, is the most revolutionary event that has transpired in this country. These 6,000 workers at the Pressed Steel Car plant employed tactics against the steel trust and the slugging forces of the state of Pennsylvania behind which the object was to ignore and undermine entirely the political state, making the will of the organization the law of the community, so far as they and the Pressed Steel Car Company were concerned. Further, behind the actions of these McKees Rocks strikers we see the power and experience of a revolutionary union manifesting itself—the Industrial Workers of the World.

In connection with the "second strike" at McKees Rocks, which took place on September 15th, a week after the first strike, there are some things that the capitalist press deliberately misrepresented and which the workers of this country should know about.

When the men at McKees Rocks first went back to work they discovered that many men were actually receiving less pay than before the strike. The company deliberately chose this way of dividing the men. They wished to disrupt the newly organized union. The men also discovered that thugs and hoodlums had been hired as "straw" bosses for the same purpose.

At a meeting held September 14th, they decided to change this state of affairs. A vote was taken by the 2,500 present and it was agreed to return to work the next morning, as usual, and at ten

o'clock every man was to drop his tools and stand at his place of employment until the committee returned after delivering its orders to the company's officials.

The company at once promised to concede their demands and began firing the scabs and thugs at once.

This "Passive Resistance" strike, to use the European phrase, lasted something like fifteen minutes, when the men returned to their work victorious.

It was also interesting to note how the men enforced their demand for a half holiday Saturday and no work Sunday. They merely quit work at noon Saturday and failed to return until Monday morning.

It is also interesting to note an incident in connection with the taming of the Cossacks. On the night of the big riot near Donovan's bridge three troopers and four strikers were killed. The threat that for every striker killed one trooper would go, bothered the Cossacks terribly. The strikers had one trooper coming to them yet, and, it has since been learned, that the troopers felt sure that the threat would be carried out and that one of them would go. It was the fear of each that he was that man.

The stern methods of the McKees Rocks strikers were "lawless" and "anarchistic," true enough, but what were they to do? Theirs were simply the methods of retaliation. At any rate, the entire military forces of the U. S. could not have brought order and prevented violence as effectively as those strikers did.

In no strike of such proportion in this country at one place has there been less bloodshed than at McKees Rocks. It is the general opinion of the working class citizens in and about Pittsburg that the men did the proper thing. A concrete lesson in "direct action" was taught—and many learned.

The McKees Rocks men are back at work, concessions have been won, an organization of 5,000 members has been built up and branch meetings are being held every night, but the fight with the Pressed Steel Car Company is not over yet, for that firm is but a branch of the steel trust.

And the men realize that. They know that it is war to the knife, and that they are engaged in a struggle in which more than themselves are concerned. The company has promised a raise of 15 per cent at the end of 60 days, but the men know they will have to fight for it, and they are preparing. They realize that their stronghold is their organization.

This is the first time that a revolutionary union has got a foothold in the basic industries. A real labor union has stepped in upon

the territory of the steel trust and all the means at the command of that giant concern will be used to crush the I. W. W. at McKees Rocks, for if it holds the ground gained there, what will be the outcome in the Pittsburg district in a few months? Already the McKees Rocks victory is stirring the entire district to organization, in what is, without doubt, the industrial center of America.

The United States government is behind the move to crush the I. W. W. for the I. W. W. is attacking the present system at its base. It believes in direct action rather than wrangling in legislative halls with men better acquainted with the game of politics than the working class is. In order to sidetrack the remarkable increasing interest in industrial unionism, Taft is touring the country and praising the American Federation of Labor, advising Post, Van Cleave and that narrow-sighted group to be more tolerant, and, on the other hand, urging working men to join that organization, at the same time pointing to the fact that he is an honorary member of the Steam Shovelers' Union.

Organization in the Industrial Workers of the World is going on at a rapid rate. The places where the greatest progress is made is in the non-union plants. The victory at McKees Rocks has instilled more hope and solidarity into the workers of this country, and in Europe, for that matter, than years of talk and car loads of literature could have done. It is on the firing line against the muzzles of the enemy's guns that the workers learn of the class struggle and the road to economic freedom.

The tin workers who are out against the open shop order of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company are becoming imbued with the principles of industrial unionism and the I. W. W. as the only organization that represents those principles. The old shell, however, is holding them down and it looks at this writing as if the men will lose their strike. In fact, the thing for which they have come out is absurd, anyway. It is based upon the principle that the interests of capital and labor are identical. If this were not so they would realize that the only way to disregard an open shop order is to cast aside written time agreements and enforce their demands through the power of their organization. The open shop would have no fear for them if they were industrially organized, and until they are industrially organized they will be at the mercy of the steel trust, contracts or no contracts.

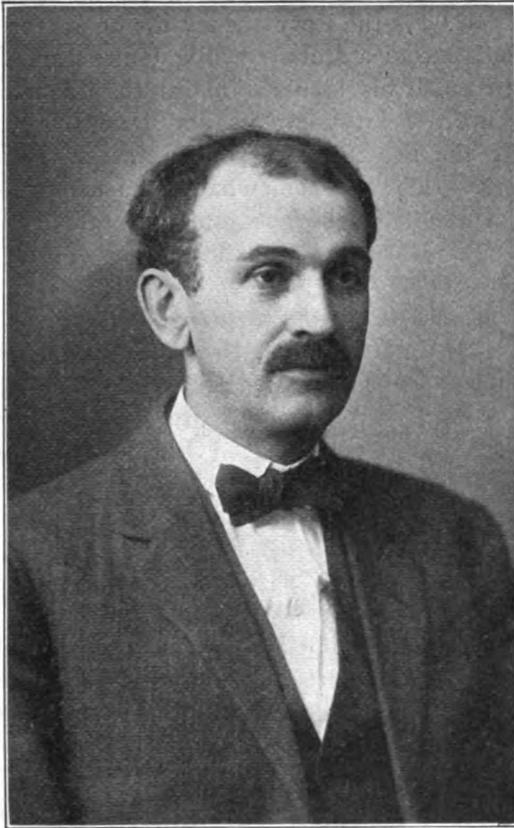
The odds are tremendously against the tin plate workers. Good union (?) men in the independent (?) mills have signed up and are back at work while those employed by the trust are out on strike. The next time the trust owned mills will sign up and the independent

(?) mills will go out. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" is forgotten and the masters of both concerns dine and wine together and smile at their wage slaves with divided forces on the economic field. It is no wonder that Taft praises the A. F. of L. The tin workers will have to take on a revolutionary spirit if they expect to win.

Hope! Hope is everywhere. The wage slaves of the world will not wait indefinitely to vote Socialism in. It will come sooner than that. They will organize industrially and establish the working class republic in their own domain—in the industries.

Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil. * * * They distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital.—Karl Marx, in Vol I of Capital.

“The Problem” Solved



BY ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR



THE way to abolish poverty is to get all that's coming to you. Money is the way stored up labor is expressed. It is social-labor solidified. "To get the money" may be considered as an expression of *petitio principii*, or *circulus in probando*. The fallacy of "begging the question" consists in taking the conclusion for one of the premises. "Getting the money" is slang

for stealing, grafting, cheating and robbing, etc. There is something unsavory about it. However it has a favorable meaning as well, and that is; to obtain the fruit of one's toil.

"Easy Money" is derived from Skinning Suckers. It is that portion the Capitalist abstracts from the wage fund for his "responsibility." A laborer produces \$10 worth of commodities and gets \$2.00 in wages. \$8.00 is the Easy Money the boss keeps.

That reminds me of a story. While James Lot was waiting for his son John to finish his lucubrations at the Law School, he took into the office a little fat pompous and ignorant pettifogger, Bob Lance, to write the fire insurance, clean the spittoons and do the other dirty work. Bob was somewhat of an aristocrat—at least he was not strong enough to labor, so James appointed him guardian of several rich insane wards and administrator of one or two juicy estates.

James did all the work and wrote up all the papers. When it came to charging up the fees this is the way it ran:

To services for James.....\$200.00

To Bob's bill for "responsibility"..... 800.00

The "responsibility" consisted in Bob's signing his name and swearing to reports he didn't understand. And that is how it is with the capitalist. He charges four-fifths for "responsibility." He has the laborer do the work—he signs the wage scale. The work is worth \$2.00; the responsibility \$8.00. James died poor but Bob ran for office, got elected, married a wealthy widow and died rich.

Abolish poverty? That looks like a mighty problem, doesn't it? Well, it's not so big after all. If every one who worked got all he made, there would be no poverty among the workers. As wages rise consumption increases. The unemployed are absorbed into industry.

Raising wages abolishes poverty. It's simple. Wages constitute the cost of maintaining and reproducing workers. In a new country wages are high on account of the scarcity of labor; also because pioneers demand equality of condition. But this high market is soon broken down by the importations of foreign pauper labor. As soon as the natives get wise and form a union and shove up wages, their employers likewise get wise and pour in scabs, who break down the union and keep down wages. The employer puts his feet on the rise. He has almost played the game out. He can't ship in many more nationalities. He has gone as far east as he could, and as far west as he dares. So the chances for further importations are rather slim. McKees Rocks threatens to be the Rock on which he splits. The strikers were joined by the strike breakers.

Machiavelli lost his Prince. Rather than go to work himself Hoffstot has to fatten up the pay envelope. It is tough, I know. After squeezing all the water out of labor and putting it into stocks, he hates to have to reverse himself. Some of the Reformers are shedding tears over his awful predicament. A motherly socialist chap of high standing among the political camps and the religious scamps has written ten volumes the last year to express his indignation at the outrage so basely perpetrated on the shirkers by the workers. When the royalties on his books didn't just pour in, he denounced his fellow revolutionists as a parcel of ungrateful crooks and scoundrels! "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" said he. "Like a swift flying meteor," he went on in his best oratorical manner, and wept bitter tears because the working men were such grafters. "Ain't it awful the way they steal! Such terrible thieves ought to be locked up!" said he. But his response was only a heartless horse laugh.

Lately I've been telling the workers to get the money by industrial unionism; by the abolition of race line and national boundaries; by the killing of the stinking old cat of patriotism, and by adopting the new child of proletarian solidarity; by loving brother workers and helping them get higher wages. "The general strike is general nonsense," say the Germans. The Swedes don't think so. They are trying it on the dog. They want the money and we hope they'll obtain it. They think a good man is one who gets all he earns and spends all he gets. At that price, it's not so easy to be good. The general strike, the peaceful strike, the strike-irritant, the walk-out-of-a-factory-to-see-the-circus-parade-and-back-to-work-again-without-the-bosses'-permission; in fact all acts on the part of employes that tend to usurp the authority of employers, are part of the plan of campaign toward the abolition of poverty. Brain and brawn are at the bottom of production and have all the commodities produced at their disposal as soon as they unite in a trust for themselves.

Vice on the part of the hungry, the ill-fed, the poverty-stricken, has some of the elements of real drama in it. Workers have some excuse for crime on account of their environment. But on the part of exploiters, vice reeks of degeneracy, insanity, supineness of will-power. The follies of the idle are unnecessary filths. The follies of the poor are necessary dirt. Both come from lack of system.

Organization is a capitalistic virtue, which when seized by the proletariat accomplishes a revolution. When the workers get together in the shops and stay together, letting nothing divide them; neither religion nor race prejudice; neither politics nor temporary advantage; then they will be on their way to civilization. Capital-

ism is half good; i. e. in production: there it is rapid, effective, bountiful and more than ample for everyone. But its failure comes in distribution; to ware-houses instead of to individuals, in the first place: to merchants, bankers, middle men, over-men and super-men in the second place instead of to toilers, artificers, workers and craftsmen.

With the producer lies the solution of the problem. By his demanding all he makes he cuts the Gordian knot. He gets the money. If he catches twelve fish, he doesn't need to be told by a professor of political economy that those fish belong to him. But when he earns the price of twelve fish he takes it from anyone that he only earns the price of two. The workers are content with one-fifth of what they earn, and then wonder at the prevalence of poverty! Look what fun they could have with the other four-fifths.

The function of the Socialists is to stir up discontent. Discontent is misdirected at present against politicians instead of against disorganizers, but it's discontent nevertheless and therefore good. The slave has to be kicked out of his lethargy and told to awake and get busy for himself. If not at the pay gate, then at the polls. Voting is silly stuff but it's better than the "Smile, damn you, smile" rot of the feeble bourgeois press. When the worker is finally galvanized into some sort of resistance to **what** is, he may learn to look ahead to **what is becoming**, and even reach out a hand to it and help pull it toward him.

As to the statement frequently made that the middle class is being eliminated, "ground between the upper and the nether mill stones," let us consider that and look for a minute at the Standard Oil Co. This trust is a type of to-day and of the immediate future. The middle men of the oil trust are salaried. That is, they are high wage getters. Not so bad a fate after all! The middle class, instead of continuing its independent mercantile position, goes on salary, just like corner grocers, saloon keepers, butchers, etc., etc. They are already working for the Food, Drink and Meat Trusts for wages.

Lastly, as to the professional classes. They'll have to go join the wage earners, too. With better foods, dentistry will pass away. The teeth of prehistoric skeletons are fine. Primitive peoples ate nuts and roots and other natural foods. With a return to nature, dentists fade away. Doctors, too, will go as curers but remain as preventers. Lawyers' most useful work is in managing industries, forming combinations, etc. The best lawyers are already on retainers, i. e., salary, and the worst ones are seeking jobs in the western fields during hay harvest and writing love songs for Bath-house John during ice harvest.

Instead of the next Stage of Society seeing the elimination of

the wage system, it will rather witness that system extended until it embraces everyone within its ample folds, and \$10 a day for you in 1960 is not so bad!

Actors and artists will probably be entirely wiped out, for when all are on salary all will feel like doing their own singing and dancing. Until then the artists will continue "to work" for the syndicate just as they do now—when the times are good.

The writer, author, poet, playwright, humorist—what will become of him? He is smart enough to look out for himself. So we'll leave his disposition to the high-brows and the serious-minded problem-solvers, who don't want me to cut all the ground from under their feet in one short article, as that would leave them without a job! Hence I'll be merciful to them and leave this question open for their discussion and solution.

One question I want to settle though and that is, that the consumer is not robbed. For commodities sell at their social labor value. "Relief for the buyer" is populist tommyrot. High prices are good for capitalist and for consumer and for laborer; for him high prices are the best of all if they include in the list what he has to sell—brain and brawn!

It is by no means fantastic to conclude that a doubling of the wages and a reduction of labor time to half of the present one is possible at once, and technical science is already sufficiently advanced to expect rapid progress in this field. The further one goes in this direction the more the possibility increases for those who are engaged in material production to give themselves up also to intellectual activity and especially to those forms that bring no material gain, but rather find their reward in themselves and which are the highest forms of intellectual activity.—Kautsky, in "The Social Revolution."

The Position of the British Labor Party

BY WILFRID THOMPSON.



THE British Labor Party is at present in a very critical position. As is well known, the British Liberal Party, representing the interests of the manufactory-owning section of the British capitalist class, has disturbed the traditional complacency of our ruling class by introducing a pettifogging piece of diplomatic and financial bluff, which masquerades under the title of "The Budget."

Thus upper class strife is commanding much attention in England at present. The cause of this strife lies in the proposals of the Liberals to raise taxation from sources hitherto untaxed.

You ask: "What has all this to do with the Labor Party?"

I answer: Everything, which you will see later. Suffice it now to say that the British Labor Party is giving this capitalist Budget its whole-hearted support.

Now what is this Budget about which there is so much to-do? First of all, I would point out that this Budget is no benefit to the British proletarian class. There is no relief of taxation for them. Indeed, it may lower their standard of living.

The Daily News, a capitalist paper, has pointed out that the advance in the price of beer consequent upon the new license duties will bring an extra profit of 15,000,000 pounds more than hitherto into the maw of the capitalist brewers and publicans.

In order to raise the extra taxes for the tax-collector, which amount, roughly speaking, to less than £5,000,000, the brewers and liquor-sellers are increasing the prices of the workers' beer so much that they will extract an extra profit of nearly twenty millions therefrom. Altogether £24,000,000 are to be raised from the luxuries of the working-class.

Let us now see what this Budget proposes to do with the capitalist class. It is an established fact that the income tax payers of Britain are receiving £300,000,000 a year more than they received twelve years ago, while, according to the government, wages have decreased £2,000,000 during the last ten years. And yet, the latter

class is to bear the burden of paying half of fourteen millions of extra taxation required to meet the exigencies of the state.

Next we come to the taxes which are causing all the hubbub and moving even Labor M. P.'s to ecstasies of unbounded joy.

It is proposed to place a tax of one-half penny in the pound upon undeveloped land, and take twenty per cent of the increased value of land. So, when the industry of the workers has increased the value of land by five pounds, the tax collector will take one pound and leave the landlord the other four. And the worst of it is, this one pound is not to be used for the benefit of the workers, but merely for the maintenance of the capitalist parliament. Therefore, the capitalist class are to also have the benefit of this pound as well as of the other four.

Well, what is all the bother about? Merely this: The landlord section of the master-class is making a sham fight against this new tax in order to gull the working class into believing that the question of taxation affects the working man's position.

Now, as every Socialist worthy of the name knows, taxation does not affect the position of the working class in the least. For the worker's wages necessarily contain the portion that he pays in taxes. If these taxes rise and there is no diminution in the prices of commodities, or no advantage gained to the worker, his wages will necessarily, in the long run, be bound to rise in proportion to the increased taxes. Otherwise he would not be able to sustain life, for his wages would then be below the cost of living. This would not be a desired state, either for the capitalist or the working-class. The former would not be able to purchase labor-power because the latter would starve. So, that being the case, taxation, no matter how or where raised, does not touch the worker's position. He is robbed in the workshop. All "surplus value," according to Karl Marx, is created in the productive process of commodities. It is merely realized during the process of circulation. So the workers cannot hope to elevate their conditions of life until they stop the robbery at its base.

The mere circulation of this surplus value, created by the worker, but retained by the master, from one section of the capitalist class to another, no matter how much it affects the parties engaged in losing or winning it, does not cause intelligent workers to take sides, because they can neither gain nor lose, while every section of the masters win.

But, while that is so, many unenlightened workers are gulled into taking sides upon such issues as "land taxation" and "taxation of imported goods." Clearly, this is what all sections of the master-class want and strive for. Just as a spectator upon a football field

can suffer neither the physical torture of the unfortunate side, who get kicked the most, and defeated into the bargain, nor fully experience the mental rhapsodies of the inflictors of this torture, the workers cannot hope to share either the defeat of one section of the master-class or the victory of the other. While the victory or loss is real to the parties engaged, it is only a scene in the mind of the spectators.

The workers are merely spectators in the game of taxation and expropriation between the masters.

But, of course, both the warring sections of the master-class will endeavor to convince and will to some extent succeed in convincing the un-class-conscious workers that their positions are directly affected by the outcome of this upper-class strife. This has an extremely bad effect upon us. For the longer the worker pays attention to the struggles for supremacy between sections of the upper-class, the longer will it be ere he concentrates his attention upon his own real struggle with both those sections. These sections of the master-class remind one of an ill-mated couple who are quarreling as to who shall have the bigger share of a stolen half-sovereign, when quite suddenly in pops the rightful owner thereof, who demands the return of the coin. Immediately the couple drop their little squabble and combine against the intruding enemy.

Now, Mr. Worker, you are the so-called intruder, while the landlord and the mill-lord are the couple.

We come now to the position of the parliamentary Labor party. The candidates of this party were elected to look after the interests of the British working class in the capitalist parliament. Yet listen to what it had to say anent the Budget, which we have just discussed:

"It is the greatest scheme of democratic finance ever offered."—(Shackleton).

"The greatest financial reform of modern times."—(Henderson).

"The first systematic attempt to socialize a portion of the national income."—(Keir Hardie).

Still, these men call themselves Socialists when addressing the workers. Here we have the treacherous tactics of the labor fakirs exposed. The spectacle of witnessing these supposed champions of the workers exhausting all words of praise upon a capitalist dodge is disgusting to say the least. But the worst has to come. There are rumors of a general election.

How will these traitors, as Grayson called them, act then?

Clearly, they will either have to eat their own words, so to speak, or support the manufacturing section of the British master-class.

Truly, they are in a critical position.

In conclusion, I would just like to point out that here, in Britain, as the whole world over, the working class is betrayed by false leaders.

Men who deny the existence of and therefore refuse to recognize the class-struggle are not fit to represent the interests of the working class. In fact, they can't do so.

The sooner the workers realize that they are robbed in the workshop and organize these the better. Of course, combined industrial and political power is necessary to the workers. Industrial without political power is like a man without a wife. One is the complement of the other.

As a class-conscious revolutionist I recognize that, only when the working class bring their organizations up to date and adapt them to the times, will they be able to combat the great and growing strength of concentrated capital.

The British trade unions are out of date. Their methods of warfare are both futile and obsolete.

The basis of their organization is self-help.

Now, with the growing tendency of capital to consolidate the workers must also, if they wish to win, consolidate their forces on the lines of industrial organization, with Socialism as their goal and the class struggle their guiding principle. For in that alone lies the hope of the workers. All else is illusion.

Trades Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.—Karl Marx, in *Value, Price and Profit*.

A Dissertation on "Space of the Fourth Dimension."

BY JAMES W. HUGHES.



DOUBTLESS the reader, on observing the title of this article, will ask himself the question, "What has Space of the Fourth Dimension to do with the subject of Scientific Socialism or the economic question?" A close consideration of the matter, however, will clearly show that the economic question is related and inter-related, directly or indirectly, to almost every scientific subject known to man.

Especially does this apply to the subject we have here under consideration, and far more so than it would at first appear on the surface of the thing.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the strength of the present Socialist movement lies in the fact that it rests on a **materialistic** basis—that it is a real, and a **materialistic** struggle of the working class to better its **material** conditions. In a word, it is a **material** struggle for a **material** existence where a good understanding of **material** things is of vastly more importance than the gewgaw and gush of the mythical and metaphysical or the spiritual and supernatural. But a good understanding of material things requires a good understanding of matter, and the more we know of force and matter the better we understand the materialistic. In the study of matter man has met with multitudes of enigmas and phenomena from his earliest existence, which he could not at first explain, and when he could not explain them, he immediately drew on his imagination for his facts, and began to dream. And such dreams; of gods and glory to satisfy his personal longings for rest and reward—and such dreams; of hells and horrors, to satisfy his brutal thirst for revenge and retribution, while he neglected his duty to himself and fellow man, in the way of bettering his material existence on earth,—such have been the great stumbling blocks in the paths of progress since the earliest forms of savagery to the present day, and they will continue to be the stumbling blocks as long as we meet phenomena we can't explain. Many are the phenomena to-day that we can not explain, and this is doubtlessly due to our deficiency in perceptive faculties, for that which we cannot **perceive**, we cannot **conceive**, and that which we cannot conceive we cannot explain.

Some day the human race may, and no doubt will, develop a number of senses of perception, which we do not now possess, i. e., senses other than the senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling and feeling as now ordinarily used. Under such conditions it will be easy to explain many phenomena that now so much bewilder and puzzle us today.

The development of such senses will depend largely upon our pursuance and study of space of a higher order than that in which we really exist.

We exist in, and thoroughly understand, space of three (3) dimensions only, that is, space of length, breadth and thickness, which we can deal with mathematically in every conceivable way.

In higher mathematics it is necessary in order to elucidate certain problems to consider space of four dimensions, that is, space of length, breadth, thickness and something else of which we cannot conceive, yet can demonstrate mathematically to our satisfaction, if not to a certainty. And while we cannot conceive of it clearly, yet it enables us to explain many mathematical and physical phenomena that would otherwise remain as enigmas.

For the benefit of those who wish to give this subject a little serious thought, and perhaps clear up many delusions, I will try to set forth here a short explanation of "Space of the Fourth Dimension," steering as clear of mathematics as I possibly can.

While "Space of the Fourth Dimension" is quite easily explained to a well trained mathematician, it is by no means an easy proposition to write a treatise on this subject, and make it clear to the average lay reader, for as the inventors express it, "It is an easy matter to make an invention for an expert to handle, but simply hell to make it fool-proof for public use."

Before plunging headlong into the subject of "Space of Four Dimensions," had we not better first try to ascertain what space really is? Have you a proper conception of space? Can you conceive of anything in the universe without thinking of space? And the most important of all, can you really define space? In fact can you define it any better than the college student who said: "Space—space—well, I have it in my head all right, Professor, but I just can't quite explain it." If you ask the average man to define space he will most likely answer you by giving you some synonym for the word "space" and think he has given you a definition. "But what he thinks, doesn't alter facts," nor does it make a synonym a definition. He might for instance tell you that space is room and when you ask him what is room he would most likely answer you like a vest pocket dictionary,

and say that "room is **space**" and thus get himself into a "most vicious circle" that reminds one for all of the story of the eel and the swan.

As a proper understanding of **terms** is an absolute necessity in a scientific discussion, we must here ascertain first of all the difference between a definition and a synonym.

A synonym in the first place is merely a substitution of one word for another, which means exactly the same thing, while a definition is a form of classification, that is to say, when we define a word we point out those characteristics which distinguish a thing from the other things in the class of things to which it belongs.

The greatest care should be exercised, however, in ascertaining the proper characteristics, for science demands that every characterization shall be a known and proven fact.

Hence to assume a characteristic, in defining a word, is most dangerous and unscientific.

Now it will be further seen on close examination that the defining of all words is but a great classification of all the words known to man, in which the words "space" and "matter" are the initial trunk words.

As an illustration of the above, we are asked to define the word "negro", and we say that a negro is a certain kind of a man (giving his peculiar characteristics), and then we are asked: "What is a man?" A man is a certain kind of an animal. And what is an animal? An animal is a certain kind of organism. And what is an organism? An organism is a certain kind of active condition of matter. And what is matter? Matter is anything that occupies space, or more briefly, matter is occupied space. And what is space? And here we are "stuck," because **space** embraces everything, and is not one of a class of things to be characterized, in order to distinguish it from similar things of the same class.

Now, therefore, I hold that while space in general is conceivable to the brain and perceptible to the senses, it is **not** definable by words. Space in general, however, is subdivided into several kinds of spaces, each one having its peculiar characteristics that distinguish it from all the other kinds, and can therefore be defined in words.

Mathematically characterized we have here to deal with the following kinds of space:

- 1st. Space of no dimensions commonly called a point.
- 2nd. Space of one dimension commonly called a line.
- 3rd. Space of two dimensions commonly called a plane.
- 4th. Space of three dimensions commonly called a solid.

5th. Space of four dimensions which might be called energy.

For sake of illustration and clearness we will consider all the spaces with which we have to deal, as occupied space, e. g., occupied by matter. In the first place a point is a particle of matter that is infinitely small, or, as the mathematicians would say, "infinitesimal," which means immeasurably small, and of course imperceptible to all our senses. In other words, since a point only occupies space of infinitesimal length, breadth, and thickness, it must be imperceptible to all our senses though conceivable to the brain and definable in words.

In the second instance we may consider space of one dimension (which we call a line) as composed of an infinite number of points placed side by side or tangent, but in the true sense it is better to consider a line as generated by a moving point. For instance, suppose we imagine that the point "A" (in figure 1) is moving or vibrating from A to B with an infinite velocity so that it occupies every point of space between A and B at the same time

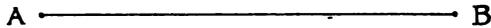


FIG. 1

The result would be a straight line, or a space of one dimension, which is length. But since the point in the first place had neither finite breadth nor thickness a true line would have neither finite breadth nor thickness and would therefore be as imperceptible to our senses as the point which generates it. Hence, space of one dimension, known as a line, which is generated by the movement of space of no dimensions, known as a point, like the point itself is imperceptible to our senses though conceivable to the brain and definable in words.

In the third instance we may consider space of two dimensions (known as the plane) to be composed of an infinite number of lines placed side by side or tangent to each other, but like the line, it is better to consider it as generated by a moving line as follows:

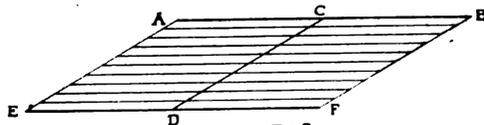


FIG. 2

Suppose the line A-B (in figure 2) to be moving or vibrating at right angles to and along the line C-D from C to D with an infinite velocity or speed, till it occupies every point of space from C to D at the same instant. Then the result would be a plane repre-

sented by A, B, E, F, or space of two dimensions, viz., length and breadth.

Hence space of two dimensions (known as the plane) is the result of a vibrating line, is conceivable to the brain and definable in words, yet it has neither thickness nor mass.

Next let us consider the fourth case or space of three dimensions, commonly known as the solid, which, like the above cases, in its turn might be considered as made up of an infinite number of planes of infinitesimal thickness, but like the line and the plane, we will consider the solid as a product of generation, being generated by a plane in motion as follows: Let A, B, E, F, (in figure 3) represent a plane vibrating between the points, C and D rising to an infinite speed until the plane A, B, E, F, occupies every position between A, B, E, F, and G, H, J, K at the same instant, then the result would be a solid (represented by the outlines A, B, E, F—G, H, J, K), or space of three dimensions, viz.: length, breadth and thickness. Hence space of three dimensions (known as the solid) is generated by a moving plane, is perceptible to all the senses, is perfectly conceivable to the brain and quite easily defined in words.

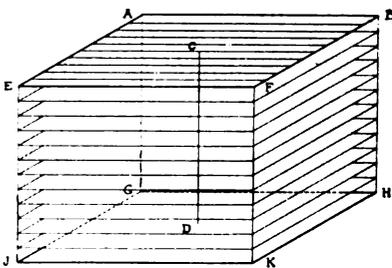


FIG. 3

Next, we will consider the fifth case or space of the "fourth dimensions," and here comes the "rub."

Now we have considered how a certain movement of a point generates a line or space of one dimension, and how a similar movement of a line generates a plane or space of two dimensions, and how a similar movement of a plane generates a solid or space of three dimensions, then will not a similar movement of a solid generate space of the "fourth dimension?" We know if we know anything that any kind of a movement of a solid, generates **energy**, which energy is proportional to the speed times the mass.

Now we have seen how a plane or "space of two dimensions" is the result of a line vibrating at an infinite speed, and how a solid or space of three dimensions, is the result of a plane vibrating at an infinite speed, then why is not "space of the four dimensions" the result of a solid vibrating at an infinite speed, and since energy is equal to mass times the speed, why is not "space of four dimensions" infinite energy itself? "But ah!" you say, "this is inconceivable," because, it does not manifest itself to any of our senses. And why

does it not manifest itself to any of our senses? Because, unfortunately our senses are only quintuple, that is to say five in number, had we more, then, space of the "fourth dimension" might become perceptible to our senses and in such a case it would also doubtless become very easy to conceive of in the brain.

The question naturally arises, does "space of the 'fourth dimension'" manifest itself in any way in nature? To which I would reply, yes, while it does not manifest itself in any way on our senses, directly, yet it manifests itself by its action on various things in every branch of science, and when we meet with one of these manifestations and are unable to explain it, we simply "translate our ignorance into Greek" and call it a "phenomenon."

The space here allotted will not permit us to go as thoroughly into this branch of the discussion as I should like to, while furthermore, a clear presentation of this subject pre-supposes a reader not only well up in mathematics, but also more or less familiar with every branch of science known to man.

Under the circumstances, therefore, we can only, as the French would say, "effleurer la question," touch upon the main points. To illustrate how many actions are taking place all around us, that do not and can not manifest themselves to any of our limited number of senses, two recent and well known discoveries will serve as good examples. I mean the X-rays and the Hertz-rays, both of which result from the passage of a high potential electric spark through a partially vacuumized tube properly constructed for the requirement. In the first instance the X-rays do not manifest themselves in any way to any of our senses, i. e., we can neither see, hear, taste, smell, nor feel them, but when they fall on certain substances, such for instance, as tungstate of calcium, the tungstate will become "fluorescent," that is to say, it is made to glow and give off light, which is visible to the eye. Hence while the X-rays themselves are invisible to the human eye, they do act upon the calcium tungstate as to make the tungstate visible in total darkness.

Likewise the Hertz-rays (which is the basis of wireless telegraphy) are also imperceptible to any of our senses, but may be detected by

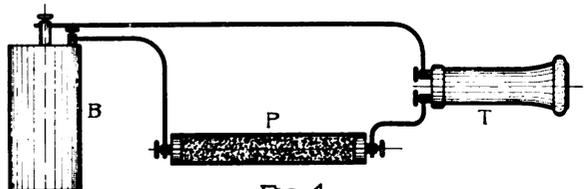


FIG. 4

their manifestation upon the following arrangement: Let an electric circuit be formed, as in Figure 4, in which B represents a battery, T

is a telephone receiver, and P a glass tube filled with platinum filings, sufficient in number to offer a considerable resistance to the flow of the current, so that under ordinary conditions, the current flowing through the circuit will not be sufficient to exert a strong pull on the diaphragm in the receiver. Now if a small quantity of "Hertz-rays," emanating from any place whatsoever, should strike upon the platinum filings in the glass tube, P, the filings will at once cling together in such a way as to offer less resistance to the passage of the electric current, which will at once "build up" and strengthen the magnet in the receiver, which in its turn will pull down harder on the diaphragm and give a perceptible "click."

The above illustrations are simply described in order to bring out some of the many things in nature that do not manifest themselves on any of our limited number of senses, yet play a most wonderful part in the universe.

There are numerous other things such as "molecular" and "atomic action," gravitation, etc., that might be gone into had we the space here to do so, but being limited in space we will have to omit discussing many interesting phenomena, which on account of their non-tangibility to our five senses, have given rise to the vaguest notions, the wildest theories and the grossest superstitions.

Consequently I will have to conclude by adding a few remarks to the foregoing vibratory theory we have just discussed.

Now I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that a solid of any kind (strictly speaking) is the result of a vibrating plane, or that a plane is the result of a vibrating line, for in the first place a plane, as well as a line or a point, is (strictly speaking) a **non-entity**, and was simply used for illustration. It can be readily seen that while the point vibrates to generate a line, the line at the **same time** can be vibrating to form a plane, and at the plane at the **same time** can be vibrating to form a solid, etc. Hence a solid is the result of a vibrating point, made up of three component vibrations, which need not be of such perfect rectilinear character as to describe lines, planes, etc., but on the contrary slight variations are necessary to account for the various materials in existence.

That all matter is made up of vibrating points or parts, none can deny. As a matter of fact, who can deny that all matter is composed of vibrating points of space itself made up of three component vibrations? And furthermore who is prepared to say that a fourth component vibration, would not produce matter or space of the "fourth dimension," that would be non-tangible to all our senses?

(1) In conclusion we might say that two theories of "space of

the fourth dimension" stand side by side; one we might call, the "vibratory" theory, the other; the "static" or "geometric" theory. The vibratory theory briefly stated holds this: . That all matter tangible to our senses is the result of innumerable vibrating points of space, composed of three component vibrations, while the non-tangible activities that we know are at work are the result of innumerable vibrating points of space composed of four or even more component vibrations.

(2) The "static" or "geometric" theory might be demonstrated by the following example: Figure 5 represents two isometric triangles, A, B, C, and and A', B', C', formed by dividing an isocetes triangle in two equal parts.

As long as the two triangles remain in the same plane, that is, space of two dimensions, although they are equal, they cannot be made to coincide, because they are equal and isometrical instead of equal and symmetrical. But if we pick up the triangle A' B' C' and turn it over, by revolving it through space of three dimensions, it will be clearly seen that

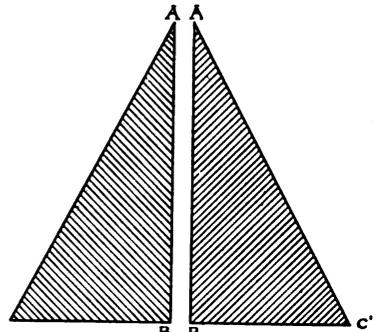


FIG. 5

the triangles will then become symmetrical and can be made to coincide, that is, A' can be placed on A, with B' on B, and C' on C.

Now let us consider two insometric solids, such as one's right hand and left hand; though they are equal in volume and proportion, yet on account of them being insometrical instead of symmetrical, the right hand cannot be put in the same space that the left hand can, and vice versa. But could we only revolve the right through space of four dimensions, the right hand could then be put into the left hand glove and vice versa. To illustrate this, if the right hand glove, which is merely a complex warped plane or space of two dimensions be turned wrong side out, it can then be put on the left hand, or the left hand glove can be turned wrong side out and put on the right hand. This last illustration is merely given to show an application of the theory to solid geometry, where it is very valuable, yet the first, or what I call the "vibratory" theory, is of far more importance to science.

While the theory as a whole cannot be perfectly analyzed on account of our deficiencies in perceptive faculties, it unquestionably offers a most beautiful field of unlimited investigation in every line of science.

Mickey's Religious Experience



BY JAMES H. BROWER.



DOWN through the long, soot-blackened shops an army of workers dropped their tools and scudded away to seek their dinner pails, the measure of America's prosperity 'tis said, before the noon whistle had ceased its clamor.

Out on the shady side of the casting shop Mickey and Charley found a snug corner and sat down together.

"Well, Mickey," Charley bantered, "have you got that religion we were talking about the other day?"

"Nixie, not fer mine." The cripple looked up scowling, his complement of teeth fastened in a tough hunk of beef. As he pulled, the scowl spread. "You see, Country," he explained, when he had finally swallowed the severed chunk at a gulp, "dem four-flushers out at de meetin' says as how a man kin be good all de time, commencin' 'fore breakfas' an' never lettin' up on de graft till he's sound asleep, an' it stan's t' reason dey's liars."

"Tut, tut, Mickey! You don't know what you are talking about," the other objected, "my mother's a Christian, and a good one."

"Did de ole lady pass any ov de dope along t' youse?" the boy inquired, scrutinizing his companion gravely.

Charley smiled, and was about to reply, when Mickey broke in with:

"Chuck it, Country. Youse maybe knows a heap more 'bout some things dan I does, but youse don't know how't tip off nothin' in de merropolis, an' dat's flat. Dem gospel mills out in de country where dey ain't no great sight ov nothin' layin' 'round loose, an' no bulls t' make de game excitin', an' no mollies t' help a feller blow de cush, may be on de level—dat ain't de city, an' de city's differenter, an' don't never let dat git outen yer nut—see?"

"But I don't see how it is different, and besides—"

"Now youse's tellin' it! Youse don't see, an' it's all in usin' dese peepers. Ain't I bin born here? An' ain't I bin up against all de games on de street? Well, den. Say—I jist took t' dem gospel meetin's out t' de mission, as youse so kindly asks me t' attend t', fer a whole week straight. Missed seein' a bang-up ballet an' a hooker ov a Jessy James show, an' passed up de Wild West layout, all t' accommodate me frien' from de country—an' say, I'm a givin' it t' youse straight when I says I'm damned sorry I didn't go t' th' shows an' let dem sky pilots alone. Are youse wise?"

A very lame "No" was all the surprised champion of regeneration could muster. That little "no" served to open the vials of Mickey's long suppressed wrath.

"No, course youse 'don't. What did them high-kollared, baby fingered fellers an' der sister mollies tell me th' first night I goes out t' th' mission?" He paused to gather up the thread of the story.

"Why, dey says cast yer bread on th' waters an' she'll come back t' youse—give yer dollars t' th' Lord—an' dem gents was a leggin' direct fer him fer they took th' coin—an' youse is sure t' git it back ten fold. When I hears that I says, 'I'm in on this here game ef I've got it doped out right;' so I jist nudges a plump old pussy as set by me, an' asks what dat gittin' back ten fold as dey was workin' off means. She says th' Lord pays back ten fer one. That tip suited me t' a T, an' I plumps a dollar in, an' when de dealer sees what I dropped in th' basket, he up an' inquires how much change I wants—youse kin take it frum me, I give him th' glassy eye. 'I hain't no piker,' I tells him, an' he lays his nice baby hand on me nut, an' kind ov slobbers out, 'God bless youse, God bless youse.' Now I calkate youse hain't a goin' t' b'leve me when I tells youse dat whole darned gospel game is a skin, an' they've got th' bull on de beat fixed, all right, all right. I ain't goin' t' git back nary red cent I put inter de game, an' I dropped three bucks, an' waited till th' last night fer th' drawin' t' come off.

"Last night that same feller comes around lookin' fer more of th' mazuma—a givin' us his little spiel 'bout castin' bread on th' water, an' a lendin' money t' th' Lord. I'd gone de limit, so I up an' asks dem when th' drawin's t' come off—an' what d' youse 'spose they has th' nerve t' tell me? Me, as thought I'd bin up against all de games in de city." Mickey stood before his audience of one deeply interested and somewhat puzzled listener with clinched fists and blazing eyes.

"Well," Charley hesitated, "I hardly know what they could have told you."

"Course youse don't, but I'll tell yer, on th' level, Country, ef youse don't know no more about other games dan youse does 'bout dis gospel business in de mertropolis, I'd advise youse not t' recommend none ov 'em t' any more ov yer city friends, dat's all."

"I won't, Mickey, I won't" Charley promised, and then asked, "What did they tell you?"

"Tell me? Why, dey had de nerve t' tell me—me, Mickey Dougherty, dat I'd git me ten t' one when I got t' heaven. Now what 'd youse think ov dat fer pure gall? I wanted t' have de whole bunch pulled, but de bull's bin fixed all right, all right; fer he says t' me when I tells him as I've bin flim-flammed by some sky pilots as was runnin' a skin game, 'Go chase yerself, me little rooster, 'r I'll run youse in.'" At the close of his speech Mickey sat down and attacked his dinner with renewed vigor, while Charley sat thinking.

Charley Harris liked the cripple, because of his straightforwardness, his avowed friendship, and the many little big-hearted things he was capable of putting through for his friends. If the whole truth must be told he liked him as well for his sturdy defense of his philosophy of life, even if it did hold to the ugly, twisted ethics of the semi-criminal world in which the boy had been chained since birth. On one point his mind was made up quickly. Turning to Mickey he said:

"Mickey, since I recommended the game—guaranteed it, you might say—I feel in duty bound to see that none of my friends lose money." He reached into a pocket and drew out a handful of silver. "Let's see; you put up three dollars," he had to smile at the look of perplexity on Mickey's face, "and while I can't make good that gospel outfit's promise of ten to one, I am willing to put up five dollars to——"

"No youse don't," the cripple interposed, "I ain't no welsher, Country. I took de tip an' played it on me own dope, an' I don't want——"

"Here, you young limb of Satan, take the money, it belongs to you." Charley reached over as he spoke and dumped the silver into Mickey's dinner pail. "Just to hear your experience in your first attempt to get religion is worth that much to me," he added, and as Mickey still showed

signs of rebellion, he went on, "Mickey, old man, I want you for a friend; between friends a money debt should never stand for a moment longer than is absolutely necessary—and I owed you that five-spot 'as much as though I had borrowed it from you."

A grimy, greasy hand was held out, and as Charley grasped it Mickey whispered hoarsely, "Country, youse is white, an' I'm goin' t' call youse Charley like th' rest ov th' gang does."

Charley laughed, and Mickey made good in his next speech.

"On de level, Co—Charley, I didn't give up de gospel jist becous dem guys was a runnin' a con game on de money end ov de biz. Youse see, it's dis way: I knows dey's lots ov hold-outs in all de games, an' dey's some dat's square, an' ef de rest ov de gospel game had 'a bin on de level—why shucks! I'd a hunted up a square game an' played me coin, but de whole works is rotten."

"How's that?" Charley asked.

"Why dis way: De main guy says all anybody frum a molly t' a porchclimber has got ter do is t' say, 'I've foun' Jesus,' 'r some sich magic biz as dat, an' to oncet all de sins dey ever did is washed away. Now youse kin take it frum me dat I carried dat aroun' in me nut till de load hurt frightful. Yes, sir, I carried dat fer three days an' nights 'fore I chucked it. Why, tain't reasonable t' 'spose anybody is runnin' sich a bargain counter up to heaven,—an' it ain't no square deal no how. Fer why, here's me—an' I ain't had nobody t' put me wise t' dis bargain counter biz till youse comes an' butts in—an' ef de thing's on de level, an' they ain't no other way ov gettin' inter heaven 'cept I goes through de gospel mill—why, ef I'd a croaked last month, 'r when I was hurt dat time, wouldn't I a gone plump t' hell? An' ef I'd gone t' that bargain sale an' got religion an' hollered 'I've got it! I've got it.' like I hears them a whoopin' it up out dere, an' didn't have t' make good t' all de folks what I swiped things frum, an' lied to, an' so forth, seems t' me de thing wouldn't wash. Jist seems that there way t' me. Seems-t' me God 'ud say, 'Youse is a purty cheap skate, son,' seems that there way t' me. But one ov dem singin' fellers made it plain dat all a guy has ter do t' git right in a front row in their heaven is t' fess up. Jist fess up, an' God 'ud let de meanest cuss in 'Chi' crowd right up t' de desk an' begin singin'."

"In the name of all the saints, what sort of a crowd did you get into?" Charley demanded, and inwardly resolved to go out and see for himself.

"They was mostly batty, Cou—Charley, an' three of dem old bats jist did deir turn de night I puts in me second buck—why, one ov dem had killed his wife by inches. He says so hissself, an' dey ain't nobody a

givin' him th' third degree, neither—it was most as good as a play. The next cuss as comes out had blast-feemed, whatever dat is, an' had robbed a sick pard ov hisn ov thousands ov dollars in a minin' deal' an' dem galoots never did have t' make good t' nobody but God. Nixie fer deirs! All any ov dem had t' do was t' say, 'Jesus, I b'leve,' 'r some sich rot as dat, an' all deir cussed doin's was washed away in de twinklin' ov a eye—an' God's eye at dat.

"When dey gits all through a spoutin' an' dem sisters has quit amenin' an' shakin' dem bats' mitts, an' things gits still I up an' asks de one as robbed his pard ef th' pard was alive. He gits up an' says, a-turnin' to them sisters: 'Dear sisters an' brothers, he's alive t' th' flesh but dead t' God. He's still in sin, an' hasn't found th' blood of Christ a balm t' his soul,' 'r some sich flummydiddle as dat.

"Then I asks, fer I was interested, an' besides I had money in de game—I says: 'Mister, when youse got religion in your soul did youse pay dat pard th' money youse stole frum him?' Youse ought t' have seen dem old mollies turn up deir noses at me. An' he says, 'No, me young frien', I didn't need t' do dat, fer God forgived de debt.' 'Say,' I asks him, 'did God really an' truly pass him th' coin?'"

"Say, Mickey, what are you giving me? You didn't butt in on those gospel people like that, did you?" Charley asked, smiling.

"Sure t'ing I did. Ain't I got me money on de game? An' you'd never b'leve it less'n I told youse, dat geezer as robbed his pard tries t' make out he don't know nothin' 'bout what I'm a-tryin' to pass t' him till a old mollie puts it 't him straight, an' den he says to me, 'No, me brother, God does not handle th' filthy lucre, an' so far as me poor sin-cussed pard 's consarned, I'm 'fraid his portion in th' life beyond th' grave'll be in th' lake ov fire,' an' th' dirty welsher begins t' leak some-thin' dreadful.

"I up an' asks quick as a wink, 'Say, Mister Whatsyername, don't youse think now dat youse is bin put wise t' de gospel game, ef youse was ter take th' money youse smouched frum yer pard, an' jist handed it t' him, an' den told him 'bout this here new deal, dat he'd take de tip?'"

"He was plum beat out, Charley, an' I'd a had de count on him in no time but some ov dem old hen sisters who's gone soft on his nibs begins t' sing 'Jesus, He Paid it All,' an' th' guy gits his wind an' stands there a-pattin' his hands an' a-smilin' t' dem mollies as fixed it fer him. But I just stood dere a-waitin' fer th' next round, even ef dey did try t' call me down.

"When dem old hens quits a-cacklin' long 'nuff t' give him a chanst he hes his story all fixed, an' turns t' me an' says, 'Th' song tells th' whole story, me young frien'—Jesus paid it all—all t' him I owes—sin had left

a grimy stain but she's washed witer'n snow,' an' a lot ov slush like dat.

"When I goes fer him hard an' wants t' know things, he says it don't make no kind ov diff'rence what a bloke has done—murder, steal, lie—any ole thing goes. He don't have t' square himself with nobody fer nothin'. An' jist as soon as he's got deir kind ov religion he's good fer a scalper's ticket straight t' heaven. Den ef th' poor cuss he stole frum an' lied to 'r did anything like a thousan' other devilish, low-down, mean things to, still stays mad an' wants a square deal, wants this here religious bloke t' do th' square thing by him on this here earth—why, it's th' feller as wants de square deal as goes plump t' hell, an' th' welsher goes t' heaven. An' th' times dey has up dere! Nuttin' t' do but prance round in circus close, an' eat an' sing, an' drink milk outen a river dat flows right by de captain's desk—say, dey's got a warm pipe, all right, all right." Mickey got up, carefully, placed a battered lid on an equally battered dinner pail and looked off into the blue as he added:

"Dem gopple folks takes dope, an' I wouldn't be s'prised ef dey was pulled fer hittin' th' pipe one ov dese here days—dey's nuttin' to it. Youse may hev nuther kind ov religion in de country, but it stan's t' reason dat dey hain't no God whose goin' t' send the feller as has bin robbed an' had other things done t' him t' hell, an' give th' robber, an' murderer a nice easy graft in heaven, jist 'cause he blubbers a few minutes an' saddles all his cussedness off onto Jesus Christ—why, I ain't God, an' I'll be damned ef Mickey Dougherty 'ud put up with sich a gummy mess ov welshers an' four-flushers as dem people is. Bet yer life, I wouldn't! Ef I was God I'd say, 'Here, youse reprobates, 'fore youse gits t' prancin' 'round a-tellin' what all I'm a-goin' t' do for youse, youse git out an' square up with dem as youse robbed, an' murdered an' things.' Bet yer life I'd make 'em hit de grit, an' as they went down th' line I'd give 'em me toe an' tell 'em I wasn't runnin' no bargain counters fer blokes ov deir kidney; dem is things Mickey Dougherty'd do ef he was God."

Then the whistle blew.

From *The Mills of Mammon*, published by P. H. Murray & Co., Joliet, Ill.



The New Revisionism in Germany

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.



THE world's most important Socialist conference after the International Congress at Amsterdam—such will be the judgment of the historian of the Socialist movement on the German Parteitag that has just been brought to a close in Leipzig.

It is to be compared with the Congress of Dresden at which the German Party declared by an overwhelming majority against the revisionists, that revolutionary tactics must go with revolutionary principles and that Socialists were not to lend their political support to capitalistic governments. And just as the International Congress held the next year at Amsterdam decided against Jaurès and the participation of Millerand in a non-Socialist ministry, so the International Congress at Copenhagen next year may be expected to take a stand against the new revisionism or laborism which is now threatening to lead the movement in many countries away from the path of Socialism.

For, as Kautsky has made clear in his writings and speeches, the new danger comes not from Bernstein or the intellectuals, but from among conservative and opportunist leaders of the trade unions. Theoretical revisionism, Kautsky maintains, is dead. Political revisionism is at the danger point. That this is true is shown by the fact that the revisionists refused to take any position on the question of reaffirming the Dresden resolution, which therefore stands as the party's principle. Like true opportunists they were ready to throw Bernstein and the revisionist theory overboard if only left in control of the political machine.

On the principal matter at issue to be sure, whether the Socialist members of the Reichstag should have voted in favor of or against the inheritance tax proposed by the late Bülow government, the revisionists seemed to win a victory by the declaration of Bebel, that, had he been well at the time, he would have opposed voting against the tax. However it was just the kind of victory that will do the revisionists the least good, now that they have given up hope of moderating the fundamental principles of the party, namely, a mere moral victory.

For the conduct of the party in this matter was left at Leipzig as before in the hands of the Reichstag members. Evenly divided at the present moment, the new successes the Party is winning in every bye-election must soon give the revolutionists a clear majority in the Reichstag. For there is not a single revisionist on the party executive, the editors of the *Vorwärts* are all revolutionists and the overwhelming majority of the party membership stands with Singer, Kautsky and Ledebour against the South Germans, the conservative trade union leaders, and the relatively small group of revisionist intellectuals.

The importance of the new tendency lies not in the fact that it has captured or is about to capture the German party, but that its tenets are almost identically the same as those which are as powerful as ever in France, have recently gained the upper hand in Italy, and are the only "Socialist" principles to which the British Trade Unionists have ever paid the slightest heed. Not only this but all the main questions, including the bone of contention in Leipzig, are equally under discussion in every modern country.

Whether in Germany or England, France, Italy, Austria or the United States the most violent and aggressive anti-Socialist forces are those of Imperialism. In all these countries it is the necessity of finding new means for military and naval expenditures that alone shakes one or another section of the middle-class out of its lethargy, persuades it to throw over some sacred principle of private property and to put some new and revolutionary tax on some other section of its class. Is it possible that income and corporation taxes and constitutional amendments would now be discussed in the United States if the military and naval expenditures of this last decade were not four-fold those of the previous decade?

So too in England and Germany the new taxes have led straight to a constitutional crisis. If in England it is a question of abolishing the House of Lords, in Germany it is proposed by the Socialists to utilize the need of the government for new taxes, to demand for the nation the basis of true constitutional government, the control of the army and navy and foreign affairs by the people's Parliament, the Reichstag.

It is just such crises as have arisen at the present moment in every country of the world that enable the Socialist Parties for the first time to play a great historic role in weakening militarism and establishing the basis of at least a political democracy. As reformers Socialists will always be overshadowed by opportunist bourgeois reformers who can and will sell out everything to obtain the reform in question. But in these great constitutional crises it is necessary

to fight, which requires the backbone and principle to be found only among Socialists in these days.

Already in England the Liberals have begun to compromise with the House of Lords, while their German counterparts have abandoned all pretense to make use of the great crisis of a year ago, when (as the world knows) the whole nation was up in arms against the Emperor, in order to demand a constitutional government. Only the most aggressive tactics on the part of English and German Socialists can force the people of either country to take advantage of the financial difficulties caused by Imperialism to forge a weapon by which the latter may finally be overthrown.

But this is the very moment when British Laborites and German revisionists come forward with a plan to strengthen the Liberals by a political alliance. The situation in Germany and the arguments used are almost exactly those of the other countries.

The arguments for and against the proposal of the Revisionists to vote in favor of granting the proposed Inheritance Tax were summed up in the shortest possible form by Karski in "Vorwärts":

"On the one side it is argued that we stand under all circumstances in favor of the increase of the Inheritance Tax because it is a direct tax. In the second place, we follow the tactics of choosing the lesser evil and grant direct taxes in order to avoid indirect taxes. In the third place we grant direct taxes to spoil the inclination of the bourgeoisie for militarism; which they will favor no longer if they must bear the burden themselves.

"On the other side it is argued that we might grant direct taxes but that it is by no means necessary that we should do so. If it is a mere question of replacing indirect by direct taxes, then we are of course in favor of doing so. But if it is a question of creating new sources of income for the State, then we must ask first of all, to what purposes are these new sources of income to be used. If they are to serve the general aims of civilization, then we grant them. If they are to serve purposes hostile to civilization and the people's welfare, like militarism, colonialism and the big navy craze, then we refuse them under all circumstances, according to the good old principle, 'Not a single penny or a single man for the present system.' The argument of the lesser evil can find no application here, since it leads to laughable conclusions; it would only be necessary for the Government to demand as many indirect taxes as possible to be used against the people in order to get the Social Democrats to grant direct taxes in large amounts (to be used for the same purpose). Also the argument that the bourgeoisie would lose its taste for militarism if its cost had to be covered by direct taxes falls to the ground because

the maintenance of militarism is for the bourgeoisie of to-day a life and death question; it is the only means they have of defending their domination against the proletariat and they will gladly trade direct taxes for this purpose, especially when these direct taxes are so ridiculously small as they are in the Government's Inheritance Tax proposal."

With the change of a dozen words this whole resumé could be applied equally well to the English situation; there also the cause of the new revolution in taxation is not that money is needed for social reform but that the Government has decided to build more Dreadnoughts and that the Liberals have become as imperialistic as the Conservatives themselves. Similarly the principles of the argument could be extended to the situation in nearly every other country.

In Germany, fortunately, the voters seem inclined to take the revolutionary view, as was pointed out by Ledebour in his report to the Leipzig Congress on behalf of the party executive. He said:

"All our experience proves that the best thing for us to do is to oppose the **whole system** in the sharpest possible manner. The colossal successes in the recent bye-elections show this. If this increase of votes could be traced back to our declaration in favor of the **principle** of the Inheritance Tax, the Radical and Liberal parties would also show an increase of votes since they were on our side in this question. But these parties have everywhere fared as badly and in some places even worse than the Centre (Catholic) and Conservative parties. The confidence of the people in our party grows, not on account of our attitude to any side issue in which we find ourselves in **agreement** with the bourgeois parties, but on account of the basic principles which **separate** us from all other parties."

Chairman Singer expressed a similar opinion and seemed to receive the approval of a majority of the Congress when he said:

"What has made the Social Democratic party great and strong? Why, only the open and firm way in which we have stood for our principles, both in regard to our final goal and in the politics of the day. . . . Since the question of choosing the lesser evil has been brought up here, I must say that I hold it to be a lesser evil, if difficulties arise in our electoral agitation on account of a vote (in the Reichstag) which was justified by our principles, than if we finally take a path in which there is no possibility of stopping, in order to avoid these difficulties. . . . Of course we will vote for direct taxes, if the purpose for which the taxes are to be used corresponds with our convictions, but to decide this question beforehand for each individual case, is impossible."

This clearly is the true Socialist position. But what then is

the basic principle on which the revisionist opposition rests? The long controversy between Kautsky and his revisionist and trade union opponents, just before the Congress shows the heart of the situation. Kautsky argued that English, German and especially American experience in the past ten years has shown that the trade unions cannot expect the same success as they could ten years ago, before the era of Trusts and Employers' Associations, that therefore they must seek the aid and co-operation everywhere of the Socialist Party. The trade union revisionists answered that the prospects of the trade unions are satisfactory in all these countries without any new and radical political action, and that on the contrary it is better for the political party to give its chief attention to such everyday political matters as may be of immediate benefit to the unions. In other words, the party plays a secondary role. If the political reformers in the party will satisfy the immediate needs of the unions, the latter will be glad to drop all larger questions and to leave the party management in their hands.

This is the very root of the strength of latter day revisionism and it is the basis of opportunism in the Socialist parties of every country in the world. It is an alliance between ambitious climbers who want to use the Socialist Party, consciously or unconsciously, to increase their own power or prestige or even to get into office and a form of labor organization, the trade union on a commercial basis, that has nothing more social in its outlook than the ancient guild.

But how does it come about that the Socialist parties tolerate and foster such an element and admit a Labor Party to the International Bureau, even though this is done expressly on probation?

The explanation can only be suggested in conclusion. The labor unions are not **the** economic arm of the socialist movement as many platforms suggest but, according to the best Socialist traditions, merely **an** economic arm of the movement. Though the labor unions have always received a place of equal **dignity** and **rights** to that of the political party in the Socialist literature describing the class struggle, they are not and can not be of equal **importance**. In the party are to be gathered all true proletarian or anti-capitalist elements of the population—those who live rather by their own labor than through property or any other privilege. In the unions are only such proletarian elements as can be successfully organized to strike. But this is never more than a mere fraction of the proletariat.

Even the whole industrial and manual working-class is only a minority of the proletariat. The labor unions can embrace only

a minority of the industrial and manual working-class. They are a minority of a minority.

The labor unions are an economic arm of the proletariat, the Socialist Party is the political arm of the movement.

The strike of producers is the only economic weapon used **exclusively** by the unions. The strike of consumers, or boycott, while less important, is more social, since it can be used by all the proletariat, by all those who purchase even approximately the same articles. Also the large and growing class of government employees, postmen, teachers and the like can strike only at supreme moments and this is becoming more true of railway employees as they are gradually taken under state control. Yet to get good work from these classes their good will is essential and limitation of output or "passive resistance" has often proved a successful means of combat.

So, altogether aside from the question of the relative importance of the political and economic struggles, aside from the probability that governmental arbitration, and pension and promotion schemes of the Trusts may still further limit the field of the Unions, it is seen that the party has a far broader task.

In France the Unions are conceded to have an equally important role with the party because, while maintaining their independence, they have announced that they propose to use the economic power for the purposes of Socialism. Such Unions are not only a necessary and useful business proposition for workingmen. They are a militant wing (not **the** militant wing, however) of the Socialist movement. In Austria and many other countries the Unions are directly under the influence of the party. In Germany and England, the Unions, while willing to make use of a Socialist or Labor Party, offer Socialism nothing in return.

When revolutionary Socialists call such an organization **the economic arm** of the Socialist movement they are jumping out of the frying-pan of the revisionism of the intellectuals into the fire of the revisionism of pure and simple unionists.

For even after a pure and simple Union has entered "politics," who can say how many years or decades may be needed before it sees the light of revolutionary Socialism?

Kautsky is right, the new revisionism is more dangerous than the old.

The Relation of Socialism to the Woman Question

BY LIDA PARCE.



HERE is a reason why woman suffrage should have a place in the Socialist platform, but the platform doesn't mention what it is. The platform gives the reason for the faith that is in it on every other question, but not on this one. By this silence an obvious and excellent opportunity for propaganda is missed.

Only a few of our very best speakers have anything vital to say on the woman question. Usually, when you hear a Socialist speech, if the speaker is really conscientious, he will approach the woman question with fear and trembling toward the end of the performance. He will gather up all his nerve and say something violently dogmatic about the slavery of woman; but it is utterly unconvincing, because he has not given his reasons. And in his heart he does not believe there is a reason. If he did, the platform would have something to say about it. The speaker closes "these few remarks" in confusion and haste, with a pious feeling that, at any rate, he has done his best. He has, poor man, but his best was not good enough. He has not connected up his thoughts on the subject, because his interest was only perfunctory.

A Socialist recently said to me that he worked for woman suffrage all the time and hoped it would come as soon as possible, though he knew perfectly well that woman's conservatism would delay Socialism. The reflection with which he closed is frequently heard among party members, but it is based on a false application of the word "conservatism." Now this is precisely the point. That wrong application of the word is a fallacy that has had a wide acceptance, which is readily accounted for by the fact that it requires a little analysis to detect it. We speak of the conservation of anything that has become established, no matter how ephemeral or how unrelated to the well-being of the race. But a woman's conservatism is not that kind; it relates to the species. It was developed by the disci-

pline of being the protector and the provider for the young. The only thing that can be called female conservatism" is that fundamental, ineradicable, dominating interest in the preservation and well-being of the race, either as individuals or as a whole. What is so often called woman's conservatism is that timidity and caution which arise from the double uncertainty and perils of her doubly enslaved condition.

The present egotistic system is built on the male psychology. The subjection of woman had to be accomplished before the foundations of the present system could be laid in the private ownership of land. It was necessary to do this first, because women were dominated by the mother-spirit of altruism and had always worked co-operatively for the benefit of the whole group. So that, both historically and logically, the question of the status of woman is prior to the question of economic organization. I have not said "more important;" I have said "prior." But if it is prior it can not be less important. To suppose that the male psychology, unaided, will become so altruistic as to re-establish the co-operative system, while it remains so egotistic as to keep woman in sexual and political subordination is to imagine a vain thing.

The comrade who made the reflection quoted, referred to the suffrage states, to show that women wish to maintain the present state of things, and that revolution does not follow on woman suffrage. The obvious reply is that men who have had the ballot for generations are at present unable to control economic affairs by means of it. Political liberty with economic dependence is utterly meaningless.

For ages women have been kept in a position where they were dependent upon the performance of sex functions for a chance to work. A woman had to look to a man, who had access to land, for a chance to produce the necessities of life for herself and her children. Under these abject and withering conditions, women were perverted from the normal exercise of their dominant traits. The access to that land was a terribly important thing; and a woman was obliged to compete with other women for a chance to thus prostitute her faculties. In time she came, like man, to see the economic consideration too large, the human consideration too small. She was, for the time, psychologically unsexed. The average woman now depends upon her husband for the money with which to care for her family. And he depends upon a complex of political and economic conditions for a chance to earn that money. She is not in personal touch with these conditions, and she is powerless to remedy them, however bad they are. Again, it is, he is making some kind of a living, and if there were to be a change she cannot tell how it would end. He is timid

and uncertain about it himself, though he is a free citizen. Then how much more timid must she be, in her restricted position and with the living of her children at stake. But this timidity and caution are not female conservativeness. They are the reasonable traits of a slave psychology.

Individually, women have no power to affect conditions. But the juvenile courts, the libraries, the parks and play-grounds, the civic improvements of every kind, and literally thousands in number, that have been established by the women's clubs in America, prove what kind of thing it is that women do when, by association, they gain some power to act. The question raised by women in their club work is not: "Will it pay us?" But: "Will the condition of the people be improved?" They do not get together and say: "We will buy some books for our children to read; we will make a park for our children to play in." Their work is communal, just as it was before the "dawn of civilization." It is for all the people. This is the true female conservatism. This is the mother psychology. Woman is not only the mother of individuals; when she acts collectively, she is the mother of the race.

There is not an ill arising from the present competitive organization of society that would not have been modified or avoided altogether if woman had not been bound and gagged. And yet many Socialist speakers can with difficulty find anything to say on the woman question. The platform sets forth no reason for its woman suffrage plank.

There is endless material for argument on the woman question, all of which hies back to the place of the female in every animal species, and to the sex-psychology of woman, as the great conservator—not of dollars, but of human beings.

The dominant mental attitude of man is that of acquisition and personal control. History tells its own story on that point, and so does the present social system. Whether the male mind in general will ever adopt feminine standards and aims sufficiently to establish society on the feminine principle may be doubted. But if the normal feminine mind were freed and in a position to express itself there can be no doubt what the result would be.

The Socialist agitation of the woman question, therefore, should take the form of spreading a knowledge of the true psychological sex-character of woman. This can not fail to appeal strongly to every woman who comes to understand it; for it is the basis of her dignity, the justification of her destiny as a free human being. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the feminine mode of life has been forcibly perverted, and it will take time for woman to

readjust herself to the expression of her normal character. Any one who is a true Socialist will welcome this understanding of female conservatism with enthusiasm, when he is convinced of its truth; and he will not allow his traditional sex-attitude to interfere with his comprehension.

Socialists should not allow the capitalist imputation of radicalism to stand for an instant. It is capitalism that is radical. Socialism is the very essence of conservatism. And if woman can be educated in the principles of Socialism and then freed for action, it is a foregone conclusion how she will respond.

It is a cheerful capitalist custom to "view with alarm" the remotest suggestion of feminism, and to get gay over the special attributes of the feminine mind. But the time for that sort of thing is nearly past. The masculine psychology, unbridled and unhindered, has about tried itself out. And though it has many achievements to its credit, its record does not justify any lofty or disdainful attitude toward woman. On the contrary that record shows cause why man should, with patience and humility undertake the task of freeing woman, not for the sake of her deliverance; but for delivering the race from the penalties of his folly.

It is to the Socialist Party alone that we can look for any adequate or dignified treatment of the woman question. It is only on the basis of the materialist interpretation of life that the really ideal reasons for woman suffrage can be advanced. But even the Socialist Party needs to be admonished from time to time "lest we forget."

Yes, savagery, barbarism, civilization called upon woman and child to share in life's struggles; but it remained for the age of machinery, the age of "society," the age of the billionaire, the age of general suffrage and democratic governments, the age of triumphant science and free public schools, the age of marvelous inventions—marvelous means of production—to enslave them body and soul. It remained for this age of progress to reduce millions of them to a servitude in which they may well envy the condition of the mediaeval serf or the black slave of the southland.—From *Industrial Problems*, by N. A. Richardson.

Forces Making for Industrial Unionism in Australia

H. SCOTT BENNETT.



THE friends of Industrial Unionism in America will be pleased to hear that there is a decided tendency on the part of several of the most important unions in Australia to discard the principles of craft unionism in favor of unionism industrial! For some time Industrial Unionism, or the principle thereof, have been advocated by the S. L. P., I. W. W. Clubs and the various organizations affiliated with the Socialist Federation of Australia! The persistent advocacy of the only form of economic organization compatible with 20th century conditions, together with certain sharp shocks recently experienced by several large craft unions in one or two struggles with the master class, has brought about the pleasing state of affairs that I am about to relate.

Let us take the case of the Sydney (New South Wales) Trades and Labor Council first!

Some time ago the Tramway employes of Sydney (the trams are run by the government) went on strike. Thanks to some fine work put in by certain labor politicians, together with a remarkable display of organized scabbery, the strike collapsed. Naturally, there was a vast amount of dissatisfaction shown by the men, and so the Trades and Labor Council eventually appointed a sub-committee to go into the whole matter and present a report upon the causes that led to the defeat of the men. Let me say here that the Sydney Labor Council represents roughly forty thousand unionists, and that a few months ago a number of the delegates in the Council were wont to make merry over the subject of Industrial Unionism. But a marked difference is observable today, as the following excerpts from the sub-committees report, since adopted by the whole Council will show: ,

"The Tramway strike amply demonstrates THE FUTILITY OF SECTIONAL STRIKES."

"The whole blame is on our own shoulders BECAUSE WE TRADES UNIONISTS ARE NOT ORGANIZED ON RIGHT LINES, VIZ., INDUSTRIAL LINES" We should be so organized that when a strike takes place, "the whole industry should stop at the same time."

That, I think, is a fairly frank confession of the impotency of craft unionism in its every day fights with the master class!

Here is another instance of the tendency shown by the unions to move toward Industrialism. In Broken Hill a great struggle has just terminated between the "Brothers," Labor and Capital! Much has occurred there to turn the eyes of the workers in the direction of Industrial Unionism! Persistent advocacy by the local Socialists, the able advocacy with tongue and pen by Tom Mann, who took a prominent part in the strike proceedings, together with many a vivid illustration of the weakness of craft unionism, accounts for the issuing of the following circular. The circular comes from the Barrier Labor Federation several thousand strong. It opens with an appeal for "one central head" elected by the unions of Australia. The desire is "to bring about the unity of the workers of the country," because we see the masters everywhere united, irrespective OF THE BUSINESS THEY ARE ENGAGED IN, fighting "one common battle against us, while we are too often split into sections."

The circular concludes with an appeal for a conference for the purpose of forming an Industrial Union. Now, here is another interesting circular sent out some time ago and which ultimately produced a fairly tangible result. It is issued by the union of Port Pirie, and runs as follows: "The committee has come to a DEFINITE AND UNANIMOUS CONCLUSION THAT CRAFT UNIONISM HAS OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS, and that 20th Century industrial development demands a more perfect form of organization. As the outcome of this letter a conference was held at Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, where the following unions were represented: S. A. Government General Workers' Association; The Commonwealth Public Service Electric Telegraph and Telephone Construction Branch Union; Federated Iron, Brass and Steel Moulders' Union of Australia, Port Pirie Branch; Australian Boot Trade Federation, Adelaide Branch; General Division Association of S. A., Federal Public Service; Adelaide Hairdressers Employes; Cast Iron Pipe Makers and Iron Workers Assistants; The Typographical Society; Moonta Mines Trades and Labor Association; The Journeymen Plasterers; Glass Bottle Blowers; Bookbinders and Paper Rulers; Wallaroo Mines Workers' Association; South Australian United Laborers; Brickyard Employes' Association; Tobacco Twisters; Third Class Marine Engineers; Australian Workers' Union; Timber Yard and Wood Workers; The Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners; Drivers Association of S. A.; The A. M. A. Port Pirie and The Engine Drivers' and Firemen." After an interesting discussion the unions represented decided to form a "Workers' Federation of South Australia," having for its object complete industrial organization for the effective handling of industrial disputes and the abolition of capitalism. It will be seen, I think, from the

illustrations given, that there is anything but a marked feeling of hostility shown towards Industrial Unionism on the part of the unions in Australia. Truly, the whole movement is still in the making, but let me again remind "REVIEW" readers that the organization named were either entirely ignorant as to the meaning and significance of Industrial Unionism or, where it was known, no great desire was manifested to pay any great attention to it. Now, however, that the tide has set in in the right direction, it will be the duty of all Socialists and Industrialists to assist in every way this remarkable development in Trades Union circles. That they will do so I have no doubt. Without exception every SOCIALIST organization in Australia endorses Industrial Unionism, and they, in conjunction with other agencies, must see to it that the principles of this all-important movement are kept well before the eyes of Australia's wage slaves.

Sydney, Australia, Sept. 8, 1909.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers, they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in *Revolutionary Unionism*.



What Is the Matter with the Socialist Party?

Socialism, the proletarian revolt against the ruling class, was never so much alive as today. The ruthless march of organized capital is daily recruiting the proletariat with new wage workers and making rebels out of both the old and the new proletarians by grinding down wages to the point of bare subsistence. As a consequence the laborers are becoming more revolutionary than ever before. All over the world the ruling classes are busy devising measures to stem the rising tide. Here in the United States the "conspiracy of silence" is broken and socialism is being discussed from pulpit, press and platform. Our own correspondence from all over the United States is day by day more optimistic, showing an ever-growing enthusiasm for our proletarian propaganda.

Meanwhile the Socialist Party as an organization has failed to make a corresponding growth. Its vote in 1908 was but slightly larger than in 1904. It has during the last five years enrolled probably over 150,000 members, including those who held membership cards in 1904, but the present total membership as shown by the monthly dues is about 45,000, and the number who took the trouble to attend meetings and vote on a recent referendum was only about 8,500. The action taken at this referendum was a surprise. Two decidedly reactionary propositions were adopted. One was to drop from our "immediate demands," in the list of social utilities the collective ownership of which is demanded, the words "and all land." This carried by 5,382 to 3,117. The other was to insert into the Declaration of Principles the following paragraph:

"There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation AND POSSESSION of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation."

It was adopted by a vote of 5,936 to 2,565. We have given these details since they are necessary to the understanding of the following

official communication lately received from the Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, which we regard as being important enough to deserve full consideration and discussion:

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES:

Whereas, It has for some time been apparent that The Socialist Party of the United States is not a revolutionary organization of the working class, based on the principles of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, but is merely a stamping ground for faddists, careerists and notoriety seekers bent upon obtaining pelf and power at the expense of an already overburdened class; and

Whereas, Practically all of the official positions in this organization have been usurped by as conscienceless a crew of bourgeois buccaneers as ever practiced piracy on the high seas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; and

Whereas, This cockroach element, composed of preachers without pulpits, lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, storekeepers without customers disgruntled political coyotes and other riff-raff, through its self-appointed leadership, has relegated the real proletarians to the rear; and

Whereas, In their mad scramble for votes, these muddle-headed marauders of the middle class have seen fit to foist upon the Socialist Party, in the name of the working class, such infamies as "Craft Unionism," "Anti-Immigration," "State Autonomy," and a series of ludicrous and illogical "Immediate Demands"; and

Whereas, The final act, the climax, the culmination of these and other prostitutions came when the Socialist Party by referendum vote decided to drop Socialism from its platform and adopt in its stead an emasculated form of the late lamented Single Tax; be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the fifty-five proletarians members in good standing of the Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, Socialist Party of Colorado, do reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM and to the cause of OUR class, and do hereby withdraw from the organization falsely called "The Socialist Party of the United States"; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the State and National officials of the party and to the Socialist and Labor Press of the United States.

Third Ward Branch of Local Denver, Socialist Party of Colorado,

HERBERT GRAHAM, 1762 Champa Street,
WALTER C. SMITH, 715 W. 11th Avenue,
PHILIP ENGLE, 1830 Champa Street,

Committee.

Dated at Denver, Colorado, September 23, 1909.

In publishing these resolutions, we do not endorse the view of the Denver comrades that proletarians should desert the Socialist Party as hopelessly middle-class. We believe there is some measure of truth in the indictment, but we can see a definite economic cause for the predominance of the middle class in the party up to this time, and economic reasons also why we should hope for a radical change to proletarian tactics on the part of the Socialist Party in the near future. Craft unionism is a survival from conditions of but yesterday, conditions under which it was the logical form of working-class organization. True, the rapid march of industrial progress has made it as obsolete as the spinning-wheel and the stage-coach, but it always takes people some time to adjust

their ideas and institutions to new conditions. Most of the proletarian members of the Socialist Party thus far have been members of craft unions for the very good reason that such membership was for them a necessary condition for holding their jobs. This membership naturally made them reluctant to antagonize craft unions, and this reluctance is reflected in the platforms and resolutions of the Socialist Party. Apart from trade unionists, our membership thus far has been mainly recruited from the small producers and professional men, who, as B. E. Nilsson points out on another page of this month's REVIEW, are not in daily touch with the great industrial processes as proletarians are, and can exercise control over these processes only through the political state. Thus it is not in the least surprising that the Socialist Party in the past has placed undue emphasis on voting and law-making. Nor on the other hand is it surprising that with these tactics we have scarcely touched the great mass of the proletariat.

But forces stronger than ourselves are pushing us on. The great capitalists have built up a system of organized industry beside which the political state is a pigmy. In the course of this process they have been systematically crushing out the old conservative trade unions. On their ruins is already rising a new type of union, revolutionary as Marx himself, ruthless as capitalism, strong in the thought, learned not from Marx but from grim experience, that the workers have nothing to lose but their chains, and all the world to gain. It is in these unions, not the aristocracy of labor but its *democracy*, that the Socialist Party of the future must find its strength.

Long enough we have cringed before the aristocracy of labor begging for votes that we did not get. Long enough we have experimented with "immediate demands" that might swell our apparent strength by winning the votes of people opposed to revolution. The time has come for the proletarians of the party and those who believe the party should be proletarian in its tactics to bring about a revolution inside the party. Let us not withdraw like the Denver comrades but take possession. Let us put wage-workers on the National Executive Committee. Let us cut the "immediate demands" out of our platform and leave reformers to wrangle over reforms. Let us make it our chief task to spread the propaganda of revolution and of the new industrial unionism, and when we elect members of our own class to office, let us instruct them that their most important work is to hamper the ruling class in the war it will be waging on the revolutionary unions. With tactics like these, apathy will disappear, and the Socialist Party will for the first time become a vital force in the struggle between capitalists and wage-workers.

**INTERNATIONAL
NOTES**
BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

SPAIN. Another Martyr. As the Review goes to press this month the world is all on fire with the story of a new martyrdom. Francisco Ferrer has been added to the long list of those who died for freedom's sake. On September thirteenth he was shot to death in a prison yard. His last act was to refuse the ministrations of priests and his last words, "Long live the Modern Schools!"

There is no need of repeating here the story of his life and death. During the past few days it has been burned into the consciousness of the civilized world. But I cannot refrain from pointing out that the dramatic events which have centered our gaze on far-away Barcelona uncover the play of forces in our society as few things have ever done.

Francisco Ferrer was not a socialist. In the ordinary sense of the word he was not a revolutionist. He was an educator; his life and fortune were devoted to the foundings of schools and the publishing of books. At the time of his death he was the administrator of a school system which included more than a hundred institutions of learning; his publishing house had supplied the Spanish nation with its first system of modern text-books. This was his life-work, this the revoution which he stood for.

For a long time the clerical powers of Spain had been seeking his life. In 1907 he eluded their bloody grasp. The riots of last July gave them another opportunity. The Archbishop of Barcelona sent to Señor Maura a protest against the uprising and "the individuals who are responsible therefor; that is to say, the partisan of godless schools, the radical press, and the anarchist groups." Then it was suddenly discovered that the founder of the Modern Schools was the chief aider and abettor of the riots. It is true that until shortly before the trouble he had been in England and that the day of the riot he spent working in his office. But had he not some months previously lent a small sum to one of the wicked labor unions?

At any rate he was an enemy of the church; so he was sentenced to death.

If the sound of the shot that ended his life could have been kept within the boundaries of Spain one would say that this was just the old story over again. Religious bigotry had found another victim: what of that? But the sound of that shot re-echoed till our whole civilization shook with the vibration. And then an interesting thing appeared. The news of this latest martyrdom acted like the acid in the retort: it separated the powers of light from those of darkness. Who was it that rose in protest? Was it the statesmen, the clergy or our vaunted capitalist press? No—it was a few scientists on the one hand and the great body of toilers on the other. The scientists express their horror in proclamations and letters; the toilers gather in a score of cities, they march, they riot, they go out on strike. No better evidence could there be to show which are the forces of progress, the representatives of enlightenment. The thousands of dollars that are pouring into Sweden show that the proletariat of the world is awake to its common economic interests; the instant response to the awful news from Spain shows that it is no less awake to its great need of intellectual enlightenment.

SWEDEN. The Fight Goes On. The great struggle of the Swedish workers continues unabated. Approximately 150,000 men are preparing for an all-winter campaign. Early in September the government, at the instigation of the Employers' Association, appointed an arbitration committee. For weeks it examined the statements submitted to it by the two contestants, and finally gave up in despair. The peculiar thing about the situation is that the employers are increasing their demands as time goes on. They are attempting, e. g., to force upon the tailors' union a reduction of more than a dollar a week. In other industries they demand that the workers

sign individual long-time contracts. Through the government's committee, in fact, they tried to force upon the national federation a general arbitration agreement for the settlement of all future differences. Evidently the employers do not want peace; they are attempting to break the back of the proletarian revolt once for all. They recognize the supreme importance of the fight. It will be interesting to see what their next move will be. The national convention of the federated unions is to meet late in November. Probably the employers' association will try to force matters before that time.

There is little to be said about a splendid fight like this that our Swedish comrades are making. On the one hand it shows what perfect organization can do. So thoroughly do the Swedish workers keep themselves in hand, so steady is their temper, that any of them, after they have gone back to work, can be called off their jobs at a moment's notice. Every employer has to keep his promises to the letter. There is no excitement, but neither is there the least negligence, the least lethargy, the least giving way.

On the other hand the international solidarity of the workers has never been so triumphantly exhibited. Denmark, Norway, Germany are pouring money into Sweden in unprecedented amounts. Except England all the nations of the civilized world seem to be doing their utmost. This struggle is teaching the world's toilers to think and act together. These are proud days for "the masses." They sense their kinship with comrades over seas; they feel as never before the overmastering power that is in them.

GERMANY. Social Democrats Still Revolutionists. Again our capitalist papers have made the old discovery. The annual convention of the German Social Democracy met at Leipzig September 13-18. Within a day or two thereafter practically every American daily—the Daily Socialist and the New York Call excepted—displayed the news that our German comrades had at last consented to listen to reason. The Socialist party over there, where it is large enough to feel the weight of public responsibility, had become meek as a sucking dove. The lesson to unreasonable American socialists was obvious.

What is the truth of the matter? The very last thing done by the convention, and the thing best advertised abroad, was to accept unanimously a

resolution reaffirming the party's revolutionary principles. At an early session a resolution against any sort of compromise with the Liberals had been carried by a good majority. Later it was discovered that this resolution was so worded as to prevent the party from pursuing its ordinary course in the matter of the very complex election arrangements made necessary by German law. Therefore the resolution was reconsidered and voted down. During the last session Comrade Dittman introduced the resolution mentioned above. This resolution stated that so far as compromise with other parties is concerned the party reaffirms its adherence to the principle laid down last year at Dresden. At Dresden, it will be remembered, the following declaration was made: "The convention condemns most emphatically the revisionistic attempt to alter our hitherto victorious policy, a policy based upon the class-struggle; just as in the past we shall go on to achieve power by conquering our enemies, not by compromising with the existing order of things." The only opposition to the reaffirmation of this statement was on the ground of its superfluity. Why reaffirm, certain comrades asked, what we are all agreed upon and what everybody knows? But for the enlightenment of the capitalist press the resolution was unanimously accepted.

There is reason enough, from the capitalist point of view, for minimizing the German movement. Three by-elections held recently show that it has made most astounding gains. In the district of Landau-Neustadt, e. g., the socialist vote has more than doubled in two years; the socialist candidate received 6,340 votes in 1907 and 12,718 in 1909. In this case it was the Liberals who lost. At an election just held at Coblenz a similar gain was made at the expense of the Catholic party. The immediate cause for revolutionary flood tide is, of course, the government's new tax law. Pursuing their regular policy, building Dreadnoughts faster than England, the rulers of Germany have at last got to the end of their string; the people are up in rebellion.

But election returns are not the only signs which alarm the bourgeois authorities. The annual party report presented at Leipzig indicates a solid growth that should prove an inspiration to socialists of other lands. In spite of the prevailing unemployment the membership of the party grew during the past year from 587,336 to 633,309.

The number of women in the party more than doubled. The number of daily papers controlled by the party grew from seventy-one to seventy-four. The regular receipts for the year amounted to about \$300,000. No wonder the reactionists are concerned about the doings of so tremendous an organization.

Aside from its reaffirmation of revolutionary principles two features of the convention proceedings are of interest to the international movement. For months past German papers have been filled with discussion of the party's attitude toward the tax measure recently put through by the government. The official party program directs socialist legislators to oppose indirect, and support direct, tax measures. In principle, of course, this is correct; direct taxes are theoretically just, or at least may be. It will be remembered that a scheme of inheritance taxes formed part of the government measure. It reached its second reading, and received the undivided support of the socialist fraction that far. At the second reading it happened to be defeated. Some of the leaders of the fraction declared, however, that had it come up for its final reading they would have voted against it. This opened up the whole question of the party's attitude toward capitalist taxation. It was declared on all sides that the party program was inadequate. In the case under discussion, for example, adherence to it would lead to a preposterous result. The inheritance tax was introduced to make the proletariat swallow a long list of indirect taxes; the rich were to contribute to the government 100,000,000 marks and the poor 400,000,000. And at any rate the money was all to be expended by the capitalists for capitalist purposes. Could the socialists logically vote money into the hands of their enemies?

This problem was long and warmly discussed, but no conclusion was reached. The discussion of it continues in the papers and magazines. Very likely it will appear on the program of the international congress next year. It is one of the great issues which must be met in every land as soon as the socialist movement reaches maturity. Sooner or later the international movement must take a definite stand with regard to it.

Another matter was discussed with more definite results. Among the taxes forced into the government's recently adopted measure by the defeat of the

inheritance tax was one on whisky. It happens that the manufacturers of whisky are the very land-owners who objected to every form of tax which would affect the rich. As a means of striking at these wealthy parasites and at the same time defeating the purposes of the government, the socialists decided upon the use of an unusual weapon. After carefully canvassing all the possibilities they voted a national boycott on whisky. In a country where the indulgence in alcoholic liquors is so much a part of daily life as in Germany the effective enforcement of such a boycott would seem to demand the strongest organization and most extraordinary devotion to the cause. But so far the move seems to have been entirely successful. The organs of the land-owning capitalists are fairly beside themselves with rage. One would think, to read their editorials, that a large consumption of whisky were part of the duty of every patriotic German.

ENGLAND. The "Socialist Budget." Our English comrades face a problem exactly like the one which has aroused so much discussion in Germany. No end of nonsense has been written about the budget recently introduced by the English government. Lord Roseberry and the London Times pronounce it socialistic; Keir Hardie and other Labor Party men are supporting it; even our brilliant French leader, Jean Jaurés, has called it a great social measure, a sign of the rapid advancement of the English people and the discerning, modern spirit of English statesmen. All this has aroused the wrath of the Social Democratic Party spokesmen. In the columns of Justice they denounce the budget and all its sponsors.

As a revolutionary socialist I have little interest in the doings of capitalist parliaments, but the matter of the English budget has a significance which makes it worth discussing. What is the significance of the introduction of such a measure? How does it happen that our European comrades are so divided with regard to it?

So far as the sources of government income are concerned, the incidence of taxation, the new budget does appear revolutionary. It provides for a progressive tax on all incomes above £3,000 and, most surprising of all, a tax on the unearned increment of land values. Society in this case really proposes to



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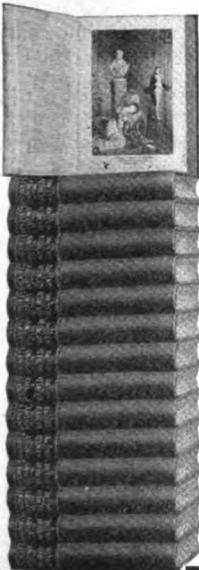
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step in and take a small part of the value which it alone creates.

It is easy to see how this may appear, even to some socialists, a step in the direction of justice. The English leaders, Premier Asquith, Loyd-George and others, profess an ardent hatred of the lords and an equally ardent love of the working class. Even as keen a Frenchman as Comrade Jaurés may easily be deceived by the pious professions of the Anglo-Saxon in politics. As to the Labor Party leaders, their case is different.

How did a Liberal government come to introduce such a budget? What is the meaning of it? The rulers of England, like those of Germany, have been for a long time on the verge of bankruptcy. This is not so much due to the pitiful old-age pension bill passed a year ago as to the constantly increasing demand for army and navy. It is absolutely necessary to increase the national income.

But this is not the whole story. When the present government went into power it was pledged to introduce reform measures. Months wore into years and nothing happened. The education bill was lost, and the old-age pension bill, when it was finally passed, was little better than a farce. The popularity of the government rapidly waned. Every by-election indicated that the Tories were gaining.

Something had to be done. The present budget was the thing. It would raise the necessary revenue and restore the party to its pristine popularity. The tide set in motion by years of socialist propaganda might be made to turn the Liberal mill.

The outcome shows that the government leaders have reckoned shrewdly. The proposal to tax the rich has won immediate support. If an election is forced in the near future the Liberals will be the gainers by it.

As I remarked above, even many of our comrades have been deceived by the talk about "fitting the burden to the back," etc. It sounds so "socialistic." But this measure, purely political in its origin and purpose, can lay no valid claim to socialist support. Suppose the rich are forced to turn over a little of their wealth; for what will it be expended? A small fraction, at most some £30,000,000, will go for old-age pensions. And the rest? For Dreadnoughts and rifles—which latter, in case of need, will be turned on the workers. Suppose the rich do pay; they will be purchasing what they themselves need and want. Is that "socialistic?"

In this case, as in so many others, not only the labor members of Parliament, but the chief part of the laboring class has been led astray. For in their recent convention at Ipswich they voted almost unanimously to support the new budget.

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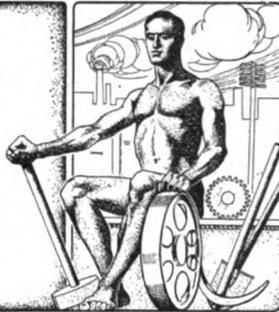
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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES



There is another great strike looming up on the industrial horizon. Officers of the miners are making ready for a possible national suspension in all the bituminous coal fields. The issue is being forced by the operators of central Pennsylvania. They have been holding secret meetings and discussed the matter of enforcing a reduction of wages when the present scale expires next April. The operators want a cut of at least 10 per cent, some demanding as high as a 25 per cent reduction. They claim they are unable to compete with non-union mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and that the union miners will have to come down to the level of the scabs or they must close their mines.

On the other hand the members of the United Mine Workers declare with emphasis that they will not only not accede to a reduction, but must have a raise in wages. They point out the fact that at the present scale and averaging but two or three days' work per week in many of the districts it is difficult to keep body and soul together. In many places the miners have been pressed to the border line of starvation and something must be done to make their conditions more bearable.

"These operators talk very glibly about enforcing a reduction in wages," said a national officer to me, in discussing the situation, "but as they are far removed from the pauper level and have no hungry stomachs to feed with the miserable pittance that the miners average the year around, they cannot or do not appreciate the conditions of our people. We will not stand to be driven back one farthing. Some other scheme besides a reduction in the wage scale will have to be found by the operators if they are dissatisfied with their profits. If our members were not called upon to pay dividends on stock watered to the limit by mine operators, railway barons and

hordes of middle men we would probably be living as comfortably and decently as many other people employed in less hazardous occupations. We furnish the fuel that keeps the world's industries in motion and mankind from freezing and starving, and yet we in turn for performing this useful service to society are compelled to continually battle for the meanest measure of subsistence.

"Talk about a robber system! When the cost of distributing coal is from 100 to 400 per cent greater than the cost of production what business has any one got to call this profit-mongering capitalistic system an ideal one? The trouble has been that our membership has tabooed the study of economics, placed blind faith in equally blind leaders while labor-saving machines, corporations and trusts have grown up all about us to intensify our struggle for existence. But, thank God! the miners are waking up and beginning to appreciate the problems that confront, and I make the prediction that they will be in the vanguard in the march of labor toward emancipation from capitalistic exploitation."

That the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers will form some sort of an alliance the coming year that will in all probability develop into a powerful industrial organization is almost a foregone conclusion. Whenever the proposition is discussed, especially among the rank and file, it is meeting with enthusiastic endorsement. As far as I am able to learn the officers, with possibly here and there an exception, are also warmly in favor of the proposed federation, which will virtually include all organized underground workers on this continent and probably result in bringing many thousands of non-union men into the fold.

John M. O'Neill, editor of the *Miners' Magazine*, official organ of the W. F.

of M., printed in Denver, has been making a speaking tour through the Middle West during the past month and his time has been largely spent in coal mining districts. Wherever he has gone he declares that the miners are of but one opinion, namely, that an industrial federation to comprise every worker in and about the mines should be arranged without delay.

"The industrial form of organization is now going to have its day," said O'Neill, in speaking of the matter to the writer. "This thing of one craft scabbing on another craft when in trouble in some industry is worse than lunacy; it is a crime against the working class as a whole. What the workers want and are going to have is organization by industry, in which labor's shibboleth of 'an injury to one is the concern of all' will not be mere lip service, but will be given practical demonstration. All the miner's should be under one head, all the iron and steel workers should be in one organization, the clothing workers the same, ditto the building crafts, the printers and all down the line, then have one grand federation constructed and conducted on democratic lines, and then labor will be feared and respected by the capitalists and their politicians, and not before."

To make preliminary arrangements to establish an alliance a delegation from the W. F. of M. will meet with the United Mine Workers' convention in Indianapolis next January. If a joint committee can agree upon plans the memberships will undoubtedly ratify them.

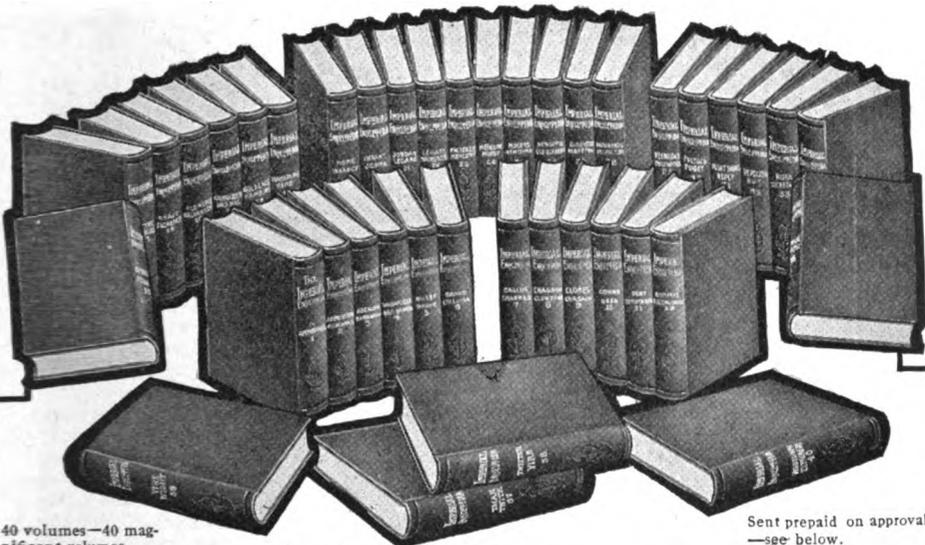
Excepting probably the United Hatters, no organization has been battered so hard as the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers. The United States Steel Corporation has been absolutely merciless in its efforts to smash that organization to pieces, and it is only too true that the trust has partially succeeded in its unholy campaign. It is safe to say that no class of organized workers has made a more heroic stand against such overwhelming odds as the little band of tinsplate men—almost the last remnant of the once powerful Amalgamated Association—who have been on the firing line for months pitting their empty stomachs against the billions of capital controlled by the trust.

If this contest, which has extended over a period of years, has served no other purpose, it has at least demon-

strated the fact that the days of old craft unionism are numbered and educated the iron and steel workers to a clear understanding of the advantages of complete industrial organization. A. A., informed me a few days ago that the one subject most generally discussed among the iron and steel workers is that of industrialism. Lewis was on the ground at McKees Rocks and watched the struggle at the Pressed Steel Car plant and he speaks in the highest admiration of the manner in which that memorable contest was conducted.

"The old policies of the American Federation of Labor, probably good in their day, have outlived their usefulness," said Lewis. "New conditions have arisen while we have been asleep, and the time has come to adopt new methods to meet the problems that are before us. It makes me heartsick when I think of the selfish manner in which some of our crafts have had only a single eye to the betterment of the conditions of the skilled men and utterly neglected the under dog. The result has been that we are being pulled down to the level of the worker who has been forgotten and neglected. Now we have got to begin at the bottom and build up and lift up. And I am glad of it. We are going to organize all workers in the iron and steel industry, from the cheapest unskilled laborer to the highest priced mechanic. Nor will we stop with mere industrial organization. Henceforth we intend to also lay stress upon the necessity of labor becoming united politically. In every civilized country under the sun labor has a voice in legislative bodies, except here in America, where we have been accustomed to indulge in big talk and that's about all to the great satisfaction of the plutocrats. Our men are beginning to learn that talk is cheap, but it takes money to support their families, and so the time is ripe for a forward movement. Our plans have not yet fully matured, but we will probably be prepared to introduce some innovations in the near future."

Vice-President Lewis is a brother of Tom Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, and next to President McArdle has been the most active official in the field in the struggle against the United States Steel Corporation. He never hesitates to pay the highest compliments to the Socialist organizers and speakers who have lent their assistance to the iron and steel workers throughout the strike.



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The United States Steel Corporation's agents are making the boast that they have not only defeated the tinplate strikers and are operating their mills satisfactorily in filling orders, but they are also claiming that they have come close to the record-breaking season in hauling down ore despite the strike of the seamen, engineers and other marine workers on the Great Lakes. They declare that the open shop has been firmly established so far as their ships are concerned, and that next year they will have little or no trouble in operating on a normal basis.

On the other hand, the union officials say that the cost to the trust in its shipping branch has been enormous and that the claims of tonnage carried are exaggerated. Moreover the marine men assert that they intend to prosecute a vigorous campaign of organization and education during the winter months, and that they will be in a position to make an aggressive fight upon the trust and its allies when navigation opens next spring and surprise the octopus with the virility of the organized forces.

Meanwhile the international union officers have sent an inquiry to the organizations in other countries with regard to holding a world's congress in Copenhagen, Denmark, next August, for the purpose of arranging plans to extend mutual assistance during such struggles as are now in progress in this country.

No definite steps have been taken to bring the seamen and longshoremen into an alliance, as has been frequently suggested. More's the pity, as those workers are closely related and ought to be united and in harmony. Owing to the industrial depression the longshoremen became badly crippled, but lately they have been gaining considerable strength.

The independent unions along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts have returned to the international organization and the outlook is favorable for the recovery of the ground lost along the Great Lakes.

About the time that this number of the Review is issued the American Federation of Labor will be in session in Toronto. The reader can watch the proceedings through the daily papers, but it is unlikely that much will be found therein to encourage those who hope for a radical departure from old lines. Of course, Sam Gompers will be there in all his glory to tell us about his European pilgrimage, but it would be too much to expect that he will recommend the adoption of the political methods that are practical across the pond—not even the British plan. Sam has reached that age where it becomes difficult for him to forget his own individuality long enough to absorb new ideas, and the best that he will offer will in all likelihood be the threadbare policy of punish our friends (especially the Socialists) and reward capitalistic politicians who promise to take an anti-injunction position and engage in every form of political jugglery known to those shrewd and wideawake wire-pullers. I hope I am mistaken—but no such luck.

The Industrial Workers of the World supplemented their victory at the Pressed Steel Car plant at McKees Rocks by winning a strike at a big box factory in the same place. Instead of one craft striking everybody walked out and the men returned in four days, having secured an increase of 51 cents a day in their wages. The I. W. W. is making many friends among the unorganized workers in the Pittsburg district.

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NEWS & VIEWS



PENNSYLVANIA UNDESIRABLES

LOCAL NEWCASTLE, PA., is alive 365 days in the year. They own, edit and print a red-hot local Socialist weekly. The Free Press, which is distributed to every home in town, on Sunday mornings.

This Local is composed of wage-working men and women who solve their own problems and keep busy doing things.

They backed up the McKees Rocks strikers with hard coin and, having helped win the fight with industrial union tactics, they will enlarge their field of action by starting a new weekly paper, named *Solidarity*, edited by Comrade A. M. Stirton, which will enthusiastically advocate revolutionary industrial unionism.

The first issue will appear Nov. 4th, price \$1.00 per year, and will receive the support of the revolutionary comrades everywhere. Six hundred Reviews were ordered from New Castle last month—more power to them. L. H. M.

DIAZ METHODS IN THE U. S.

John Murray, who wrote several articles for the Review on Mexico last spring, was arrested in San Antonio, Texas, by U. S. Marshal Lancaster (it is reported), under instruction of Chief Wilke of the Secret Service, during the Taft-Diaz love feast. The arrest was made secretly and Comrade Murray's friends did not know what had become of him. The local organization of the Socialist Party delegated a committee to go to police headquarters for information concerning Murray's disappearance. But they were able to learn nothing. Many of his friends feared he had been kidnapped. Some time later Murray was released by Commissioner Scott on the request of District Attorney Boynton, who denied all responsibility for the arrest. Comrade Murray was charged with violating the neutrality laws and was kept incommunicado in the county jail for two nights. He was also refused speech with a law-

yer. Guitierrez de Lara, a Mexican attorney and author and a national organizer for the Socialist Party, was arrested in Los Angeles by the immigration inspectors acting under orders from the Department of Commerce and Labor. De Lara became widely known as the man who accompanied Turner of the American Magazine into Mexico, where he obtained information for a series of articles on "slavery." The friends of de Lara declare an attempt is being made to railroad him into Mexico. Evidently the U. S. Government is determined, at any cost, to suppress the discussion of the butcheries and atrocities perpetrated in Mexico by the arch-fiend—Diaz.

MOTHER JONES was in to see us a few days ago. We asked if she had any message to send the readers of the Review and she replied:

"FIRST, last and ALWAYS, of, for and BY the wage-workers."

Paste this motto in your hat. There never was any other one-half so good as this. Mother Jones infused this office with enough courage and ginger to keep us going till the next time she comes to see us.

NEXT MONTH we hope to give our readers a chapter from the new book by May Beals-Hoffpauir, now in press, "Wampun Sal's Champion." We believe this book is going to be better than any of the other excellent works Comrade May has done. Advance orders for the book will be taken at 25 cents each; five copies to one address for \$1.00. Orders may be sent to May Beals-Hoffpauir, New Castle, Pa., care of Free Press. Profits on the book are to be used in propaganda work.

TO BE USED IN THE SCHOOLS. Comrade William McDevitt, Socialist candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, writes us that when he is elected he means to have the Review used in every school room. He made us feel very good when we received a post card from him which bore the words:

"The September International Socialist Review is a regular revolutionary sea-mark. It's the farthest North of socialist magazines. Will you ever equal it again?"

The November issue speaks for itself. We believe its reply is in the affirmative.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SAN FRANCISCO. Between the employing class and the working class there is nothing in common. One class owns the means of life and reaps the benefit of the toil of the other class. There can be no harmony on the political field as long as the struggle rages on the industrial field between the owners of wealth and the propertyless working class. The fact of the class struggle is the most important fact in society and all issues, industrial or political, are a manifestation of this tempestuously raging conflict. At this time in the city of San Francisco we are in the midst of a political campaign that has, as it must have, its base in the industrial life of the city. The capitalist parties, Republican, Union Labor and Democratic, have presented programs and given reasons outside of their programs why the political possession of the city should be turned over to the servile tools of the respective groups of capitalists that are behind each of the three aforementioned parties.

Workingmen, you have your own political party. It is a fearless party. It stands for the working class and the class struggle. It stands for fight both industrially and politically as long as capitalism lasts. Vote for Socialism. That is the only way to force concessions from the capitalist class. As long as the employers see you can be hoodwinked by fake labor parties it is little they care for you, but show them your awakening class consciousness and they will begin to take notice. Arise, ye slaves! Learn to know your own strength and to have faith in your own class!

SELIG SCHULBERG.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF. By the recently amended city charter of San Diego all political party action and party tickets are eliminated. There are two elections. In the first, a nominating election, candidates secure a place on the official ballot, by filing with the city clerk their several personal verified notices of candidacy, supported by a verified petition signed by at least fifty electors. The official ballot in the final election contains only the names of the two candidates of any given office, who received the highest vote at the preceding primary election, regardless of their party affiliations.

The labor organizations of San Diego have never engaged in politics, as in San Francisco. There has never been a

Labor Party here. They are as non-political as the fraternal societies.

The Socialists put up a full list of candidates in the primary election, all of whom were and for more than a year had been members in good standing. Through the influence of union men who were really Socialists or Socialistic, the Socialist candidates received a liberal support from the labor unions. This support came voluntarily without compromise, pledge or promise of any kind. This list failed to be nominated except one for the Board of Education.

In the final election the Socialist ticket being excluded from the ballot, the local voted to support its one candidate for the Board of Education and take no further part or action in the election.

F. B. MERIAM.

HISTORY OF A PROLETARIAN

FAMILY by Eugene Sue, translated by Daniel DeLeon, is one of the most valuable recent contributions to English socialist literature. Already twelve of the nineteen historic novels that comprise the original work of Sue have been translated and published in English by the New York Labor News Co., New York, N. Y. "Although Sue's 'Mysteries of the People; or History of a Proletarian Family,' is a work of fiction, yet it is the best universal history extant; better than any work avowedly on history. It graphically traces the special features of the several systems of class-rule as they have succeeded each other from epoch to epoch, together with the nature of the struggle between the contending class. The 'Law,' 'Order,' 'Patriotism,' 'Religion,' etc., etc., that each successive tyrant class, despite its change of form, hysterically sought refuge in to justify its * * * existence whenever threatened; the varying economic causes of the oppression of the toilers; the mistakes incurred by these in their struggles for redress; the varying fortunes of the conflict;—all these social dramas are therein reproduced in a majestic series of 'historic novels,' covering leading and successive episodes in the history of the race." The general unity of action displayed by the oppressor classes, despite their hostile politico-material interests and clashing creed tenets; the oneness of fundamental purpose that animated pulpit, professional chair, or public office in possession of a plundering class, are delineated as we find them in no so-called historical work.

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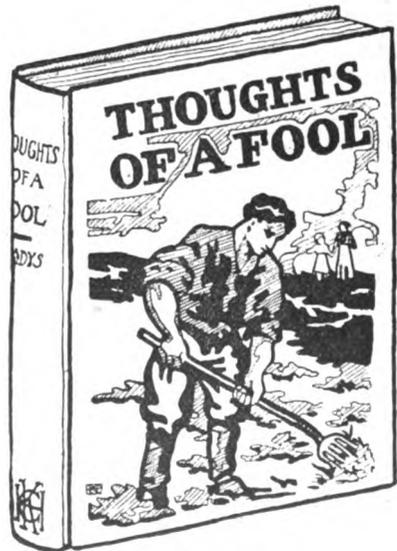
This work follows the struggles of the successively ruled and successively ruling classes from the Roman Invasion down through the ages to the French Revolution. Every socialist and student should read them.

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COLLEGE CRITICISM. The following letter was received in our office a few days ago. We print it only because it affords an excellent sample of the attitude of the college professor who knows nothing whatever about the proletarian revolutionary movement:

Editor The International Socialist Review:

About half a year ago there was published an attack on socialism which I deemed so unjust and unfair that I took occasion in a somewhat public way to express my emphatic dissent from the general positions maintained therein. I hold that it is wrong to brand a great movement with the immoralities of act or doctrine of a limited number of men who choose to adopt the name connected with that movement. Socialism is not an attack on the family, religion or morality, unless the bulk of the socialist group choose to make it so. It has been my pleasure to maintain, although I am not a socialist, that the principles of social solidarity, of devotion to human welfare and uplift, of democracy and brotherhood—that these altruistic principles almost entitle socialism to a place among the religions of the world, and are worthy of the heroism and self-sacrifice which have so justly hallowed the names of many of its advocates. Of course this attitude of mine has exposed me to some criticism, for there are intolerant non-socialists as well as intolerant people who claim (perhaps falsely) that they are socialists.

You will readily see that it is no easy matter to maintain perfect balance when intolerance breaks out on either side. I have tried to believe that, while much that is ignorant and much that is ignoble might appear in the news sheets of the socialist press, the *International Review* could be counted on to maintain higher standards and a fairer tone. Of course I realized that a general magazine can not be expected to subscribe to every position taken by the various contributing writers, but surely there are limits beyond which the responsible editors will not let a contributor go without at least making clear that they do not sanction such ideas as in any wise entitled to a place in the philosophy to which the publication is attached.

It is therefore as a critic who would be friendly that I presume to write this letter and to say that, in my opinion, you do human society and the cause of

socialism, particularly the latter, very grave harm, unless you publicly and expressly repudiate certain things in your October number.

In the article on "Victory at McKees Rocks," with every expression of approval, attention is called to the fact that the Unknown Committee "issued orders to the Cossacks in black and white, * * * stating that for every striker killed or injured a trooper would go and they meant what they said, as is proved by the death of Deputy Sheriff Harry Exley and two troopers who went down in a riot on August 22nd with several strike breakers and some of the strikers, also." This is the preaching and the practice of murder. It is no excuse to say that it is retaliation. The public very generally was very emphatic in its condemnation of the methods and tactics of the Pressed Steel Car Company. But murder is murder on whichever side of the fence it occurs, and a socialist regime attained by murder will prove a very hell on earth to discredit and ruin whatever of value there may be in the socialistic doctrine. It is no excuse and no credit to hide behind a quotation of the words, "Whatever line of conduct advances the interests of the working class is right." Socialism—the only socialism worthy of respect—is the endeavor to make the state an embodiment of love, not hatred. It holds with Lassalle that it is the unity of interest of all classes. Its criterion of righteousness is the welfare of all, certainly not the anarchist's idea that the judgment of the individual or the small group affords a sufficient sanction for action, and most emphatically not the terrorist's hallucination that the pursuit of private conceptions of justice will justify sneaking assassination and wholesale slaughter. Surely the *International Review* can not afford to fail to make clear the sharp distinctions between socialism, anarchism and terrorism.

Very truly yours,

F. A. MCKENZIE.

Ohio State University.

October 8, 1909.

My Dear Dr. McKenzie:

Replying to your letter, we still find nothing but the very highest praise for the strikers at McKees Rocks. You understand this battle was a fight for LIFE between the workingmen and their bosses—at least a fight for their lives by the workers. As in all war times, they could not argue ethics while the foe

employed guns. Words have never availed against swords—particularly when used in the service of the Steel Trust. Our comrades met their enemies with their own weapons. The battle was a short and fierce one. Two, or at most three, soldiers were killed—and as many strikers. But our comrades won the battle. Their numbers were many and when they made known the fact that they preferred to kill their enemies rather than to be themselves killed—when they demonstrated this fact—the soldiers no longer flourished the sword and peace came to McKees Rocks.

We see the big capitalists employing any and all methods against the almost starving workers and we wonder a great deal when any one criticizes the workers. This is a great battle. It is growing into a great war. We hope earnestly that the struggle may be a peaceful one, but we know absolutely that the workers will and **MUST** meet the attacks of the enemy with their **OWN WEAPONS**.

With best wishes, we are,

Fraternally yours,

M. E. M.

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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FREE SPEECH FIGHT. Missoula, Mont., Oct. 3.—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, was arrested here tonight for persistently attempting to hold an advertised open-air meeting in the business section.

The plan of action outlined by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was to select leaders of small squads and distribute them about town, giving each a chance to

gather a crowd before the police might become cognizant of the movements of the I. W. W.

At the police station Mrs. Flynn said the I. W. W. could not be suppressed and that the work would be carried on as outlined if 10 men are jailed every day.

Oct. 6.—Attempts on the part of the police to quell the incendiary speeches of the members of the I. W. W. on the

public streets have thus far proven utterly unavailing and the situation becomes daily more tense, with the authorities seemingly unable to cope successfully with the conditions.

Tonight the police were kept busy for two hours arresting and escorting I. W. W. orators to jail and when the 35th man had been taken in charge the multitude surrounded the authorities and jostled them all the way to the jail.

Mrs. Charles Fernette, a Spokane woman member of the I. W. W. and a member of the advisory board, was arrested last night and while being escorted to the station the multitude which followed, threw stones at the police, severely injuring Officer Hoel about the body.

Oct. 8th—From Spokane.—The Industrial Workers of the World, who went from this city to Missoula to assist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in the street speaking contest, are returning in large numbers. A large delegation arrived early this morning via the "limited."

The men report that they have won a complete victory at Missoula, and that they now have the privilege of the streets. J. P. Thompson, who has been serving as a local organizer for some time, returned from Missoula yesterday.

C. L. Filingo, the secretary of the local I. W. W. organization, stated yesterday that the membership of the new union at Missoula had been increasing rapidly during the street speaking controversy.

"Sixteen new members joined on Saturday night and eight on the next day," said Mr. Filingo. "The membership there has been increasing rapidly."

At the trial the cases were all dismissed.

FROM JUSTICE. The following extract is from a very able article written by Comrade Charles Terry, which appeared in a recent issue of Justice:

"The materialistic conception of history is an attempt to explain the actions or movements of large masses of people or the evolution of societies on a more satisfactory basis than is offered by the ideological systems of great men. It holds that the changes in our social relations are the results of our changing methods of production and are not imposed upon society as the outcome of the idea of some great man; that Socialism is not only desirable but economically necessary. It does not say that every action of every man is determined by his economic condition. The Socialist philosophy calls upon the most necessary

and politically most powerful class to recognize its mission in the evolution of the human race, to become conscious of its power, and instead of leaving events to happen by chance to take a co-operative and controlling part in the development of social evolution. In this way to rise out of animalism into truly human relations, consciously becoming co-partner with the forces of nature."

THE TWO BULLS. Once there was a bull who broke into a china shop. He raised future punishment generally and impressed the tyrant man with the fact that the spirit of rebellion had by no means died out in the bovine race. The next place where that bull figured was in the slaughter-house. Him, his fellows called an Impossibilist and his fate was often cited as an example to young radicals against taking measures that were too revolutionary.

His brother was an Opportunist. Because he lacked the spirit of rebellion they dehorned him and made an ox of him and compelled him to drag the plow. Year after year he toiled, always expecting better things to come about some time and in some way. How, or by what means, he knew not, and he was too scientific to predict. After he had borne the yoke in summer's heat and in winter's cold, and was bleary-eyed, and wind broken, and knock-kneed, and bog-spavined, he went to the slaughter-house, too.—A. M. Stirton, Editor of Solidarity.

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Our publishing house has now reached a point where it pays expenses out of current receipts. We are **not** obliged to appeal to wage-workers for **gifts**. Nearly enough capital has been subscribed in sums of \$10 each to pay off all to whom we owed money except our own stockholders.

Two thousand shares of stock are still for sale at ten dollars each. No dividends are paid, but each stockholder is entitled to buy any of the books published by us at **forty per cent discount** from retail prices; in other words, a stockholder buys our dollar books at 60c postpaid, and other books in proportion.

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We are preparing for the winter season with the largest stock of Socialist books in the English language ever offered by any one house. A revised catalog will soon be ready and we will mail it free on request. Here we shall have room to mention only the new books and the new editions.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Cloth, illustrated, three volumes, \$1.50 each.

Volume I, dealing with the Colonial period and the Great Land Fortunes, is now electrotyped, and we expect to have the printing and binding completed by November 15. The author, however, desires to arrange for simultaneous publication in England in order to preserve his foreign copyrights, and we shall, therefore, be unable to fill orders until about December 1st. We will, therefore, extend until that time the special advance price of \$3.50 for the three volumes to be mailed on publication. We now expect to have Volume II ready about January 15 and Volume III about March 15.

Industrial Problems. By N. A. Richardson. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 25c. Now ready.

We do not hesitate to recommend this book as the best popular argument for socialism in the form of a systematic treatise that has yet been written. It has the great merit of keeping clearly before the reader the futility of all middle-class reforms and the necessity for revolution.

The Marx He Knew. By John Spargo. Half cloth, illustrated, 50c. Now ready.

A brief life-sketch of Marx in the form of a dialogue between the Old Comrade who had known him from boyhood and the Young Comrade, full of boyish enthusiasm. Contains excellent portraits of Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Marx's wife, together with photographs of Marx's birth-place and grave. Altogether a charming gift-book.

The Poverty of Philosophy. By Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quelch. Cloth, \$1.00. Ready December 1.

This is the most important of Marx's works that has not already been published in the United States. While it was written as a reply to Proudhon's voluminous work, "The Philosophy of Poverty," one need not toil

through the Proudhon volume to enjoy and profit by Marx's book, for Proudhon's dreams of a heaven on earth to be established through the voluntary co-operation of small producers are dreamed over again even now by American reformers. This book may help make some of the more intelligent of them into revolutionists.

Socialism for Students. By Joseph E. Cohen. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready December 1.

This handy little volume will contain, with some revision, the lessons which appeared in the Review from November to July, inclusive. The list of books recommended for reference and study are consolidated into one list, topically arranged, at the end of the volume.

The Evolution of Property. By Paul Lafargue. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready December 1.

We have for years had a steady sale for the imported edition of this valuable work at \$1.00, and have concluded that it should be brought within the reach of proletarian readers. The new edition will be in uniform style with the author's "Social and Philosophical Studies" and "The Right to Be Lazy," and it should quickly find a place in every socialist library.

The Ancient Lowly. A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. Cloth, 2 volumes, \$4.00. New edition just ready.

This is a work of immense historical value, giving practically all the facts concerning the working class in ancient times that have been preserved in any form. Our new edition in handsomely bound in cloth, with gold stamping, uniform with Marx's Capital.

The Rise of the American Proletarian. By Austin Lewis. Cloth, \$1.00. Second edition just ready.

This able work by a California socialist is criticized by Professor Roberto Michels in a recent German review. He says: "The synthetic side of the problem is presented in a clever and interesting fashion. The fundamental thesis of the work is to the effect that in the United States, as elsewhere, there is a strong development towards a change in economic form in the socialist sense. * * * It is hard to discover whence the writer gets his optimism."

Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. By Karl Marx. Complete in three volumes, each sold separately at \$2.00.

A new edition of Volume I, making 8,000 copies that we have printed in addition to many that we had previously imported, is just ready. Capital is beyond all comparison the greatest of socialist books, and it should be in the library of every socialist local and of every individual socialist that can possibly afford it. The three volumes contain over 2,500 large pages, and a capitalist house would charge at least \$15.00 for a scientific work of this size. We will send the complete set, by express prepaid, as a premium to any one sending six dollars for the Review six years to one address, or for a bundle of six copies one year to one address, or for six copies one year to six NEW names. Extra postage to Canada on this offer \$1.20; to other countries, \$2.16.

Our Record for September

The **Review** and the book publishing house are alike the property of over 2,100 socialists who have subscribed each \$10.00 or more, in most cases just \$10.00, for the purpose of circulating the literature of revolutionary socialism. We publish each month an accurate statement of receipts and expenditures, that each stockholder may see for what purpose his money is being used. The figures for September are as follows:

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Cash balance September 1	\$ 474.27	Manufacture of books	\$ 582.15
Book sales	1,869.62	Books purchased	152.94
Review subscriptions and sales	893.88	Printing September Review	509.22
Review advertising	68.28	Review articles, drawings, etc.	124.50
Sales of stock	172.83	Wages of office clerks	348.85
Donations—Mrs. H. L. Luscomb	4.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary	100.00
O. E. Samuelson	5.00	Mary E. Marcy, on salary	60.00
H. R. Kearns	2.00	Postage and expressage	457.12
Loans from stockholders	325.00	Interest	29.50
Loan from Henry Murray	250.00	Rent	70.00
Mrs. H. P. Luscomb, for McKees		Miscellaneous expenses	74.36
Rocks strikers	10.00	Advertising	564.40
M. P. Guard, do	1.00	Royalties	25.00
J. L. Donithorne, for Swedish		Loans repaid	502.11
strikers	7.50	Strikers' relief, Pennsylvania	11.00
		Landssekretariatet, Sweden	7.50
		Cash balance, September 30	464.73
Total	\$4,083.38	Total	\$4,083.38

It will be observed that the cash receipts of the **Review** for September, 1909, were \$962.16, as compared with \$233.49 for the month of September, 1908. The secret of the difference is in the fact that we are just learning how to make the sort of magazine that the revolutionary wage workers of the United States want to read. It used to be hard to get subscriptions, now it is easy. The **Review** is WORTH a dollar a year, and we offer no premiums on renewals, nor to a new subscriber sending in his OWN subscription alone. But,

To any one who is already a subscriber, and sends us one or more NEW yearly subscriptions at \$1.00 each, we will send by mail or express prepaid any book or books published by us to the amount of \$1.00 for each subscription. The books sent on this offer are to be figured at RETAIL prices, no matter whether ordered by a stockholder or not. Foreign postage on subscriptions outside the United States is 20c a year to Canada and 36c to other countries.

To any one not a subscriber who will send us his own yearly subscription and at least one other NEW subscription at the same time, we will send books to the amount of \$1.00 for each subscription, including his own.

Please note that hereafter if you want to get the **Review** regularly, it will be necessary either to subscribe by the year, or have a newsdealer order it for you in advance of publication. For the past year, in order to introduce the **Review**, we have at a heavy loss been supplying it to dealers through the news companies with the privilege of returning unsold copies. We shall cut off the return privilege beginning with the January number, and shall use the money thus saved to improve the **Review**. We have no dividends to pay, no fancy salaries, low rent and very little interest. If you are with us, send in more subscriptions, buy more books, deposit with us what money you can spare for the next few months, and watch us grow. Every dollar will be used in a way to bring the biggest possible returns in the way of improving the **Review**, increasing its circulation, and printing and distributing the books most needed by the revolutionary movement. Write us today; now is the time that your help will count doubly.



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Before written history began, society was already divided into exploiting and exploited classes, master and slave, lord and subject, ruler and ruled. And from the first the ruling class has written the histories, written them in accordance with its own interests and from its own point of view.

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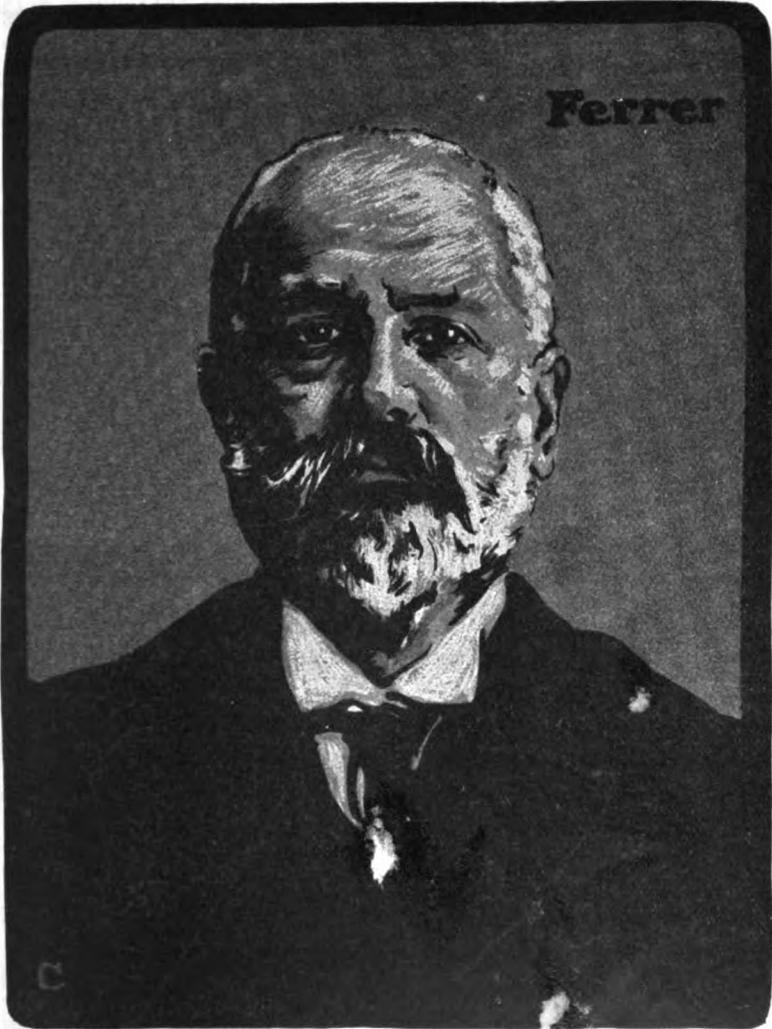
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The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.—Communist Manifesto.

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