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The Bethlehem Strike.

BY ROBERT J. WHEELER.



A STRIKERS' MEETING IN THE MUNICIPAL HALL.



TWO months have passed and the strike continues. Part of the men are still holding out, hoping for a favorable settlement. But starvation is slowly forcing them back to work.

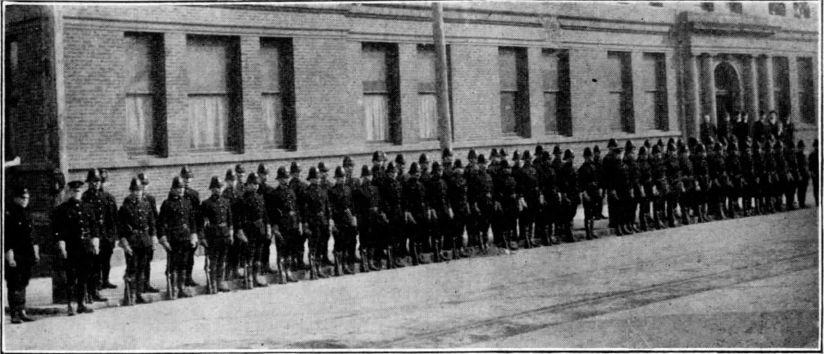
What a bitter mockery is all talk about freedom and opportunity in this land. Here are the workers, the wealth producers, forced to strike and pit their feeble power to endure starvation against the patience of the capitalist. And if they win the right to evenings at home with their family; Sunday a day of rest; increase of wages sufficient to meet the high price of food; protection against injury and death in the mills; relief from compulsory dues-paying to the church; what great gain have they? All these things were the birthright of the chattel slave.

It has been a heroic struggle. These workers have given an exhibition of solidarity that will not be forgotten, nor will its influence be lost in the Lehigh valley. For more than ten weeks they have maintained the fight. Without financial support, they can hold out no longer. Unless something turns up to aid them within a week, the strike is over.

When a large body of men, actuated by a single purpose, moves toward the accomplishment of a certain end, whether they succeed or fail in their effort, there are valuable lessons to be drawn. But first it were well to relate some of the incidents which have happened since last month. It will serve well to illustrate the process by which capitalism easily defeats the best efforts of an obsolete labor organization.

Early in the fight Schwab saw that the workers were in a strong position as long as they could hold mass meetings in the Municipal Hall. This hall was only one block from the steel plant. Chairman Williams, with characteristic shrewdness, obtained a lease on the hall from the city council. The room had a capacity of over 3,000. The accompanying picture shows the hall crowded to its capacity, during the inspiring address of Comrade Gertrude Hunt. Schwab planned to oust the men from the hall. Said the Cossack captain to Organizer Lehner: "We would have broken the strike long ago if it were not for your damn meetings." Pressure was put upon the business men who sat in the city council. They were ordered by Schwab to revoke the lease. Frightened business men are abject in their desire to obey when threatened with harm by a big capitalist. Then too, they knew that the men were without money. So finally, they, craven like, eager to placate Schwab, voted 9 to 6 to drive the men out of the hall.

Meanwhile, Chairman Williams and Organizer Tazelaar planned a government investigation. Ugly stories were being told by the men about defective work being doctored up at night when government inspectors were not present. The charges were presented to the Department of Commerce and Labor by Congressman Palmer. The Department sent agents Stewart and Sullivan to Bethlehem. Directed by Chairman Williams, who had been a foreman, they made a thorough investigation and returned to Washington. Then circulars were printed by the strikers and mailed to every member of both houses of Congress. Contained in the circular was a detailed statement of conditions and charges against the Steel Co. Congress was urged to withhold contracts from the Bethlehem Co. until the strike was settled.



A SQUAD OF SCHWAB'S SERVANTS.

Schwab then ordered the business men to send a delegation to Washington to see President Taft and urge him to intervene in behalf of the Bethlehem Co. President Taft's reply to the delegation contains his most brutal utterance against the working-class and shows him up as a typical capitalistic ruler. Said he: "If the Bethlehem work is up to contract, then the contracts ought to go to the Bethlehem Co., regardless of controversies that Bethlehem may have with third persons." It makes no difference to Bro. Taft of the Steam shoveler's Union, that men are working at Bethlehem on government work from 12 to 18 hours daily, for wages so small that many are forced to send their wives to work in cigar factories to help feed the children. The government knows no third persons, nor is it concerned about labor conditions.

Chairman Williams and Jake Tazelaar, with Councilman John Loughrey, called on President Taft the next day and presented the case for the strikers. President Taft promised to read the report of the committee from the Department of Commerce and Labor and the charges of the strikers and have it published. Meanwhile Congressman Rainey of Illinois is urging a congressional investigation. Penrose, Oliver and the politicians in general are trying to effect a settlement for political reasons.

Schwab has succeeded in turning all the business interests against the strikers. The newspapers, one by one, as they felt the power of the Steel Co. directed against them, turned against the men. A certain Allentown paper began in sympathy with the men to print their side of the strike. The principal stockholder of this paper had a brother-in-law engaged in the silk dyeing business. Schwab induced the silk manufacturers to threaten withdrawal of business from the brother-in-law of the stockholder of the newspaper, unless

the newspaper turned against the strikers. The newspaper turned. The Allentown Democrat defended the men from the first. The support of this paper was no small factor in the early days of the strike. All Schwab's efforts to muzzle the Democrat failed until finally, the owner was threatened with the loss of his license. He is a brewer. This would ruin his business. Needless to state, he sold the paper. Thus does capitalism destroy the freedom of the press.

The church has a great influence over the workers in this valley. With the exception of two Catholic congregations, the institution stands squarely with Schwab. How true it is the church never changes. Guizot says, in his *History of Civilization*: "Whenever the church had to choose between the cause of liberty on the one hand and despotism on the other, it invariably choose the side of despotism." So here in Bethlehem it stands with the rich oppressor and against the men who are fighting for a little more life and liberty. One pastor, who has collected dues through the office since the strike of 1883, and who is a wealthy stockholder in the company, attended a banquet in the office of the company last week. This modern Judas said: "Years ago these men were obedient and satisfied. They loved their employers and obeyed their pastor. But now these agitators have gotten in among them and sowed the seeds of discontent. Where it will lead to, no one can tell."

So now the strikers, shut out of every hall in the town, are meeting out of doors. No news of their struggle is permitted to reach the outside world. They are harrassed by business men daily and worried by the retainers of Schwab in the churches on Sunday. Their money is gone, their credit exhausted; their fighting spirit subdued by starvation. Still a large number is holding out and hoping that the



THE MASS ON PICKET DUTY.

government, the capitalist's government, will aid them to make a settlement that will give them more human conditions.

The A. F. of L. has had every chance to win this strike. Pres. Gompers sent the most able organizer he had to manage it. Jake Tazelaar is a strong, resourceful fighter. He has let no chance pass to strengthen the position of the men. The men themselves have done everything possible. They joined the unions and faithfully obeyed the leaders. They were told that when they had done this, the A. F. of L. would support them until the strike was won. They did their part, but now they are losing the battle because the A. F. of L. has failed to support them with money. If the A. F. of L. cannot win a strike which began as a revolt of unorganized men, under what conditions can it win? If one of the minor steel companies can defeat the best fighters in the organization, what can the A. F. of L. do against the steel trust? Though Pres. Gompers and his Executive Council may close their eyes to facts and refuse to recognize that the tactics of the A. F. of L. have been out of date since the employers began to combine, yet those of the rank and file who are going through these conflicts, now realize that we must change our methods.

It is useless to leave the job and starve while waiting for the capitalist to give in.

It is a vain hope to expect financial support from the working-class, sufficient to enable a large body of strikers to win against capitalism. The workers cannot stand the demands of the multiplying strikes and meet the increased cost of living.

The A. F. of L. cannot command enough money to support the strikes now on. With its present tactics it cannot win a great strike. As strikes multiply, its troubles increase and its power declines. Out of their necessity the workers will evolve an organization to meet their needs.

The workers may lose this strike, but the loss is but a temporary defeat. At the most, this fight was but a skirmish. It will break out again and find the workers better prepared. They have learned solidarity, they have gotten out from under the blighting and enslaving influence of the church. Their fighting spirit is aroused. They are learning by experience that the A. F. of L. is a dying institution. They look for something to help them in the future.

These then are some lessons learned in the Bethlehem strike.



Prussia in Revolt.

Being Chapter I in the History of a Political Revolution.

BY DR. ANTON PANNEKOEK.



TEN COSSACKS ARRESTING ONE "RIOTER".

From the Literary Digest.



THE political struggle now going on in Germany is the heart of the whole European situation. Since the Revolution tumbled Russia from her predominance, Germany is not only the strongest military power on the continent but the greatest force in the European reaction. And it is in Germany, likewise, that the socialist-labor movement is strongest. Here the forces of revolution and reaction stand facing each other armed to the teeth; here will take place the first fateful battles of the revolution.

I. Landed Nobility and Bourgeoisie.

What distinguishes Germany from America and Western Europe is control by titled land-holders, the lack of civil liberty and free institutions, and the cowardliness of the middle class. The bourgeoisie endures without protest the humiliating tyranny of the police. It goes without saying that one moment of determination on the part of this class would smash the whole regime of police and land-holders. But this is the last thing it desires. Police and land-holders are a

barrier against the rising tide of the proletariat. In form the landholders enjoy unrestricted mastery over Prussia, and through Prussia over Germany. They occupy all the important positions in the government, the army and the courts. In form they constitute the ruling class. But in fact they are in the service of the bourgeoisie. They are like mercenary soldiers kept in pay to fight a foreign foe. The foe, of course, is the working-class.

The present German Empire was founded at the command of rising industry. Before 1871 some three dozen paltry states, each with its own laws, taxes and trade regulations, rendered capitalist expansion increasingly difficult. Capitalism demanded a new state, and a new state sprang into being. The Prussian landholders, despite their business thrift, had only with difficulty been able to maintain themselves. Now they had such an opportunity as has been offered to few other holders of hereditary privilege. With infinite skill they managed to keep the government in their hands and so make themselves necessary to the rising bourgeoisie. All that was necessary was to serve the purposes of the rising class as well as any government could. This it has done consistently and energetically: it has persecuted the socialists and done its best to prevent the organization of labor.

II. Economic and Political Development.

The founding of the German Empire in 1871 determined the further development of the nation. It was a strange creation, this empire; constitutionally nothing but a pitiful patchwork. The tiny states did not disappear; they remained, each with its own sovereign and its own laws. But over them was the empire. This was not arranged without design. By means of this device it was possible to serve the purposes of capitalism and still keep many important phases of political and social life in a medieval state of backwardness. The functions of government were divided: schools, police, local administration, etc., went on in the old way under the separate little states. But whatever had to be modernized for the sake of capitalist development was turned over to the empire. This included foreign relations, army, navy, tariff regulations, post-office, transportation and coinage of money. Naturally the constitution of the empire was drawn up on modern lines. As parliament it was given a legislative body, elected by universal male suffrage. No doubt, Bismarck, in granting this suffrage right, had in mind the possibility of playing off the mass of the people against the bourgeoisie.

But whatever may have been the motive for granting it, the

imperial suffrage has been of immense value. In a capitalist state universal suffrage gives the only chance of securing representation for conflicting class interests. Every class, every group, can lawfully enter parliament and bring pressure to bear in proportion to its influence with the masses of the people. Thus discontent finds a voice: every change in the structure of society is immediately recorded in the law-giving body. And since the proletariat is now the rising class, it is not strange that universal male suffrage has been more useful to it than to any other class.

To the proletariat the imperial suffrage has been a mighty weapon in its battle for emancipation. It has given them the consciousness of power and inspired them to organization. Parliamentary power was the more necessary in Germany because the German bourgeois class has bequeathed to the rising proletariat no tradition of revolutionary courage. Here the working-class must needs begin modestly, feel its way, and gradually gather courage for the conflict. At times, under the Anti-Socialist law, the ballot was the only proletarian weapon, and with it the law was finally defeated and Bismarck, its author, brought to his fall. With these events began a new chapter in German history. Externally, Germany turns more and more to world politics and the development of its colonies; internally, the law-making power must continually give way before the growing power of the Social Democracy, while the bourgeois parties combine more and more closely in a reactionary coalition. Both of these facts result from the tremendous development of great industry within the boundaries of the German empire.

From 1882 to 1907 the agrarian population of Germany sank from 42.5% to 28.6%. During that period the number engaged in commerce and industry increased from 45.5% to 56.2%. The number of persons employed by small industrial concerns actually decreased between 1882 and 1907, while the number of those in the employ of large concerns leaped from 1,554,131 to 4,937,927.

A steady growth of the Social Democracy has been the result of this tremendous economic development. Beginning at a couple of hundred thousand, the socialist vote increased in 1890 to more than a million, in 1903 to more than three millions, and in 1907, under unfavorable conditions, to three and a quarter millions. This means that one third of the ballots cast are for socialism.

Another result of this economic development has been the unparalleled growth of the German labor unions. After the political struggle had destroyed the Anti-Socialist law, labor was at liberty to organize openly. At first the crisis of the early 90's prevented rapid

development and, moreover, there was a sharp internal division in regard to the form of organization. But since 1895, when industrial conditions became favorable, the growth of the movement has been tremendous. From 1891 to 1907 the number organized in the free unions (*Gewerkschaften*) increased from 277,659 to 1,865,506, and the total income grew from less than \$300,000 to \$13,000,000.

In part this development has been the result of favorable industrial conditions, but in part, also, of energetic struggles and excellent internal organization. Although formally independent of the Social-Democratic party, the unions are filled with the socialist fighting spirit. This is shown by the fact that of the \$36,000,000 expended during the past eighteen years \$16,000,000 went to the support of strikes. Forced on by industrial development the craft organizations of the early days have more and more joined themselves into great industrial unions. Thus the metal workers, the brewery workers, the wood-workers and the building trades are now industrially organized. It may be said with truth that the craft spirit has entirely died out of them. Through unceasing struggle they have noticeably improved the condition of the workers; they have become a power with which the capitalists must reckon. In fact they have often dictated the terms of labor contracts. The capitalists, of course, have met the organizations of labor with larger and larger employers' associations. Every strike is answered with a greater lock-out. So the conflict has become constantly more bitter.

Naturally there were not lacking in the German union movement, the bourgeois and conservative tendencies which still control the old-fashioned English and American trade unions. The concessions forced from the capitalists gave rise to the notion that there would be no limit to conquests of this sort. Hence it was thought that the union movement alone was sufficient to make the position of the worker tolerable even under capitalism. From this sprang naturally the opinion that the unions would be able gradually to wrest from the capitalists their control within the factory and so usher in an industrial democracy without a political revolution. The most distinguished leaders of the German labor movement became revisionistic. When the Marxian theorists pointed out the limitations of the union movement, they were attacked as the enemies of unionism. In addition to all this it came about that in the 90's most of the groups in the Social Democracy underestimated the importance of the union movement. Only a few Marxians, like Kautsky, opposed this tendency. All this united to bring about a misunderstanding between the socialist and labor movements. This misunderstanding reached its most open ex-

pression when, in 1905, the congresses of the two movements adopted contradictory resolutions on the subject of the general strike. An echo of it can be found in the defense of Samuel Gompers by various union leaders on the occasion of his recent visit to Europe.

But this Revisionist tendency was too strikingly at variance with the facts of German industrial life to endure long. The government persecuted the labor unions as vigorously as it did the political party. For the great trust magnates of the metal and coal industries further development of the unions meant defeat, revolution. By means of the black-list they drove the most active unionists from town to town; by the importation of hordes of Poles they sought to force down wages; and lately they have invented a compulsory system of labor exchanges which robs the laborer of all freedom of movement. The master-builders have the impudence to demand recognition of their labor exchange in the wages contracts. These contracts, which were formerly regarded as a means of maintaining the peace, are more and more a bone of contention. The courts are, of course, on the side of capital. The rates fixed by the contracts are now regarded merely as maximum rates, while if the men fail to live up to their part of the agreement, the employer has the privilege of raiding the union treasury.

In addition, the law-making power is brought directly into play against the working-class. The "finance reform" of last summer laid one and a quarter millions of dollars of taxation on the shoulders of the masses and let the rich go free. These taxes and the rise of prices in the world market have reduced to nothing the advantage won by the unions in the matter of wage-scales. The new police code contains provisions which will render the upward struggle of labor infinitely more difficult. The new insurance law is designed to take from the workers the administration of their own funds for sick benefits. Political reaction is gathering force: it threatens the worker at every point. Everywhere it creates increasing bitterness. Gradually the old, peaceful Revisionist spirit is disappearing from the unions, and the bond which unites them with Social Democracy gains strength with each new development. And it is constantly becoming clearer what a tremendous power these labor organizations wield in the struggle for the political state now entered on by the German working-class.

III. The Struggle for Suffrage Reform.

The Russian revolution created the conditions for a revolutionary movement in Germany. So long as the Czar stood on the eastern

frontier as a mighty power, he was ready at any moment to help suppress a revolution in Germany, as his predecessor suppressed one in Hungary in 1844. But the Japanese war and the revolution destroyed the military power of Russia. The Russian proletariat, moreover, has taught the German people the use of a new weapon, the general strike. The awakening of various Asiatic peoples and especially the revolutions in Turkey and Persia have upset international relations and roused the international proletariat. All the external conditions call to a revolution.

And within the structure of German society the economic foundations of a revolutionary movement have long been preparing. Germany is now an entirely different land from what it was thirty years ago. The gulf between political forms and the economic structure has slowly but surely grown wider. The resulting social strain has been given a revolutionary turn by various occurrences of the last few years. A conflict for a division of political power representing the actual strength of the different classes has become inevitable. And the first object to form the center of this struggle turns out to be the Prussian electoral system.

The analysis of German political development, given above, makes it clear that this electoral system should form the object of the first revolutionary efforts of the German proletariat. Universal suffrage for Prussia was the demand with which German socialism began. That was under the leadership of Lassalle in 1863. When universal male suffrage was granted to the empire, the proletariat neglected the Prussian Landtag for a while; it had another field in which it could develop unhindered. But now that it has developed into a great power, it returns to its former demand. For, in proportion as it gains influence in the empire, it feels itself more and more restricted and hindered by a legislature in which it has no representation. The decisions of the Reichstag can be made of no effect by the Bundesrat. And the Bundesrat is controlled by the Prussian government. The Prussian is, in reality, the only German government. When the working-class makes a demand in the Reichstag, the ministers refer it to the individual states. That means Prussia. For example, after the great disaster in Raddob mine, the miners demanded an imperial law for their protection. The matter was left to Prussia and it is easy to guess what sort of a law was devised by a Landtag, elected under the three-class system. Instead of a protection for miners, it was made a protection for mine-owners.

Under these conditions the labor movement encounters at every point the administrations of the separate states. Instead of being

checked by an imperial anti-socialist law, it is constantly embarrassed by police regulations. And the police is not German, but Prussian or Saxon. The education of the working-class is opposed with all the apparatus of the school laws. As the motive power of a great educational movement which seeks to lead the enslaved masses on to civilization, to art, to science, to unhampered development, the labor movement feels that the heavy hand of the most shameful of reactions has become un-endurable. So all the hate, all the scorn of the working-class is poured out on the Prussian system of government. They feel that it is a disgrace to an enlightened, progressive people. And political insight is teaching the workers that the Prussian parliament is the wall that stands across the path of every advance. Every energy must be called into play to secure universal suffrage for the elections to this body.

The Prussian three-class electoral system was foisted upon the country in 1850. Its chief provisions are as follows: in each electoral district the voters are divided into three classes according to the amount of their taxes; the first class is made up of the wealthiest, enough of them to pay the first third of the taxes (sometimes one or two millionaires will suffice); the second is made up of the moderately wealthy, who pay the second third of the taxes; and the third is made up of all the other adult males, who together pay the last third. Each class chooses an elector, and the three electors from each district choose the representative of that district. Under these conditions the mass of the people, who, of course, are crowded together in the third class, can always be voted down by a comparatively small number voting in the other two classes. Moreover, the elections are held publicly and each elector indicates his choice by word of mouth. This makes the support of a socialist dangerous to anyone economically dependent. On this account the Social-Democracy refused for a long time to participate in the Prussian elections. Not until the movement became strong enough so that great numbers of working-men could publicly vote for socialists without fear of being disciplined did it ask for recognition at the Prussian polls. It is true that in the last election the Social-Democrats captured a number of seats. But this happened because of a curious feature of this electoral system. The electoral districts are small; and a comical result of this fact is that, while a minister of state living in a wealthy district may be forced to vote in the third class of his district, his coachman may have the privilege of voting in the second class of his. Naturally in some poor sections the better situated proletarians and small business men make up the second class. And it is because of this circumstance that seven Social-Democrats could be elected to the Landtag.

In 1907 the Social-Democrats decided in their annual congress to make an energetic campaign for universal suffrage. On Jan. 12, 1908, mass-meetings and street demonstrations in the interest of suffrage reform took place in all the larger cities. The working-class swarmed out in great numbers. In spite of the fact that the Police Commissioner of Berlin had forbidden street demonstrations, it was with the greatest difficulty that he kept the demonstrators from the immediate neighborhood of the royal palace. "The Conquest of the Streets" was the headline which appeared the following day in *Vorwaerts*. In truth the police had found themselves entirely unable to cow into submission the army of working-men and women. From that moment a new sense of power inspired the masses; they had found a new right, a new weapon. And when, some months later, this new spirit of the masses forced a small group of Social-Democrats into the Landtag, the Prussian government finally announced that it would modernize its electoral system.

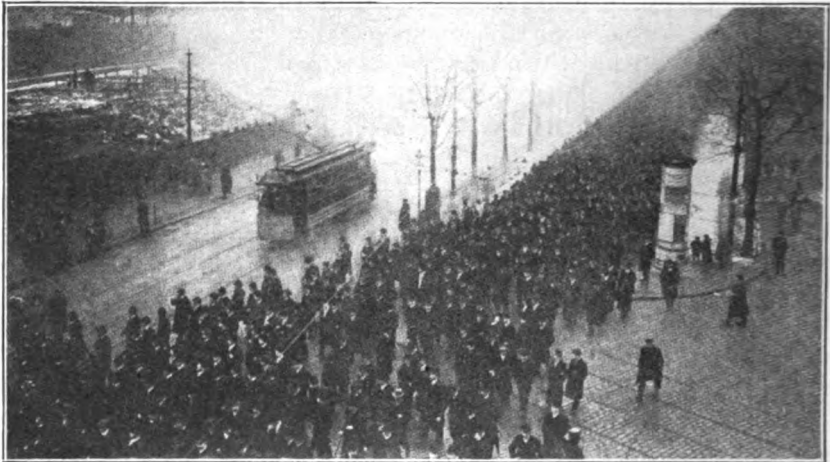
But unfortunately the attack was not continued with the same energy. The executive committee of the party itself was startled by the magnitude of the demonstration of January 12th and hardly dared repeat it for fear of collisions with the police. There was no definite plan of campaign. The general strike was mentioned now and then and among the workers and the notion of trying it was constantly getting a stronger hold. But the General Commission of the unions was opposed. It held that the prevailing industrial crisis made it inadvisable just then. It was unsafe to give the employers an excuse for a lockout that might exhaust the union treasuries. Here we had a case to show how a revolutionary political movement may be temporarily hindered by the carefully calculated workaday methods of the labor movement.

The next party congress failed to call the masses into line for new attacks, the movement lost momentum, and the reactionary forces gained courage. But, as usual, the reaction over-reached itself and so roused the people more than ever. Feeling sure of its power, the government last summer loaded a tremendous burden of indirect taxes upon the shoulders of the people. The popular opposition to this measure was everywhere evident. Every new election that was held gave the Social-Democrats increased majorities. In an election to the Saxon parliament the socialists polled a clean majority of the popular vote.

The new suffrage bill introduced into the Landtag in January last is but another proof of the feeling of security which actuates the reactionary government. It was a satire on reform. In all essentials it left the structure of the old system intact. The three-class system

and the indirect election were to remain and only the choice of the electors was to be kept secret. In the rural districts, where the land-lords control, a free election will be impossible as long as the second electors are forced to vote openly.

As soon as this patchwork was made public the suffrage reform movement flamed up again. Heated demonstrations took place in all the cities of Prussia. On the 13th of February 200,000 people marched through the streets of Berlin. Almost everywhere the police had the good sense to stand aside and give the people the right-of-way, but in some cities they fell upon demonstrators and innocent by-standers with



MARCH OF THE TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND.

From Current Literature.

terrible effect. Sunday after Sunday the demonstrations continued. In Berlin the working-class recently turned the whole police department into a huge joke by holding a great demonstration in the Tiergarten while police and soldiers were looking for one in Treptow Park.

Such occurrences have brought over to the support of the suffrage movement various groups of the bourgeoisie. And in various places spontaneous strikes broke out. But all this had no effect on the course of legislation. The clericals and landed proprietors (Junker) forced the "reform" measure through the lower house with all speed, and whether it is accepted by the upper house and the government is a matter of little importance. In any case the electoral system of Prussia will remain practically unchanged.

But one thing has been changed; and that thing is the spirit of the people. The continued struggles and demonstrations have brought thousands upon thousands into the movement; they have redoubled

the fighting spirit of the people; they have given to the masses a feeling of power, have shown them that their organization is mightier than the brutal weapons of the government. From now on every new eruption of discontent will be more tremendous than the last.

These events indicate the beginning of the German revolution. It is true that it is but a small and uncertain beginning, and it has opposed to it a mighty military power. But it has behind it a wonderfully disciplined proletarian force. This force moves slowly just at present, for its methods are adapted to former conditions, are designed solely for elections and wage-conflicts. It is difficult to alter the purposes and methods of such a mighty organization. The new beginning must be made slowly, carefully. A revolutionary struggle must be centrally controlled, but the executive committee of the Social-Democratic party is not suited to leadership in a revolution. Herein lies the difficulty: revolutions, in the nature of the case, cannot be pre-arranged according to the decision of an organization, but, on the other hand, they must be brought about by organizations, and by organizations highly developed and well disciplined. Such an organization can be developed but slowly, especially in Germany. "Even German thunder," wrote Heine, "is German; it comes rolling up but slowly, once arrived, however, it does its work with relentless thoroughness."

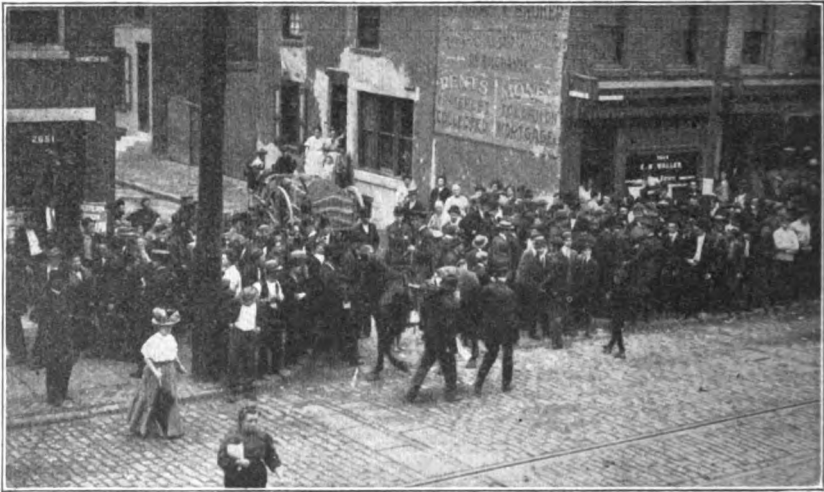
Yes, with thoroughness, for it has a greater purpose than to clear the heavy atmosphere of Germany. The German proletariat is just now the champion of the working-class of the world. Its fight and its triumph will awaken an echo in the farthest quarters of the world. Nowhere do exploiters and exploited stand face to face so determined, so powerful, so well-armed. Here will be fought the first decisive battle in the world war between capital and labor. If the proletariat wins here, a new impulse will be given to the revolution in all lands. It is on this account the movement which is slowly getting under way in Germany is of the highest importance to all mankind.

(Translated by Wm. E. Bohn.)

“When the Sleeper Wakes”

The Car Strike and the General Strike in Philadelphia.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN



TYPICAL STREET CORNER SCENE.



THE general strike was, first of all, a political strike.

It came apparently because the city authorities were in league with the officials of the company to break the strike, and had trampled upon the political liberties of the people in pursuance of that intention.

The car men early learned that their strike had political complications and their leaders set themselves, with the general strike committee, to squeeze all they could out of the situation. One of the consequences, naturally, was that the trades unionists of the city turned to political action as never before.

At its inception the general strike had no other purpose in view than to compel the company to deal with the men, or submit the differences between them to fair arbitration. But that was true only superficially. It may fairly be said that, however the matter appeared

to the various organizations participating and to the numbers of men and women who were unorganized, it resolved itself into a simple proposition indicated in the formula: A strike of labor against capital.

Still deeper down was the unrest of the people, the dissatisfaction due to the high cost of living, following so closely after the hard times. More than that, it was Philadelphia's expression of a feeling that is nation wide. Here the atmosphere happened to be surcharged with inflammable gases, requiring only a flame of class consciousness to fire the whole with a spirit of revolt that would take this shape.

The management of the general strike was left in the hands of the committee of ten. It is no exaggeration to say that the strike was properly handled to the extent that it leaned for guidance to the Socialists. There were two avowed Socialists on the committee. Of the two it was Harry Parker who had first broached the idea of calling a general strike, having proposed in November, 1909, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the members cease from labor for two weeks in the event of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison being sent to jail.

Socialist philosophy tintured the whole movement. For the United German Trades Socialists penned a ringing appeal, that was printed in German and English, printed by the tens of thousands and carried right off the press out to the large non-union establishments such as Baldwin's Locomotive Works. Little wonder that the Philadelphia North American remarked editorially:

"Out of this street-car situation, with its almost inevitable general strike, comes a new and acute class consciousness fanned into a dangerous class antagonism... And it is this antagonism, this class war, intangible and immeasurable, that constitutes the largest and the most lamentable hurt to the city. It is, moreover, felt beyond the city and throughout the entire nation."

Baldwin's was carried by storm. The superintendents were quick to canvass the sentiment and try to head off a walkout. The shop leaders were called in for a conference. An offer was made to restore the wages of the men to the scale obtaining before the last cut on condition that the men remain at work. The offer was declined. It was made plain that only the car men's interests were to be considered at that time.

Three thousand men came out from this shop, better known as "the little hell on earth." Many other large non-union plants fell into line. The men at Baldwin's were promptly organized into a shop federated union, and afterwards advised also to join the unions of their crafts.

Another splendid showing was that made by the textile workers, of whom about 45,000 are said to have turned out, a large percentage being women. Along with the toilers of Baldwin's they had borne the brunt of the hard times, after having had their resources drained in the important strikes of 1903, 1905 and 1908, aside from numerous smaller difficulties. The textile industry of the city was practically at a standstill.

The building trades department walked out to a man. Many of them had but recently returned to work after being out for some weeks on a sympathetic strike of their own. Every line of business was more or less seriously affected. Many employers permitted their employes to go out, paying them during the continuance of the strike.

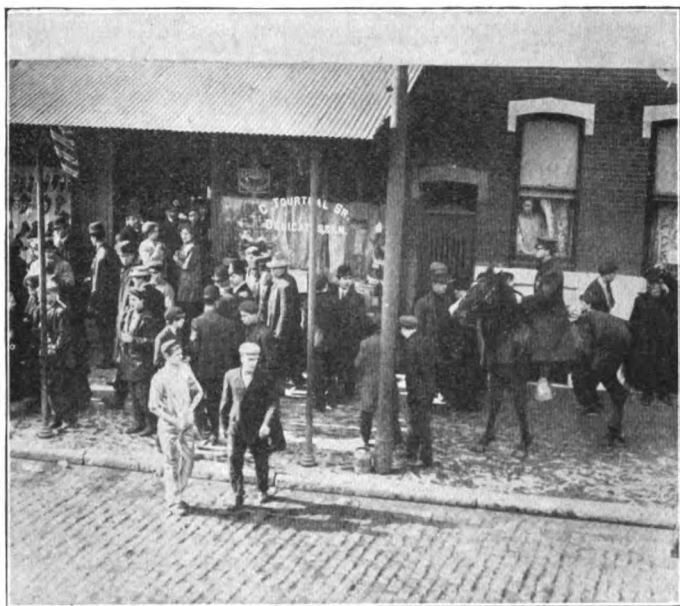
The organized workers of only two industries refrained from taking part, that of printing and beer brewing. Both were encased in tightly nailed and rivetted contracts. Their sympathy was entirely with the car men and they contributed liberally to their treasury. The only element of irony in the situation was that due to the fact that the men at the power houses were not organized and could not be induced to come out. Had they been organized, the general strike might have been unnecessary.

According to the estimate of the committee of ten, 150,000 wage-earners, organized and unorganized, were involved in the strike. That is to say, the bread of half a million people in the city was touched. The plans of the committee very naturally revolved around the idea of keeping the army together and letting the members feel the strength of their numbers. Quite as naturally, the police authorities endeavored, by entirely arbitrary methods, to divide and scatter that army.

For the first day of the general strike the committee of ten arranged a mass meeting to be held at Independence Square. The mayor and director of public safety forbade it. The committee of ten then modified their plan to the extent of advising the hosts of labor to march past Independence Hall, wherein the Declaration of Independence had once upon a time been adopted. The police tried to break up the parade, going so far as to run their clubs through the American flag. Nevertheless thousands of people gathered beside the cradle of liberty and they will doubtless remember, in the years to come, that on Saturday afternoon, March 5, 1910, the officials of the city of Philadelphia prohibited its citizens from peacefully assembling in the shade of Independence Hall to discuss questions of public moment.

During the next week the committee of ten arranged with the proprietors of a national league base ball park to have a mass meeting within that enclosure. This meeting, too, the police prevented. The thousands that had gathered started to parade down Broad street to the City Hall. Squads of police were ordered to charge the crowd. What followed fell short of being a massacre only because the blue coats did not use their guns. Otherwise it was the greatest exhibition of uncalled for police brutality the city has ever witnessed. Hundreds of people were beaten up, and driven into the side streets, women no less than men.

But in the face of this violence it was remarkable that there were less disturbances while the general strike lasted than before or after it. The fact showed that labor is the real guardian of the peace. So pronounced was the impression this attitude carried with it that when, later on, the police raided a meeting place of car men with a trumped up charge of dynamiting up their sleeves, the grand jury refused to find a true bill against any of the men.



CLEARING SIDEWALKS IN PHILADELPHIA.

The third and final effort of the committee of ten to demonstrate the extent of the general strike was set for Saturday afternoon, March 19th, when Eugene V. Debs addressed an audience of strikers at the Labor Lyceum. The hall was crowded to the doors; the streets were

black with people. Debs was at his best. That afternoon unionism and socialism clasped hands as never before. The incident taught, better than can tomes of theory, the wisdom of working in harmony with the trades unions to the very utmost.

Throughout the length of the strike and following in its wake, trades unions swelled their membership by hundreds and thousands. So unexpected was the influx that the machinists began by ordering a few hundred application blanks but increased the order to three thousand in a few days. Twenty thousand men and women are said to have affiliated themselves within organized labor in two weeks. Philadelphia's reputation for unionism had previously been very poor. To-day there is no epithet so abhorred as that of "scab."

The women did their part in the strike. It does not in the least smack of gallantry to say that they bore their hardships as uncomplainingly as did the men, and made a better showing as walkers and wagon riders. It was no unusual sight to see a car go by with half a dozen men (one or two of whom might be the company's agents in plain clothes) but not a woman in it. When the general strike was over, they organized the car men's women folk into an auxiliary, of which Luella Twining was elected president.

But labor's position, strategic however it was, rested on the edge of a sharp knife. When after two weeks, the general strike rolled into the crest of its popularity, a conference was arranged between the representatives of the company and the car men. The conference came to naught, but was instrumental in creating the impression that the trouble would soon be settled and so prompted the public to patronize the cars. With that the general strike fell to pieces. After another week it was officially declared over. Its only regrettable aftermath was the washing aside in all directions of hundreds of wage-earners victimized for having quit work.

Both the car strike and the general strike were a series of surprises. At the first conference held with the car men the company admitted its defeat. Yet it tried by all the devices at its command to deprive the men of the fruits of their victory. It realized that more than its dignity was at stake.

A victory it really was. Its echo was heard in nearby cities where the transit companies voluntarily increased the wages of their employes; it was heard in the Trenton strike which was a complete success; it was heard in the voluntary increase of wages by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and other large corporations. Even at Eddystone, the country annex of the Baldwin works, the men obtained an improvement of their working

conditions. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company suffered a tremendous pecuniary loss. Yet in the end it jockeyed the car men out of their victory.

The general strike was the most unexpected affair Philadelphia has ever witnessed. It exemplified a spirit of resistance against social wrong that not even the most sanguine of Socialists believed to lurk in the city. Entirely unprepared for such a thing, the wonder of it is, not that it was poorly managed, not that mistakes were made, but that it came out so well. Whatever criticism may be made of the strike is purely incidental. Taken as a whole it was the most magnificent performance ever achieved by the labor of the city. But while the spontaneity of the affair was its most gratifying feature, it was also, under the circumstances, its principal redeeming feature, as well as the source of its weakness. The desire to campaign was very strong; unfortunately too many of the recruits were raw, the line of march strange and the battlefield unexplored. As in all strikes the masters can afford to play the waiting game and tire the workers into submission. Furthermore, when confined to one city a general strike is too largely spectacular. And, more important than all, it cannot spring far above the class-consciousness of the population. That, in the final analysis, determines the immediate aims of the strike and the possibility of their attainment.

We may hazard a guess that, on another occasion, with a like spirit of resistance, supplemented by a more widespread solidarity and a well-defined program, a general strike may be the means of maintaining political rights and securing economic concessions, thereby instilling into the workers that reliance upon their united action which promises so much for them in the future.

But, to use a paradox, the best feature of a general strike is the possibility of not having to resort to it. Rather ludicrous, if not tragic, it appears to ask a whole city of workers to make abundant sacrifice in order to win some slight advantages for a few thousand men and their families. The most satisfactory test of its justification, of course, is the fact that it came to be. Speaking theoretically, nevertheless, it is hoped that in the future labor will be so well organized and disciplined that, while in no wise hampered from displaying its full power when necessary, its whole force will not be hurled into a narrow pass against the enemy when a handful of sharp shooters could do as well or better. We look to see the general strike very rarely called into requisition.

Philadelphia's experience with the general strike seems to con-

firm the Socialist contention that labor cannot hope to gain substantial victories by superficial methods. While it must ever be on the alert to make the most of all circumstances, it may as well place its dependence first as last in the development of the intelligence of the whole working class; in short, in the spread of class-consciousness. To the extent that the class-consciousness is acute will the mass of the people press forward.

The sleeper has awakened. But his first movements are awkward; he stumbles and falls. Yet he renews his exertions; he strives on step by step; his eyes become accustomed to the light. It cannot be long before he will stand erect and snap his chains!

Carrying Water 250 Miles.

BY J. O. PHILLIPS.



DRILLING



IF NEW YORK CITY should suddenly say: "We must bring our water supply from Lake Ontario," or Chicago should discover the need of bathing her 2,000,000 inhabitants, washing their clothes and quenching their thirst from the waters of the Missouri River, these problems would resemble the gigantic task Los Angeles, Cal., has set herself to perform in bringing

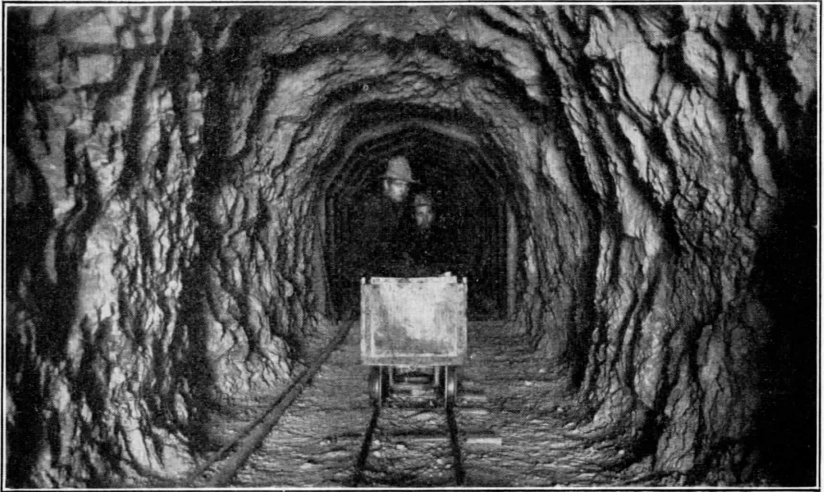
the snows and waters of the Sierra Nevada mountains 250 miles to supply the needs of her people.

Los Angeles is a city of 315,000 population, growing at the rate of 36,000 a year, and situated in a country where, when water is not attainable, the land becomes a desert in a wilderness of drought. The rainy season endures from November till April. During the remainder of the year the rain never falls.

Not very long ago the far-seeing people discovered that the growth of their city would depend very largely on whether or not they would be able to secure water for her needs.

In 1905, Frederick Eaton, a civil engineer, afterward Mayor of Los Angeles, brought forth a proposal to bring the waters of Owens River across the Mojave desert, and under the Coast Range to the city's gates.

The Owens River of California, with its source and tributaries fed by the snows of the Sierra Nevada mountains, to-day finds its way



MUCK CAR.

into Owens Lake. In 1914 the waters of this river and the streams of the Owens Valley will be gathered up in a concrete aqueduct to flow southward 250 miles to Los Angeles.

On their long journey from the Sierra Nevadas the waters will generate the motive power for innumerable factories. They will furnish heat and light for a dozen cities. And these will be only the first steps in the mission of this undertaking.

From massive reservoirs, built high on the edge of the Fernando Valley, the precious fluid will be drawn off for the domestic uses of

Los Angeles and a score of neighboring cities, supplying the needs of at least 1,000,000 people; 75,000 acres of totally unproductive land will blossom as the semi-tropics with the coming of the new water supply.

Before the construction of the Los Angeles aqueduct was begun less than 2,000 people dwelt within the 240 miles through which the survey ran. The chief reason was the fact that the survey lay from twenty to eighty miles from a railroad and the land was as desolate as Death Valley.

The city will take its water supply from the eastern slope of the Sierras, with Mt. Whitney as the highest point in the United States, and twenty-three other peaks with elevations of more than 13,000 feet.

During the hottest summers the snow is never absent on the higher ridges, but sends down a copious stream of water into the Owens River. For a length of seven miles the old river bed will be converted into a reservoir by a dam 1,200 feet long and 70 feet high.

The aqueduct is designed to have a daily capacity of 280,000,000 gallons, but the San Fernando Valley and the coastal plain can be supplied six months with a daily flow of more than 320,000,000 gallons. The aqueduct intake is at an elevation of 3,800 feet; Los Angeles is at an elevation of 276 feet, so that no pumping will be required. The force of gravity will carry the water from the mountains directly to the consumers.

The present total electric power consumption in Los Angeles and vicinity is now approximately 60,000 horse power. The horse power attainable from the aqueduct is 65,000 horse power. The force of men now at work upon the new aqueduct numbers 3,800 men, with plans to increase the number to 5,000 before many months.

The British Labor Party.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M. P.



IT MUST be exceedingly difficult for American Socialists to get a grip of the facts about the British Labor Party. It is of some importance however, that they should know the facts whether they agree or disagree with our policy. In the March issue of the *International Socialist Review* William E. Bohn, writing more in sorrow than in anger says, "The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage." I do not know upon what Comrade Bohn is relying when he makes this statement, but that he has been misled admits of no doubt. In the February issue of the *International Socialist Review* an article appeared from the pen of H. M. Hyndman in which he holds up the British Labor Party "as an object lesson to our comrades in the United States who are inclined to venture on the same slippery path." It is the fact that a Labor Party is being seriously discussed by Socialists and Trades Unionists in the United States which leads me to beg the favor of your columns to put the actual facts against Mr. Hyndman's statements.

In the opening paragraph of his article Mr. Hyndman asserts that "in order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election both the Labor Party and the I. L. P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must check all confidence in them in future." Were I simply to deny the truth of this assertion it would only be a case of one man's statement against another's, and would lead your readers "no forrader." But here are the facts. At the time of the dissolution, the period to which the statement refers, there were thirty-three members of the Labor Party in the House of Commons. At the election seventy-eight candidates went to the polls under the auspices of the party. All the leading members of the party in the House, Socialists and Trade Unionists alike went, as far as circumstances permitted, to the support of the new candidates and in nearly every case our new candidates were fighting three-cornered contests, that is, were being opposed by Liberal and Conservative nominees. I myself had a Liberal

opponent as I have always had in every contest I have fought. Surely then in these facts and figures we have ample proof of the absence of any agreement or understanding with the Liberals, and, apart from the statement appearing in the capitalist yellow press put forward to damage our prospects, there is no foundation whatever for Mr. Hyndman's statement. It cannot be too often repeated that the Labor Party has its own political organization, raises its own funds by a levy on the members of affiliated Trades Unions and Socialist organizations, and enters into no agreement whatever either about candidates, constituencies or policy with either Liberals or Conservatives. Readers who do not know Mr. Hyndman may be surprised to learn that I myself went out of my way to support him in his candidature for Burnley, where he was fighting a Liberal. As a matter of fact the only attempts which were made at a compromise with the Liberals were those put forward by Social Democratic candidates. If this statement be denied I shall forward you the Press reports of meetings in Northampton where Mr. H. Quelch, one of Mr. Hyndman's colleagues, openly touted for an agreement with the Liberals whereby they were to give him one of their votes and his Socialist friends in return would give the Liberal their second vote, and it was only when the Liberals refused this arrangement and put up a second Liberal candidate that the Social Democrats returned to their assumed attitude of impeccable purity.

Mr. Hyndman's second point referred to the support we gave the Budget. Of course he carefully refrained from informing your readers that in the House of Commons and in the country we supported only the Land Taxes and supertax proposals of the Budget, and opposed both by speech and vote those taxes, like the tea duties, which fall directly on the working class. The position was this. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had to raise some £18,000,000 for schemes of social reform to which the government stood pledged and he proposed to raise a large part of this sum by the imposition of three new taxes: first, a supertax of 6d in the pound Sterling on all incomes exceeding 5000 pounds Sterling a year; second, an addition of 2d in the pound Sterling on all unearned incomes, thus differentiating between those who work for their living and those who merely loaf upon their fellows; and third, the taxation of land values. With all deference to Mr. Hyndman's years and experience I respectfully submit that each of these three taxes was Socialist in its bearing and application and sought to recover for the good of the community a part of the wealth which it was creating and which now passes into the pockets of private owners. But further, what was the alternative to these taxes? The Conservative party put forward as an alternative

that the revenue of the country should be raised by a tax upon imports including food. We had therefore to choose between taxing the surplus wealth of the rich and taxing the necessities of the community and especially of the working class. It is all very well for Mr. Hyndman to assume a hostile attitude to the budget in the irresponsible pages of your magazine, but had he found himself in the House of Commons, as we were, with these alternatives to choose from he could not and would not have done other than we did. The Labour Party would have betrayed every principle of Socialism had it not supported those portions of the budget to which I refer, and as a matter of fact, Hyndman, during his campaign pledged himself to support the Budget if elected to parliament.

And now perhaps I may be allowed to refer to the excellent and temperate letter from the pen of Ernest Untermann which appears in the same (February) issue of your Review. Referring to the possibility of some form of political co-operation being secured between the Socialist Party and the Trades Union movement of America he adds, "but even then I should insist on the independent and unimpaired organization of the Socialist party as a consciously revolutionary body." To that statement I give my most unqualified adhesion. That is what we have in this country. The Independent Labor party is a Socialist organization affiliated with the Labor Party. The fact of its being so affiliated does not in any way interfere with its unimpaired freedom to continue its propagation of Socialist principles. Two years ago the Social Democratic party at its annual conference discussed whether it should join the Labor Party, and on that occasion by the way Mr. Hyndman cordially supported the proposition. Had the motion been carried the Social Democratic Party could have affiliated with the Labor Party and yet retained full liberty of action in its organization and propaganda. I have frequently observed that Socialist comrades in the United States who oppose an alliance with the Trades Unionists to form a Labor Party base their opposition on the assumption that they would require to merge the identity of the Socialist organization in that of the Labor Party. This assumption is baseless. The Labor Party here is a federation of organizations. A Trades Union can join, a Socialist organization can join, the co-operative movement could join, but in each case these organizations continue to retain their separate identity and organization and to carry on their work exactly as before. They pay a certain affiliation fee based upon their membership to the Labor Party. They are free to nominate candidates to go on the Labor Party list. These candidates together with all officials of the party

come under obligation not to appear upon the platform or support in any way whatever candidates nominated by any other party. The Labor men are under the further obligation, if they succeed in securing election, to be members of the party in the House of Commons, which I repeat has its own separate organization and is clearly marked off from either Liberal or Conservative. I do not say that it is possible in the United States to have an organization modelled on the lines which have proved so successful here. The only point I am trying to make at present is that there could be a working political agreement between Socialist and Trades Unionist organizations without either merging its identity or having its own special work interfered with in any way whatever. Comrade Untermann conceives the possibility of there being a Labor Party and a Socialist Party working on separate lines but co-operating in the legislatures when they succeed in returning members to these. The inevitable danger here is that the two sections would sooner or later come into conflict and spend their strength fighting each other to the great gratification of the capitalistic parties and the mortification of the friends of progress. If, however, on the other hand they could agree on some form of organization which would include both sections then the nomination of candidates would be done jointly and the danger of friction be reduced to a minimum.

I ask Comrades Untermann and Bohn to note well these facts:

1st. The British Labor Party has never had any agreement or understanding with the Liberal Party;

2nd. A Socialist organization which affiliates to the Labor Party retains its own separate organization intact, and continues its work for Socialism unimpaired;

3rd. The British Labor Party has made it impossible for Trade Union officials or Labor Leaders to go on the stump on behalf of either Liberal or Conservative candidates or parties. This of itself is a great gain to the working class movement.

A Labor Party does not give us everything at once which we Socialists want, but it is at least a genuine working class movement, and as such merits the support and goodwill of all who believe in Social Democracy. Its faults and failures are but a reflex of the faults and failures of the class which has called it into being and it, like its creators, will grow in wisdom as it gains experience.

I ask then that the Labor Party here shall be judged according to the evidences, and not be condemned on the ex-parte statements of its enemies and opponents.

Wall Street at a Glance.

BY JOHN D.



ALL STREET, which embraces about three acres of land has the biggest things, next to the actual production of commodities, etc., in the United States to-day.

Here are a few of them in tabloid form.

J. P. Morgan, Master of about 80 per cent. of the total corporate wealth of the nation.

Judge Robert S. Lovett, (Harriman's successor), in control of the railway system of the land, aggregating about two thirds of the total mileage of the entire country. Can leave his office at No. 120 Broadway, and go by train from New York to 'Frisco, and thence via boat to Japan, all on lines owned and controlled by interests which he represents.

One building No. 71 Broadway, the home of the U. S. Steel Corporation has within its confines about \$2,000,000,000 worth of railway and industrial corporations.

All of the Exchanges responsible to no one, the Cotton, Produce, Metal, Coffee, etc., which every day establish quotations for the securities and commodities they deal in, for the entire country, are in the Wall Street district. So are the Banks, Trust Companies, U. S. Sub-Treasury and Assay Office and other financial institutions which control and have in their vaults and safes securities representing about three-fourths of the entire wealth of the country.

The Standard Oil Co., one of the most remarkable Industrial machines in the World, has its headquarters in the financial district, and J. D. Rockefeller, Wm. Rockefeller and the other Standard Oil magnates have offices in the Trust Building, at No. 26 Broadway. Here also is the headquarters of the "Charity Trust" and College subsidizing and Church "Smoothing" and all other things which the "Pioneer Oil Pirate" has for his hobbies.

Then again we have in the District the founder of the "Pawnshop Trust" the Provident Loan Society, Jas. Speyer, head of the banking firm of Speyer & Co., International Bankers. Jacob H. Schiff, the well known Jewish Charity worker, has his offices about a block away from Mr. Speyer's which are located on Pine Street.

The Midday Club, where a great many details of the Steel Combine were worked out over the lunch tables, are in the Broadway Exchange Building, and where many of the most important deals affecting the Industrial and Economic life of America were put through. All of the retired Judges from the highest to the lowest Courts, make their headquarters there, all working to conserve the best interests of the Nation's Trusts, etc.

All of the Newspapers have offices in the financial centre and while ten years ago the reporters had to "cover" about one hundred different places for News, to-day, when the reporters visit the institutions controlled by Morgan, they have practically finished their day's work.

Sum it all up Wall Street is absolute Master of these United States of America, and J. P. Morgan is the "MacGregor" of the District. In other words a new King has arrived in America, with far greater powers than ever wielded by King George, a man who believes that the American people are not able to manage their own affairs, and who thinks it is up to him to do it for them.

The time has about arrived in this country's history when the population can march over to No. 23 Wall Street, New York City, and there take off the shoulders of this seventy-two-year old man, the economic and political power which he is in control of to-day.

At some future time I intend writing at great length upon the wonderful work the Wall Street district is doing, but there is just one thing I want to remind readers of the International Socialist Review, and that is J. P. Morgan can not be scared away from his control of things by the ballot alone, something more is needed and that in my opinion is an Industrial Union, that will embrace every worker in the land. Only that will do the work.

The Milwaukee Victory.

BY MARY E. MARCY.



IT IS very evident to the most casual observer that the recent spring election has put Milwaukee very prominently upon the newspaper map of the whole country.

The twelfth largest city in the United States has elected a socialist mayor, a socialist city council, in fact, has placed the entire city administration in the

hands of members of the Socialist Party.

Comrade Emil Seidel, the mayor-elect, is a product of the Pennsylvania German schools, the Milwaukee public schools and the workshops of Prussia. As a young man he spent several years in Europe learning his trade. There, in a Berlin shop, he saw fellow workmen imprisoned for saying things that seemed to him harmless; saw boys, in his own words, "hounded by Bismarck's Prussian soldiers" for distributing booklets on economic questions. It was at this time that he became interested in socialism.

Mr. Seidel lives in a frame cottage on one of Milwaukee's un-fashionable streets. The comrades claim he is as good a Marxian as he is a pattern-maker. And the people of Milwaukee believe he will be an even better mayor.

Perhaps the most talked-of subject in the United States for the past week has been the Milwaukee election. Socialists and anti-socialists discussed the phases of the results—and are still discussing them.

Revolutionists care not for the manner of their emancipation from wage-slavery. They want results. They are ever ready and eager to seize every opportunity to entrench themselves in any position that will further the great cause of this emancipation.

It is true that one city alone cannot abolish capitalism. But a strong and controlling political organization can back up the economic organizations in their efforts to secure a greater portion of the products of their labor, better working conditions and shorter hours of labor. Also a political organization possesses unequalled opportunities for propaganda.

The first great need of any organization is organization. Now is

the time for the revolutionary unionists to get busy in Milwaukee. Now is the time for them to organize the women and girls who are employed in the famous Milwaukee breweries.

It is true that the socialists are in control of the city administration; it is also true that the capitalist class is still in control of the factories, the mills and the breweries. But the workers stand a much better chance of improving their conditions to-day under a socialist political regime than they ever did under a Republican or Democratic administration. For the police are under the control of the new administration and, we believe, the days when the policeman's club shall be used to beat striking workingmen into submission, in Milwaukee, are a thing of the past.

Intelligent men prefer to work for better living conditions for themselves and their wives and families to-day rather than for a paradise on earth for future generations. And this is as it should be. Martyrs have never lived very long to carry out their plans and execute their aims. The days when a workingman shall rest content in promises for the future, be it an economic, industrial or heavenly future, are dead and gone. If it be in the realms of human possibility to attain, he wants higher wages, shorter hours and better living conditions right now.

The revolutionary industrial union can do much to help him gain these things, but the revolutionary union, without the help and backing of a political organization will find itself checked, beaten and denied on every side.

The capitalist government is but a committee to transact the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. But a socialist city administration can refuse to execute a part of these affairs.

The aim of all revolutionists is identical. Socialists differ only in their beliefs in the various methods used to attain the common goal. Most of us differ only in a point of emphasis, whether the industrial union or the political organization be more important. Fortunately both wings of the revolutionary movement are at work without ceasing. Every struggle teaches them how best to unite their forces in a steadfast march toward the abolition of wage-slavery.

The Human Cinder.

BY ELIOT WHITE.



TATISTICS of accidents to railroad employees stunned my comprehension.

Such numbers were too monstrous to grasp, and such portentous slaughter was concealed by its very magnitude and massive vagueness.

Then on a day I was called to a hospital in haste to visit a freight-brakeman who had been blown from the top of a gasoline-car.

This tank had been placarded "Dangerous", but not removed from the yard, and was ignited through a leak, from the man's lantern as he clambered over it in the night.

The explosion was so violent as even to rip the buttons from his jacket, yet he retained sense to tear the burning clothing from his body with his gloved hands, when hurled in flames to the ground.

Of his fellow-workers who ran to his help none recognized the living firebrand, though his own brothern-in-law was among them.

At the hospital, the nurse shows me the sufferer's door, then leaves me struggling to hold together enough strands of courage to carry me into the room, as a sailor on a towed craft in a storm might grip with his bare hands the cable that was fast wearing through, to stay it from further fraying.

At last I enter to find on the bed what seems less a man than a thing!

On a pillow soaked with blood, and ointment like running butter, rests a bandaged head with five holes through the face-mask revealing eyes miraculously safe in their burnt sockets, black nostrils, and black-crustled lips.

Raising himself on his elbow, the groaning and tormented being pressed his hands to his head, making the lining of oiled paper under the bandages crackle like the skin of roast meat; his chief agony now is from the accompaniment of severe burns, ulcers in the stomach, which if they eat through its coat will kill him.

Attempts to express human sympathy in such a presence wither in the speaking like grass before a prairie-fire, but he listens to a suggestion that we say the Lord's Prayer,—and ah, the sound of the familiar words through the orifice of the grisly mask and between the

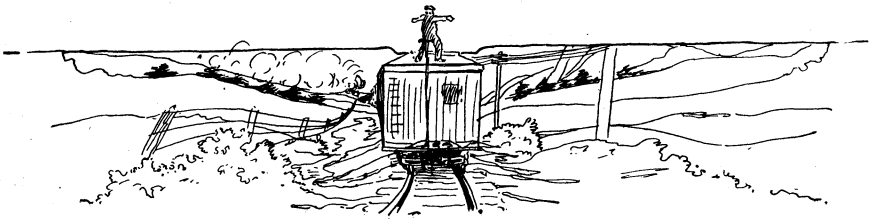
crusted lips, as though issuing from the crater-pit of a soul's inferno!

Now he implores me to ask the doctor for more opiate, as one who pleads the sending of a Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool his tongue; the doctor consents, though he declares the man has already taken "enough to kill you or me".

A few weeks later I find the brakeman at his home, nearly recovered, though it seems impossible to identify this smiling, blond-bearded young fellow, whose tender new skin is pink as a dove's foot, with the hospital's charred and hooded horror like a specter of delirium.

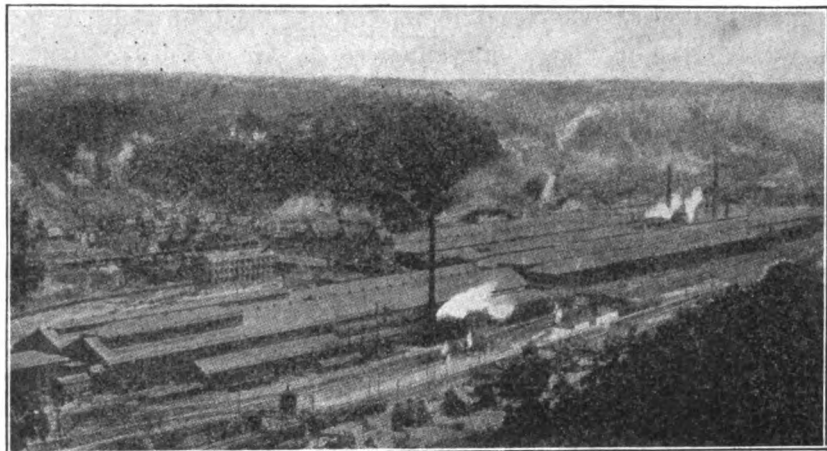
It may be that not until such specters knock at the door of our times in their ghastly regiments; and theorizers are led like Dante through Hell-circles of the workers' myriad tortures, face-to-face, will the great Arousal banish such shame of carnage from the nation's pale.

And yet in but one cinder like to this may lurk the spark sufficient to explode a magazine!



The Pittsburg District.

BY BERTHA WILKINS STARKWEATHER.



THE WESTINGHOUSE PLANT—EAST PITTSBURG.



IN THE Pittsburg District the speeding of machines and of the men in charge, is merciless. The rule is to produce to the limit of human endurance. It is easy to overestimate what these great machines will stand. Accidents are usually caused by overcharging. An overcharged blast furnace acts a good deal like an overloaded gun. Many tons of half-molten ore and coke sometimes become clogged above a little lake of hot metal and burning gas. This "hang" must be loosened by workmen from above. When the "slip" occurs, the great mass of overcharge falls into the seething hell beneath. Then an explosion is likely to occur, too horrible to describe. Either the charge is hurled upward with terrific force carrying death and destruction as it flies, or it may, without a moments warning, tear away the heavy masonry of the furnace below and set free the mass of metal at the bottom of the towering fire-brick structures. Overcharging is simply carrying the speeding process one notch to far.

An old, worn-out blast furnace is more likely to produce a "hang" than the new fire-brick-lined ones in good condition. But it takes six weeks for these furnaces to cool off to rebuild the fire-brick-lining.

So the work is often put off until an explosion makes rebuilding a necessity.

William Hard, says in "Making Steel and Killing Men," an article appearing in Everybody's Magazine, November, 1907:—"The only deathdealing force that exceeded the railroad last year in the Illinois Steel Company's plant, was the blast furnace. . . . on the ninth of last October at about ten o'clock in the evening, Walter Steinmaszyk, a sample boy, went to one of the blast furnaces to get a sample of iron to take to the laboratory. He stood at one of the entrances to the platform. The bright liquid iron was running out of its tapping hole, and flowing in a sparkling snarling stream along its sandy bed to the big twenty ton ladle that stood beside the platform on a flat-car. Walter Steinmaszyk stood still for a moment and gazed at this scene. It was well for him that he hesitated. Suddenly, there came a flash, a roar, and a drizzle of molten metal. Milak Lazich, Andrew Vrkcic, Anton Pietszak and Louis Fuerlant lay charred and dead on the casting floor.

"What was the cause of the accident?"

"The expert witnesses employed around the blast-furnace, all agreed that the hot metal had come in contact with water.

"And how did it come in contact with water?"

"Here, again, the expert witnesses were in agreement.

"About two months before the accident, the keeper of the furnace had called the attention of the foreman to a little trickling of water around the tapping hole. An examination was made and it was found that some of the fire-brick at one side of the tapping hole had fallen out. The foreman reported this fact to his immediate superior. But the fire-brick was not replaced. Patches of fire-clay were substituted for it. These patches were renewed from time to time. They wore out very rapidly.

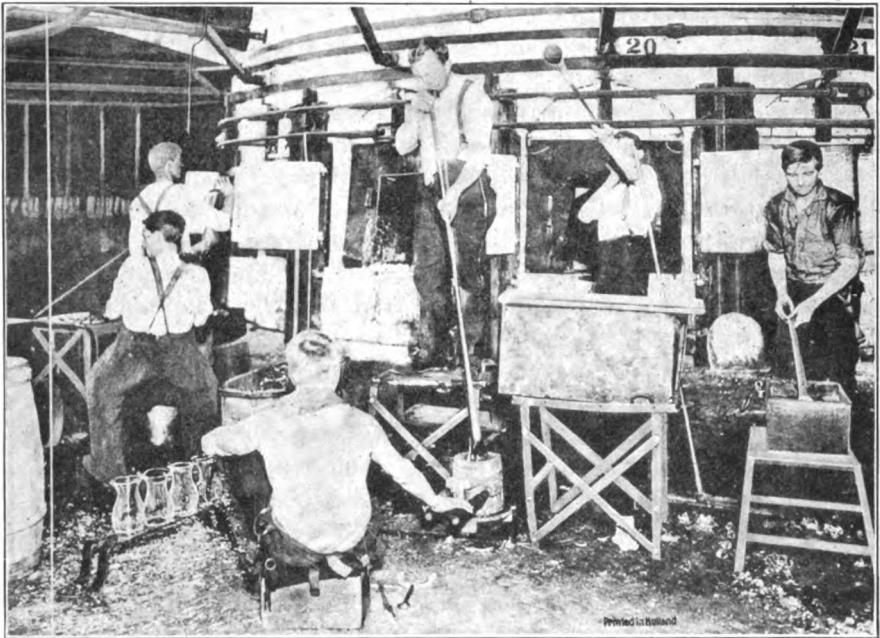
"On the night of the 9th of October according to all the experts at the trial, the fierce molten iron ate its way through the fire-clay and came in contact with the water coil. The union of the hot iron with the water resulted in the explosion and in the sacrifice of four human lives. . . . If the company were offered a prize of a million dollars for getting through a year without one single fatal accident, would it then allow patches of fire-clay around the tapping hole of any furnace in its plant? Would it not find a way to prevent such make-shifts methods effectually and finally?"

The Iroquois Blast Furnace, owned and operated by a small company outside of the trust, producing pig-iron for the open market, is never speeded to the point of lowering the very high grade of iron that it turns out and because there is no speeding the "slips" which

are so common at the steel mills because of over-charging, never occur. The blast-furnace therefore is not dangerous under normal conditions.

Every man killed at those furnaces, is simply murdered by the Steel Trust, for profit.

The metal from each "heat" or furnace full of coke, limestone and iron ore, is tested and then sent in open ladles to be converted into steel. These ladles are carried on trucks attached to little "dinky" engines. This pig-iron must be decarbonized, i. e. freed from carbon, sulphur phosphorus and other impurities, to become steel. There are two processes. At the Besemer converter plant compressed air is



BOTTLE BLOWING—PITTSBURG.

blown through the molten metal; the combustion, which follows, brings the heat up to 3200 degrees. In three minutes, thirty thousand pounds of iron becomes steel by this Bessemer process, reducing the cost of making steel, from seven cents to less than one cent per pound.

In the Chicago plant there are three of these great brick-lined, pivotted vessels about thirty feet high. Each converter has a capacity of from eight to ten heats an hour, fifteen tons to the heat. The men working at the base of the converter, are in constant danger of losing life and limb; if by some mistake the fire-clay perforated bottom

through which the air is pumped is not quite dry; if by any chance there be water in the bottom of a box of scrap which is sometimes mixed in with the iron ore, then an explosion results engulfing the men at the base of the converter in metal. These slag men are usually Hungarians who do not know enough English to run for their lives if the foreman has time to shout danger.

From the great converters, the metal is poured into a ladle and at the same time a little ladle runs out on a higher track in a saucy, mysterious way pouring a smaller stream of tempering mixture of manganese etc. into the great ladle below; this decides the hardness of the steel.

At the Homestead plant, the primitive method of tempering mixture is used "dry" and shoveled into the indescribably hot depths below by a workman who stands a few feet from the great converter as it is tipped to pour the stream of steel into the ladle below. From eight to ten times an hour this man works hard shoveling chemicals face to face with heat so intense as to beggar description.

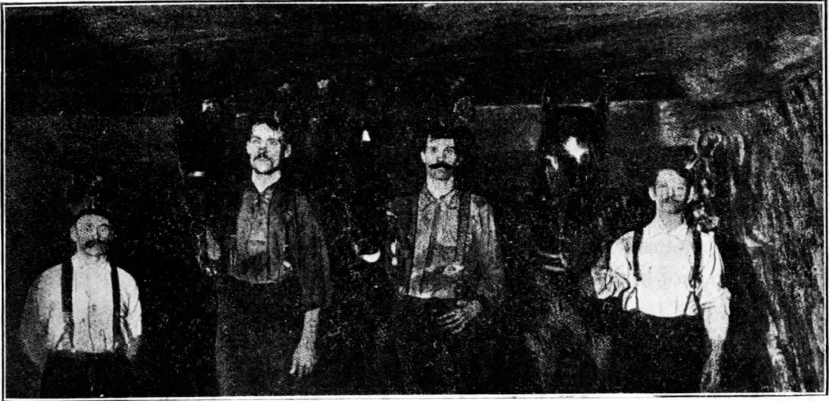
For northern climates, the rails must be much softer than those used in the south, where there is no frost to crack them under the heavy weight of trains.

After the metal is tempered, it is ready to be poured into moulds. A great hydraulic lift, moves it around smoothly to the other side of the building, where the moulds are filled with the metal. There are seven of these moulds on each truck car; each mould will hold steel enough to make four steel rails. These moulds are inspected before they enter the building, and yet accidents occur. A few years ago one of these moulds was half full of water when the hot metal was poured, and sixteen men fell victim to the frightful explosion.

"It was like the very crack of doom," a witness related. "We are used to danger and yet that sight haunts my dreams to this day. Men lay around here thick, all charred and scorched and most of us were too bewildered to get to work with the dead and the dying for a while."

It is amid scenes of such hideous danger, that the steel corporation, in order to get labor cheaply, employs men who do not understand what is being said and done.

When the seven moulds have been filled they are taken out by the little engine and left to cool under the "stripper". Here water runs over the outside of the moulds which cools and contracts the metal within. In a few moments iron hands from above lift the moulds from the bright red ingots of steel and they are ready to be run into the rail-mill, or girder mill or plate mill, etc., as the case may be.



PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINERS.

Recently another process, less dangerous to the workmen in the production of steel, has come into favor. Great as was Bessemer's invention which revolutionized the iron industry in the early sixties, the quality of steel thus produced is unsuitable for many purposes. For the production of a high grade of steel the open hearth furnaces are coming into general use. By this process the metal is decarbonized by boiling it from twelve to eighteen hours. The result is steel for guns, tools, etc. In the southern mills in Alabama, steel rails are made by this process. There is less danger for the men at the open hearth furnace although accidents are frequent and the heat is so intense that prostrations are of common occurrence.

The ladle trains with their white-hot metal, running at a fair rate of speed from blast furnaces to converter or to open hearth furnaces are another source of danger to the workmen. These great cups often "slop over" in spite of the thin layer of graphite which is sprinkled on top to prevent the spill. If this white-hot metal happens to strike a puddle of water along the track, it explodes like a cannon shot. If it happens to hit a luckless switchman, he has a deep flesh-wound which often requires skin grafting before it will heal.

"They used a good many inches of skin on my leg to make it heal," an injured switchman remarked.

"Where did they get the skin?" was asked.

"Oh, a man had his arm amputated and they took the skin from that," was his gruesome reply.

In the before-mentioned article which appeared in Everybody's Magazine, William Hard gives the history of a typical accident in the mills.

"Ora Allen is inquest 39,193 in the coroner's office in the Criminal Court Building down town. On the twelfth of last December he was

a ladle man in the North Open Hearth Mill of the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago. On the fifteenth he was a corpse in the company's private hospital. On the seventeenth his remains were viewed by six good and lawful men at Griesel & Sons undertaking shop. The first witness, Newton Allen, told the gist of the story. On the twelfth of last December Newton Allen was operating overhead crane No. 3 in the North Open Hearth Mill of the Illinois Steel Company. Seated aloft in the cage of the crane, he dropped his chains and hooks to the man beneath and carried pots and ladles up and down the length of the pouring floor.

That floor was eleven hundred feet long and it looked longer because of the dim murkiness of the air. It was edged all along one side by a row of open hearth furnaces, fourteen of them, and in each one there were sixty-four tons of white hot iron, boiling into steel. From these furnaces the white hot metal, now steel, was withdrawn and poured into big ten-ton moulds, standing on flat cars. When the moulds were removed, the steel stood up by itself on the cars in the shape of ingots. These obelisks of steel, cool to solidity on their outsides, still soft and liquid within, were hauled away by locomotives to other parts of the plant.

"It was a scene in which a human being looks smaller than perhaps anywhere else in the world. You must understand that fact in order to comprehend the psychological aspect in steel mills.

"On the twelfth of last December, Newton Allen, up in the cage of his hundred-ton electric crane, was requested by a ladleman from below to pick up a pot and carry it to another part of the floor. This pot was filled with the hot slag that is the refuse left over when the pure steel has been run off. Newton Allen let down the hooks of his crane. The ladleman attached those hooks to the pot. Newton Allen started down the floor. Just as he started, one of the hooks slipped. There was no shock or jar. Newton Allen was warned of danger only by the fumes that rose toward him. He at once reversed his lever and when his crane had carried him to a place of safety, he descended and hurried back to the scene of the accident. He saw a man lying on his face. He heard him screaming. He saw that he was being roasted by the slag that had poured out of the pot. He ran up to him and turned him over.

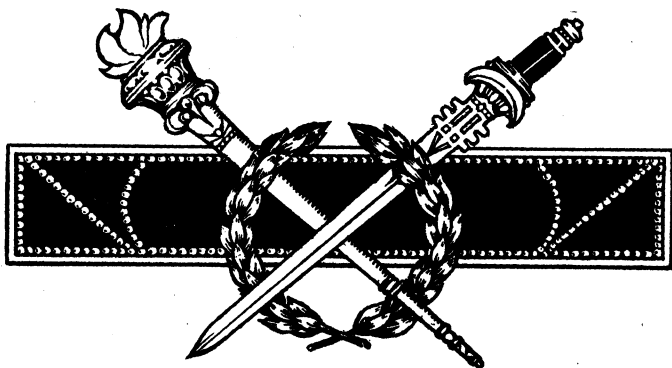
"At that time," said Newton Allen in his testimony, "I did not know it was my brother. It was not till I turned him over that I recognized him. Then I saw it was my brother Ora. I asked him if he was burned bad. He said no, not to be afraid, that he was not burned so bad as I thought."

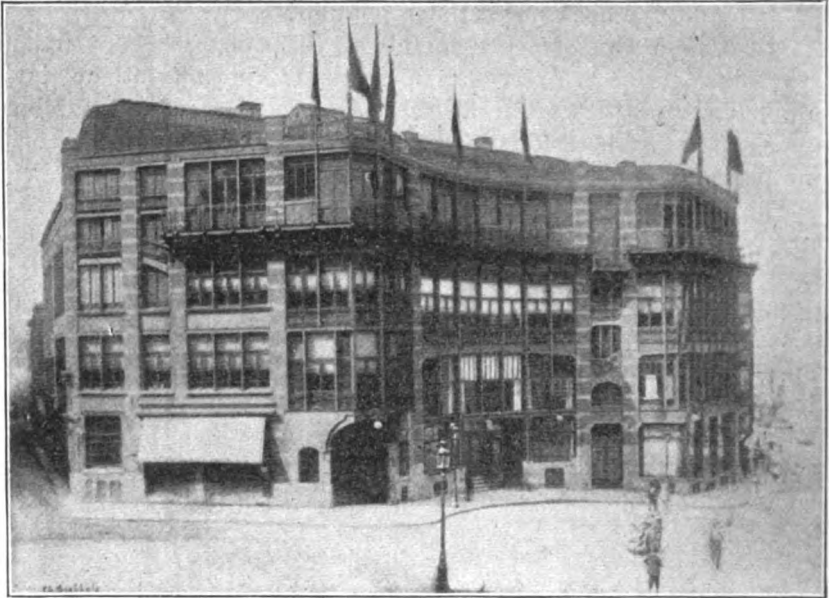
"Three days later Ora Allen died in the hospital.

“Why did the hook on that slag pot slip?”

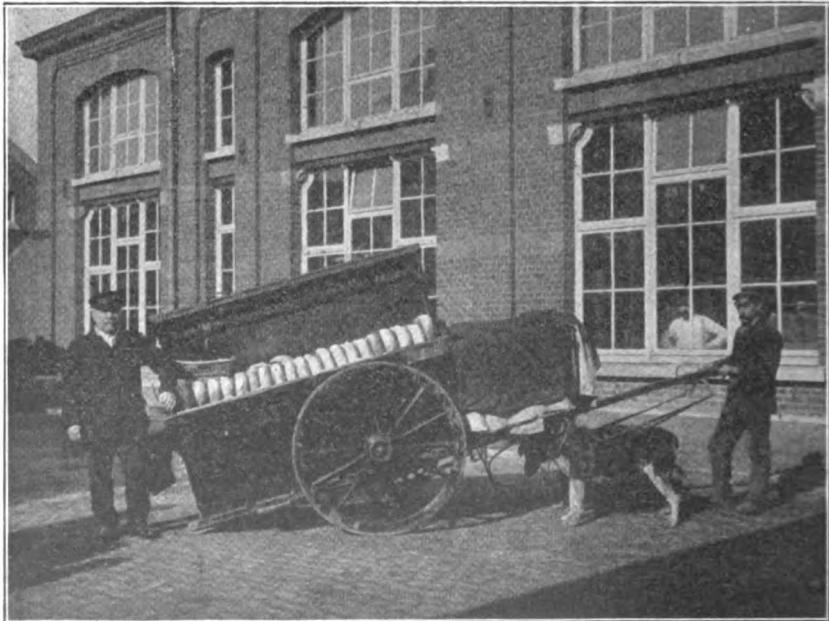
“Because it was attached merely to the rim of the pot and not to the lugs. Lugs are pieces of metal that project from the rim of the pot like ears. They are put there for the purpose of providing a proper and secure hold for the hooks but they had been broken off in some previous accident and had not been replaced.

The company will tell you, very straightforwardly and very honestly that it is impossible to prevent the men from being reckless; that it is beyond human power to prevent the men from hooking up slag-pots by their flanges. The men get in a hurry and become careless. . . . But suppose, just suppose, that instead of being relieved from all money liability by the carelessness of a ladleman toward a fellow ladleman, suppose, just suppose, that the company had to pay a flat fine of twenty thousand dollars every time a ladleman was killed. Do you think that any slag-pot would ever be raised by its flanges? That is the real question, and the answer is “No.”





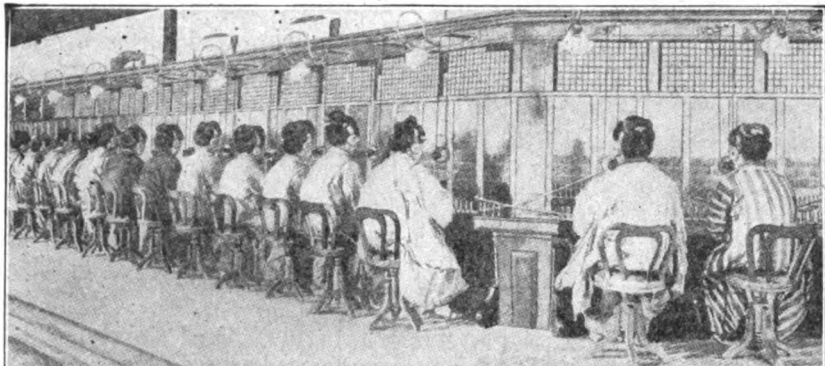
MAISON DU PEUPLE, BRUSSELS. HEADQUARTERS THE BELGIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.



DELIVERY CAR OF COOPERATIVE BAKERY. AT GHENT.

Capitalism in Japan.

BY S. KATAYAMA.



TOKIO TELEPHONE EXCHANGE.

Popular Mechanics.



JAPAN has made remarkable progress during the past forty years. During the feudal rule of the Tokugawa Dynasty, she had a long sleep of three hundred years.

Under the Tokugawa feudalism our peasants were the most oppressed class in Japan. They were exploited by feudal lords. Farmers then had to give 50 to 70 per cent of the yield of the field. They were the only class to support the families of the hereditary military classes called Samurai, who did nothing but fight. They were like the standing armies of the present day, plus their families.

At the beginning of the Meiji era, 1868, when the feudal Tokugawa fell, there were no industrial classes to speak of. The merchant class was clustered around the feudal castles numbering about thirty-six principal ones, and many more of the chiefs scattered throughout the land.

But with the revolution of 1866-67, Japan started a new life. The destruction of the feudal system removed all the old social status and there arose new classes of trade and industrial workers.

The cannons of Commodore Peary in Tokyo Bay, in the 60's awakened Japan from her long sleep to a realization of the powers of the Western civilization. And Japan has been ever since adopting

everything Western: She copied laws from France; patterned her army after Germany; her navy after England; and appropriated the educational methods of America.

Slowly and steadily Japan has been taking everything good and evil from the Western countries. Now she is an industrial country with a proletariat under a capitalism more intolerable than the capitalism of Europe.

I shall give some figures in yens that will show you the progress of Japan and her industries during the past forty years:

	1877	1887	1897	1907
Capital Invested	25,451	163,273	532,522	1,069,706
Foreign Trade	50,769	95,711	382,435	926,880

(The yen is a Japanese money unit equal to 80 cents).

The national income was estimated in 1905 at 2,812,747,530 yen and now it is calculated at four and half billion yen a year. Out of this income the people pay national taxes amounting to 540,000 yen and about an equal sum for various local taxes. Thus it may be seen that the Japanese are making their miserable living under the most deplorable conditions.

We have yet no clear labor statistics but a table based on the income tax payers shows that 50% of the people have an income of from 300 to 500 yens a year, while only 5 or 6% of the entire tax payers have an income of 2,000 yen and more, a year. Thus the distribution of wealth in Japan is already very unequal.

How is our wealth produced? There are about 800,000 factory workers. A considerable number of these are women and girls. There are 2,500,000 workers, excluding the official classes, farmers and farm laborers.

About 1,000,000 men are engaged in governmental work, teachers in various schools, doctors, journalists, authors, lawyers, etc.

The farmers and farm laborers number six or seven millions.

With the present session of the Imperial Diet the civil and military officers will get an increase of salary of 25%. This increase has been greatly opposed by the people, because Japan has been kept up with the war taxes which are the heaviest in the world. However, the present government is a military government and has its root in the army and navy together with the civil officers who monopolize every interest of the country.

Now the government with its employes of 300,000 persons in the various government offices, with the military officers, has the power to spend five or six hundred million yen a year. Therefore there has been a great deal of graft and boodle in vogue with the government.

Of course, the government is on very amicable terms with the big merchants and the rich. It is a well known fact that our cabinet ministers are great stock gamblers and make a big profit in Kabu-tocho (Tokyo Wall street.)

You may ask why this is so, for Japan has a representative body" elected by the people. Indeed, we have a constitution and a parliament of two houses. Apparently all is well with the politics of Japan! But in reality Japan is the best adapted country in the world to modern capitalism!



WOMEN DO MOST OF THE WORK IN THE RICE FIELDS OF JAPAN.
(FROM "A VAGABOND JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD.")

Courtesy of the Century Co.

First, Japan has 53,000,000 souls, patient, industrious and ripe for exploitation by the rich. Second, Japan is a small country, consisting of groups of 4,000 or more islands, mostly rocky and mountainous, unfit for cultivation, so that labor is cheap and kept down by a barbarous police system, worse than the Russian gendarmes!

In the third place, a property qualification for the Parliament, which excludes all the poor classes from taking part in politics, leaves the working people with no hand in the administration of the government. There are one and a half million voters who participate in the Parliamentary elections out of 53,000,000 people. This narrowly

limited franchise makes Japan an ideal country for a greedy capitalism.

There is not a single law to hinder the capitalists in exploiting the workers in any manner. The employer may wilfully murder, by defective machinery or an unhealthy factory, or kill his workers with dangerous poisonous chemicals. There is no law to protect workers. So the capitalists are free to make profits by the worst sacrifice of labor!

To pacify the public, the government introduced a factory bill to the present Diet, but it is said that it will be laid on the table at a committee. This is all. It took fifteen years to prepare the bill, which is now almost killed by the capitalist M. P's in a day.

It is true, the government must get a two million and a half budget in some way. So it buys the biggest political party—the Seiyukai, with a rich booty, and the biggest party sells its power for gold and various protections that will yield large profits!

Always these M. P's are representatives of the big capitalists and the rich. They look after the interests of one and a half millions and their families, at the expense of the rest of the population.

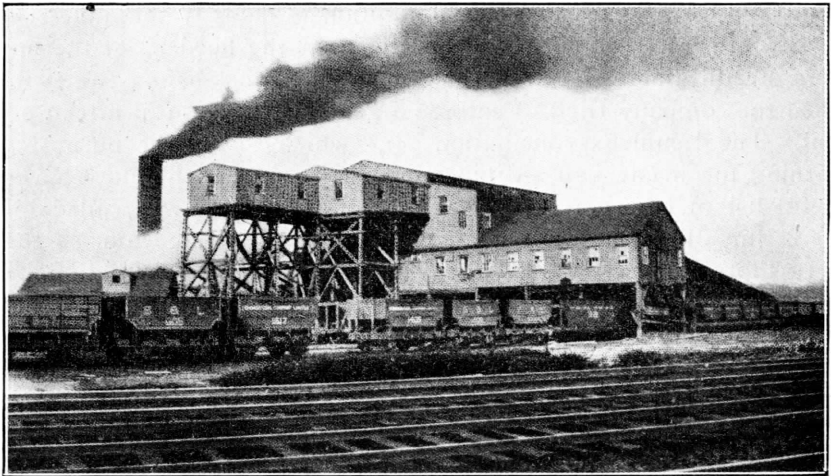
The people who support the government are left wholly unprotected. The past twenty years of parliamentary history shows, that every tax and every law passed, has been in favor of the big capitalists. For instance, our budget is raised by indirect taxation on sugar, tobacco, salt and sake (rice wine) and even on rice, while the large property holders pay very little and sometimes no taxes at all. The capitalists and their government are well organized to exploit the rest of the people.

As a result of the late Russo-Jap War, Japan got hold of Korea and a part of Manchuria. Now the capitalists and their government are trying to exploit ten million Koreans, and the people along the Manchurian railroad. This will not in the least benefit the Japanese people. They have to pay the expenses of war and are even now supporting a vast number of soldiers with enormous sums as pensions.

The workers of Japan have a very difficult life. But will they suffer such oppression for long? No, they will awaken to the necessity of the times and will eventually organize themselves into a union. The hope for union lies in the fact that Japanese industry is rapidly becoming organized and under the modern system of industry, the workers are forced to organize themselves. The Japanese workers will learn this soon.

Strike Situation in Eastern Canada

BY ROSCOE A. FILLMORE.



NO. 3 COLLIERY, GLACE BAY, CAPE BRETON, CANADA.



SINCE writing my last article for the Review I have visited Springhill and spent a week there, becoming acquainted with many of the strikers and their families. Comrade Miss Mushkat of Moneton (now of New York) accompanied me and we addressed a meeting of about 1200 people in the Grand Opera House February 24th. The strikers are a fine, well organized body of workers and although they have been out about eight months yet there is no sign of yielding. There is no friction in the union and only four members have deserted so far.

I met several members of the strike committee, several of them being comrades, and learned something of the conditions leading to the strike. The men had been steadily victimized by a system of docks and fines. The following table will perhaps make this clear:

	1906		1907		1908	
	Docks	Fines	Docks	Fines	Docks	Fines
No. 2 slope	1738	1028	1827	1260	4219	3501
No. 3 slope	5079	1101	5631	831	14297	2582
Grand Totals	6812	2129	7458	2091	18516	6143

Note the enormous increase in docks and fines between 1906 and 1908. A dock means that the entire box of coal is taken from the miner if 60 pounds of stone is found. A fine means twenty cents off the price if 40 pounds of stone is found. Docks and fines for 1908 represent approximately 21,000 tons of coal, and, after making liberal allowance for the actual weight of stone found in the boxes, the company has appropriated some 20,000 tons of coal which, if paid for, would represent at least \$8,500.00 additional wages to the miners.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the burdens of the men were steadily increased until the climax came just before the strike, when the company tried to enforce a general reduction of fifteen per cent. The Lennieux conciliation act, (which serves the purpose of warning the masters of an impending strike and is therefore a very useful list of labor(?) legislation—for the masters) was called into use. But all attempts at hoodwinking the men were vain, as they were thoroughly aroused. After several boards of conciliation had droned for weeks (at \$10 per day) over quibbles and the crooked bookkeeping of the company the decisions were against the men. And quite naturally. Then came the strike.

The U. M. W. A. has paid strike benefits since the beginning of the struggle. It has also bought wood land and the men are thus supplied with fuel free of charge. At almost any hour of the day or night strikers may be seen hauling wood home, many of them using hand-sleds

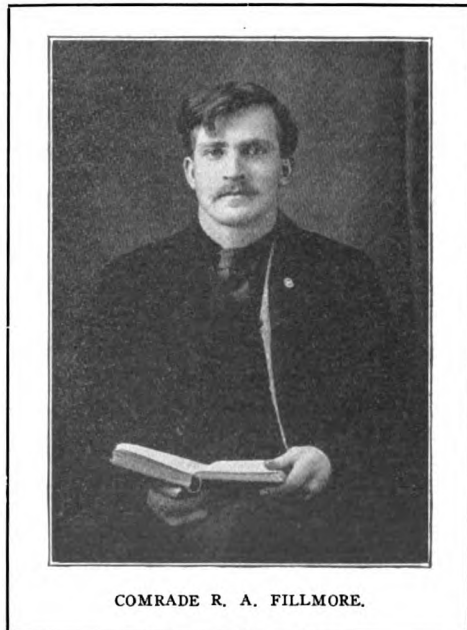
Lately an effort has been made to scab the mines, numbers of men having been brought in from Montreal, Cape Bulow, Halifax and other places, but the scabs leave as fast as others arrive. Only about 100 are at present at work and very few of these are experienced miners. The company claims it raised 3500 tons of coal during February, but probably one half this amount would be more nearly correct. The men claim that cars of coal have been hauled back and forth over the railroad so many times (in order to lead the public to the belief that they are raising an enormous quantity) that the coal begins to look gray and weather-beaten. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that Springhill coal has become conspicuous by its absence in the coal markets of the country.

Pinkerton and Thiel thugs are as plentiful as pretty girls at a husking. On the evening of February 26th one of the Thiel spies succeeded in raising a row and he and his pals got soundly mauled at the hands (and feet) of a body of strikers. The detective fired a revolver and was then passed over to the town police. He was fined \$10. Had he been a striker he would doubtless have received a year in jail. The police force of Springhill during the strike, it should be

noted, consists of two officers, one for night duty, the other for day, and these spend most of their time on a doorstep smoking. In fact the strikers are rather too weak and lowly. However, I heard one fellow say, after helping to beat up the Thiel spy, "I wish they'd send old King Edward along so we could give him the same dose."

Most of the company houses, of which there are about 200 double tenements, have been vacated by the strikers and those who moved are quartered upon others who had rooms to spare. The company left the windows of the vacant houses unprotected and the boys immediately wrought sad havoc. Then a howl for the military was in order and was at once given vent. But the red coated thugs have not yet been sent.

Politically, Springhill will be decidedly "red" in the near future. There is very little old party sentiment in the men now. Already they have ousted three of the bourgeois members of the civic council and elected miners in their stead. And, under the wise and beneficent administration of J. R. Cowans, general manager of the mines, the seeds of revolt that have been sown in Springhill will burst ere long and bring forth a bounteous harvest of class conscious workers. The future of Springhill as a Socialist centre is assured. Capitalist tyranny sooner or later breeds revolt. Capitalist society creates its own grave diggers.



COMRADE R. A. FILLMORE.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

BY I. M. ROBBINS.

THE SOLUTION: A PROPHECY AND A REMEDY.



AS IST der langen Rede kurzer Sinn?

This is to be the last installment of the long and drawn out series of my studies of the Negro problem. I can almost hear both the editor and the patient reader of the entire series (if there be any such person) drawing deep sighs of relief. I sometimes feel as if I had played a successful confidence game upon both the editor and the reader. For surely Comrade Kerr would never had agreed to accept a series of fifteen articles about the forsaken negro, for whom we have until now shown so very little concern.

Ah, but there is the rub. Has the socialist done his duty by the Negro in this country? And what may perhaps appeal more strongly to the class-conscious socialist, has he done his duty by the American working class and by the socialist movement in thus neglecting the negro? And even if my articles have accomplished nothing more than to continually remind the American socialists of this tremendous social and economic problem, a problem of exploitation of labor, I still cannot help flattering myself that my efforts were worth while. For it is unfortunately true that in the North the vast majority of the socialists are entirely oblivious to the existence of the problem, while in the South the socialist's attitude often characterizes him as a Southerner rather than a socialist.

But surely the socialist attitude on this problem cannot be a purely academic one. To him, as to every thinking American for that matter, it must not only be an interesting problem but one of tremendous vital importance. The question is not only: "What will the Southerner do to solve that problem?" or "what will the negro do to solve the problem?" or "What will happen to solve the problem?" but "What will we do to help solve it?" And what will the problem bring to the struggle of the American working class for his emancipation? What will the effect of the ten million negroes be upon the social evolution of the country? In short, what will be the solution of the Negro Problem? And what can and ought the socialist contribute to this solution?

It was for the very object of formulating an answer to these

questions that I have planned my series of studies, but now that I have reached the final stage, I confess that I face the duty of giving a solution with a good deal of apprehension. It is an accepted maxim of medical science that when a long list of remedies is recommended for a disease, the disease is probably an incurable one, or at least that the real remedy has not yet been discovered. For the real remedy is usually found, when discovered, to be a simple and specific one.

What is a solution to a social problem, anyway? And to go back one step further, what is a social problem? In the entire vernacular of the publicist there is scarcely a more useful, more convenient and more abused word.

A social problem, we take it, is a condition of social maladjustment. Its manifestations are discomfort and pain, finding outward expression in dissatisfaction and complaints. A problem is therefore a truly objective social fact, in so far as the subjective impressions of pain or discomfort find objective expression. To some white southern gentlemen the position of the negro in the South may present no problem at all, for they may feel that they "have got the negro just where they want him." But even if all the millions of white persons inhabiting the South, thought so (which they don't) the problem would still persist, as long as the ten millions of negroes still remain dissatisfied, still suffer discomfort and pain.

From this point of view there never will cease to be problems in social life, and efforts at their solution will forever agitate the minds and hearts of sentient beings, for only in death would there be complete adjustment and absence of all friction. Nevertheless, individual problems must some day be solved, for, in the words of the immortal Spencer, unstable equilibrium constantly tends to become a stable equilibrium. For life (social as well as individual) is a continuous process of adjustment of internal relations to external relations, and the adjustment is not perfect, as long as some pain persist.

As my previous articles have to some extent indicated, an enormous literature on the negro question exists in this country, and seldom a book or even an article is written, without containing a "solution" of the problem carefully outlined, and a very long list of such "solutions" may easily be quoted. That the problem still exists, that the pain and discomfort still exist, may be claimed by these physicians of the ills of the body politic to be due to the fact that in its blindness society has not yet resolved to apply this or that solution. But the difficulty of applying this or that "remedy", and the vast difference between the "remedies" lie in the fact, that not only the "remedies" but also the results to be accomplished vastly differ as between one selfappointed doctor and another. And just here lies the great

difference between bodily and social ills. Physicians may differ in their remedies, but the object which they strive to accomplish is presumable a definite one—to bring the suffering patient to health and vigor. But the aims of the many solutions of the negro problem are different and contradictory.

When a discussion of an important social problem is led up to the final “solution”—one of the three methods may be pursued:

1. We may simply picture things as they ought to be, in contrast to things as they are, we may picture the social ideal and stop at that. This method is used more frequently than the reading public is conscious of, and when clothed in sufficiently eloquent phraseology, often receives a cordial welcome, especially when the wishes of the writer agree with those of the reader. Socialists and other honest social idealists have more frequently sinned in that direction than practical politicians. “Some time, when I do not know, or how, or where, but some time, there will be perfect equality upon the earth,” concludes C. S. Darrow his article on “the Problem of the Negro” (*International Socialist Review*, Nov, 1907.)

2. A specific plan of action for the solution of the negro problem may be offered. Obviously this plan will depend upon what is considered the desirable solution of the problem. And in actual practice these plans are so strongly influenced by what appears to be desirable from an individual or class point of view that all considerations of probability or feasibility are forgotten. Thus a big volume of nearly 600 pages recently appeared (*The Negro Problem. Abraham Lincoln's Solution.* By William P. Pickett) which carefully elaborates in all its minutest details the plan of forcible deportation of the negroes—a plan economically unthinkable, legally impossible, ethically monstrous in the twentieth century.

It is the only scientific solution, but unfortunately it is impossible—quoth a student in biology. What a fruitful conception of sociological science, that permits the impossible to be scientific!

3. An effort may be made to throw a glance into the future, to give a forecast as to the probable development of the social relation under the influence of conditions and forces studied. To one who accepts the doctrine of economic interpretation of history, or at least believes in the applicability of the law of causation to social as well as to physical phenomena—such a glimpse promises some results, though the virtue of accuracy may not be claimed for it. It is true that often “the wish is father to the thought”, but on the other hand, prophecies are not always necessarily hopeful ones. Spencer, after fighting the doctrines of Socialism for many years nevertheless finished by writing a book on the “Coming slavery” ad-

mitting thus that the Cooperative Commonwealth was coming, though to him it was slavery nevertheless.

Thus a solution of a social problem as usually given, is either an ideal, a remedy or a prophecy, but a true solution should be all these things together. It should draw an ideal that is practical, present a remedy that should be useful, and make a prophecy that should be acceptable to our sense of justice as well as satisfy our curiosity as to the future, for unless it does satisfy our sense of justice, the prophecy may be a true prophecy, yet it fails to be a solution.

Before we start at the constructive part of our conclusions, however, it is necessary to pass the solutions offered in a rapid review.

What are the ideals offered concerning the future of the race relations in this country and the future of the negro race?

Three, and only three solutions, may offer themselves as final, i. e. such solutions as will do away with the negro problem. Of course, I am fully conscious of the fact, that such a complete solution, no matter what it is, will not be for a great many years or decades. But theoretically this is immaterial. We must have the final ideal not because we can immediately strike out for it, but so that we may know what to do, in order to keep getting nearer to it, and not away from it. This—in our opinion—is equally true of socialism itself.

The future of the negro may be imagined to assume one of the three following ideal forms: 1) A definite relegation of the negro to the position of an inferior, and acquiescence in that situation by everybody concerned; 2) the elimination of the negro from the life of the American people either by removal or by territorial segregation, and finally, 3) the absolute destruction of all discrimination against the negro, and the achievement by the negro of full civic political and social rights.

The faithful may be surprised at the failure to mention socialism. But, formally at least, logically, these two problems are unrelated. Their connection, if any, is not logical, but historical and must be established. (It is easy to conceive of a solved negro problem in a capitalist society, or at least the absence of all racial friction in such society; it is also possible to conceive, though perhaps somewhat less easily, of a negro problem, or some race discrimination surviving after the introduction of a cooperative commonwealth, as for instance the relegation of all negro citizens to the worst paying occupations.) This is all hypothetical of course, but it is purposely stated here to underscore the fact that the connection between race justice and socialism is not selfevident. It is not enough to assert, "Socialism is the only remedy", as did Charles H. Vail in his article in the Intern.

Soc. Review for Feb, 1901—the historical and economic connection of it exists, must be established.

Let us therefore meet the solutions offered in a fair spirit, forgetting for the time our Socialist hopes and aspirations, and see which one of the three is at all feasible and offers the promised solution.

1) **Recognition of and acquiescence in inferiority.** That, according to the practically unanimous Southern opinion, is the only acceptable solution. Acceptable to whom? Why, to the white Southerner, of course. Do the negroes like it? Some do, and some don't. The old antebellum darkeys, or the ignorant, illiterate, brutal plantation hands are willing to accept this, perhaps. But the new, "impudent" negro, the college negro, the professional negro, the business negro and the industrial negro worker do not accept it, and their number is growing all the time, while the antebellum negro and even the next generation will have died out in another 30-50 years. Education and economic growth in their mutual interaction, will rapidly increase the number of dissatisfied and rebellious negroes. And even if it was possible to repress the rebellious 10,000,000 negroes by armed force, can that be considered a "solution"?

Can that result ever, if possible, be considered desirable from any point of view of human progress? Can repression by brutal force of the desires and aspirations of millions of human beings, be thinkable in a democratic society? Human beings, to whom, as we have conclusively shown, nothing human is foreign, who have shown themselves fully fit to partake of all the fruits of our culture and civilization? Even among the Southerners, or at least the most intelligent of them, the consciousness is growing that this effort to hold half of their citizenship in suppression, is no less destructive of their moral and mental growth, than was slavery up to fifty years ago. The recognition-of-inferiority theory may be claimed to be a true prophecy, and it certainly is that, if only the immediate future is considered, but it is utterly devoid of all elements of a social ideal. It is not a thing worth striving for.

2) **The elimination of the negro.** In a purely abstract way, this has the elements of a true solution. That is, were it possible to actually remove all the persons of African descent to some other country, this would bring about a complete solution of the negro problem in this country. In the same way, the killing off all these 10,000,000 negroes would be a true solution. Spain once solved its Jewish problem by forcibly ejecting all its Jews. Russia tried to solve its Jewish problem by killing off its Jews. I suppose this is what my friend the biologist meant by his statement that the elimina-

tion of the negro would be the only true scientific solution if it were possible. Of course, from the point of Justice, we might as well propose to kill them, as to eject them forcibly from a land, in which they have acquired a proprietary interest by a longer residence than the majority of the white persons inhabiting it.

If it were possible! Is it possible? In a democratic country, whose entire social and political philosophy is based upon the recognition of certain inalienable rights of the individual? For to all the proposals for voluntary emigration the simple reply is sufficient that such emigration is not contemplated, is not given even a serious thought to.

But even supposing that all the organic, constitutional difficulties in the way of such plan were removed, could this solution be accomplished? Spain removed the Jews because it feared their economic power. Russia, (barring the demagogic reasons for Jew baiting) has the same fear of the commercial abilities of the Jews. But what is the greatest objection to the negro now? Not only in this country, but in the African colonies as well? That he does not want to eliminate himself? No, just the opposite, that he does not stay on one place, that he does not always prove himself a patient and reliable source of exploitation! Not only forcible removal, but even a peaceful propaganda among the Southern negroes for voluntary emigration to Africa would not be tolerated by the vast majority of the Southerners.

The proposals of elimination is neither an ideal nor a prophecy, though it is remedy,—it is only a quack remedy.

3) Territorial Segregation. Most of these arguments are applicable against the proposed segregation of the negroes within some of the states within this Union, a solution, which the famous English critic William Archer has recently advocated with a great deal of enthusiasm and conviction characteristic of a very superficial knowledge of the problem. Because of the weight of Archer's name and the eloquence of his plea, a popular monthly has readily published and probably handsomely paid for this contribution. But neither the South nor the North, neither the negro nor the white have shown any enthusiasm or even any interest for the plan. And for a very good reason—for it is a remedy that has neither the qualities of an ideal for any considerable element of the population, nor is there the slightest indication that historical tendencies are moving in that direction. It is an invented prescription, and no such prescriptions have been worth the paper they were written on in sociological problems. It was shown in one of the preceding installments of the series that the tendencies were exactly in the opposite direction, towards a scattering of the negro population. Not only does it contain

all the unsatisfactory elements of forcible emigration, in depriving Southern capital of a large supply of cheap labor,—but it is much more open to attack, for even abstractly does it not produce the desired “solution,” but by concentrating the negro power, would give stronger expression to their dissatisfaction. And as for constitutional difficulties—only a foreign mind, utterly oblivious of the legal foundations of the structure of this nation, could suggest the introduction of the Russian “Pale of Settlement” doctrine, brought down from the Middle Ages to a twentieth century democratic republic,—a “pale of settlement” doctrine with the concomital feature—the denial of personal right of free travel, perhaps a passport system, and local police boards for rendering ethnographic decisions as to racial status of doubtful individuals.

4) **Equalization of the negro status** with that of the white man, is evidently the only solution that can be classed as such—that will really solve the problem, i. e. receive this one problem as a source of social friction. It is the only solution that meets the requirements of a social ideal. It is the only solution, of which ten million negroes are dreaming, to which all their leaders are leading, no matter what different roads they chose, no matter how carefully they disguise their ultimate hopes.

But if satisfactory to the oppressed racial element, is it, or can it ever be satisfactory to the oppressing Caucasian Race? Is it, can it ever become the ideal of both sides to the controversy? That is, of course, the crucial point upon which our ideals must depend. Not that our opinions or wishes are really decisive of historical and sociological processes. But surely they are not without some influence, either of a stimulating or of a retarding nature. And in any case, disregarding blind elemental social forces, we are now discussing the ideal.

Enough has been said in the preceeding chapter about the Southern attitude on this problem. and the facts of the negro's growth during the fifty years of freedom in this country were rapidly pictured. To avoid repetition we must assume as true all those deductions which in the previous chapters we tried to establish. It has been demonstrated that the American negro is capable to absorb all the fruits of Caucasian culture and civilization. This being so, how can the negro's emancipation from his present status interfere with social progress? How can it injure the interests of his white neighbor?

Let us make this question quite clear to the reader. That it is to the interest of the white employer to “keep the negro down” and to keep his wages down, that a deep prejudice against the negro, and

his legitimate demands for civic rights exist, all this is recognized. Thus there is a real economic interpretation for the negro's plights both in the economic relations of the present, and the psychologic aftermath of the economic relations of the past. But neither of these is evidently a basic, organic, unsurmountable difficulty. Economic relations of the present must change, the psychologic effects of past economic relations must wear off. If economically, and biologically the white race cannot be injured by the emancipation of the negro, then it surely will not succumb to the psychological effects of the shock.

For what does the civic emancipation of the negro race mean, when reduced to its component elements? It means opportunity, economic, educational, cultural, social. It means the chance to rise intellectually, morally, economically, politically, socially. Why should the rise, the growth of any of my neighbors hurt me, unless I want to profit by his ignorance and weakness?

Ah, but this means social equality, and that is something the South will never agree to, many a southerner exclaims (Socialists, unfortunately, not excluded. But of this later). Yes, social equality, of course. That is really a splendid, telling phrase, when confined to its proper meaning. That is something the negro lacks, the negro, like every free citizen, must have.

Now, what is "social equality?" What do you understand by it, my southern friend? Is it the right to enter your parlor against your wishes, to marry your daughter against her wishes? Those are decidedly individual and not social acts. Your home is your castle, you frequently repeat. Even the officer of the law dare not enter it without a special warrant. Why, all that means that the home is the least social of our existing institutions. It is primarily the retreat of the individual, and personal fancies and caprices, prejudices and favoritism frequently rule there supreme. It is because in the swift current of socializing influences we nevertheless remain individuals, and therefore of necessity, individualists, that we appreciate our home just because it is the place for the expression of caprices, fancies, moods and irrational or supra-rational manifestations of life.

Evidently, with this institution social equality has absolutely nothing to do. No sensible, cultured negro wants to force his way into a private parlor, by whose owner he is hated and despised; and no law on earth can force the negro upon this unwilling parlor. The Jews in this country never suffered from discriminating legislation, and in most European countries they have been free from it for many decades. But in this country as well as in Europe, an overwhelming majority of the parlors is by a silent understanding closed to the

Jews. Have you ever heard of a concerted effort of the Jews to legislate themselves into your parlor or into your family?

Define this peculiar and narrow field as "parlor equality", and then perhaps we will be able to keep the problem within its legitimate limits.

No, this is not social equality, and, moreover, I strongly suspect that even the bigotted Southerner understands this distinction. He is for Jim Crow cars, and Disfranchisement acts, and for vagrancy laws, and against negro schools, not because he is afraid of the negro's intrusion in his parlor, but for other much more material, much more sordid reasons.

It is social equality that a negro has a right to demand, and to expect, and that he must have before we may claim to have solved the negro problem, i. e. equality at the hand of organized society, equality in all social institutions, equality before the election officers, equality in the civil service, equality in a library, built at public expense, to which at present he is not admitted, equality in the jury, when one of their race is on trial, equality in representation and the making of laws, under which he must live, equality at the hands of the school board, when money is appropriated for schools, equality in railroads, street cars, steamers, theatres and stores, which are truly public even if owned by private capital. Give the negro these, and he will not make any effort to force his way into your parlor, any more than the Jew forces or can force his way.

Now, I don't want to be misunderstood for a moment, as trying to justify Caucasian snubbishness concerning the African or Yellow races. Personally, I think it silly, though I can understand its origin. There are other things, logically silly, but historically inevitable, whether we mention long skirts, boiled shirts, or excessive sexual modesty. In a limited way I practice social, or rather "parlor" equality, and I do it in no spirit of bravado, but because I found a few highly intelligent negroes whom I enjoy meeting. To tell the truth, I found it much easier to force my way into an intelligent negro's house, than to get him into mine, possibly because there always lingers in the minds of the negro a suspicion as to the motives of the exceptionally cordial white man.

But I also know that it will be a long time before all the white folks will get rid of this prejudice as well as of many other prejudices and superstitions, and I also know that an organized effort to overcome this prejudice forcibly would be the surest way to give it new life. Only slowly, unconsciously do these large changes in mass psychology take place, but they are inevitable when the logic of events destroys the bases for the existing beliefs.

The final argument against the full emancipation of the negro remains: the fear of miscegenation, the necessity to fight for racial purity. In a previous chapter I have shown, how frequently, as in the work of Professor Smith of Tulane University, this was made the justification and explanation for the entire policy of negro repression, with absolute disregard of the actual facts of life. Of all the different aspects of the negro problem, that known as amalgamation has caused the greatest amount of hysteria, and it has become a topic of greatest difficulties for calm and rational consideration by a Southerner. But here hysteria must be discarded, and the problem must be approached calmly, and without prejudices, if we are to arrive at reasonable results.

The charge of the negro's desire to carry on a forcible amalgamation through rape is too silly to deserve more than a possible mention, even if it did move John Temple Graves to advocate the wholesale castration of all bad negroes as a preventative measure. The question of amalgamation is therefore a question of voluntary miscegenation.

What are the facts? First, that forcible miscegenation was for centuries practiced by the white man and he is therefor primarily responsible for the degree of amalgamation accomplished thus far, and no small degree it is, to be sure.

These results were achieved without any "parlor" equality of which the South is so fearful, in fact were accomplished while the negro, as slave, was at the bottom of the social ladder. There is one important factor to be taken into consideration. The charge is often been made by Southern writers, Tillinghast for instance, that it was really the immorality of the negro woman and not the voluptuousness of the Southern man that was responsible for this miscegenation. Supposing that this were true—then evidently the rise of the negro would decrease rather than increase this cause of amalgamation. For it must not be forgotten, that "amalgamation" of the races proceeded almost exclusively through illicit intercourse.

It is often claimed by Southerners that all this is a thing of a past. In the nature of things no statistics of illicit sexual intercourse is possible. But a series of articles in Pearson's Magazine recently published, urging the Southern white youth to limit itself to white prostitutes, so as to avoid further amalgamation (this is no exaggerated misstatement, but the actual advice given by that author) seems to indicate that with all the supposedly natural, biological antagonism between the races, the southern gentlemen is not averse to concouring with a negro prostitute, and continues to practice miscegenation, social equality or no social equality. And it is quite

natural to suppose that in the simple psychology of a negro prostitute or semiprostitute a white client represents the more affluent and therefore more desirable class.

In the opinion of Prof. Smith, however, there are two different kinds of amalgamation vastly differing as to their Social effects. The woman, he insists, is the carrier of racial purity. The illicit relations of white men with negro women bring white blood to the negro race. The reverse relations, between negro men and white women, would contaminate the white race.

Granting this difference, miscegenation has not interfered with the purity of the Caucasian race, but has infused a good deal of Caucasian blood into the African race, and from the Southern point of view, could but improve the latter. To use a crude colloquialism, "Where is the kick coming?"

But, says Prof. Smith, if social equality (in his sense of "parlor" equality) is granted, it will be followed by mixed marriages of both types, and the American people will become a mongrel people.

Is the danger of such marriages real? And if they should really take place, would they represent a serious danger to the racial evolution of the white race in the United States?

I might as well admit it: To me, individually, a mixed marriage between a caucasian and a real negro, seems monstrous, biologically as well as esthetically. I'd much rather eat at the same table with a negro woman than marry her. Southern practice seems to take the diametrically opposite view. But socially, I see no danger in such marriages. The Southerner objects to them, from a social point of view, while conniving at them individually. I refuse to admit the social danger, first because I assume that my esthetic objections are shared by the vast majority of men and especially women, when a marriage relation is contemplated. As a result the mixed marriages are extremely rare. When they do occur, unless in the very bottom of social structure, the negro has usually more white than African blood, and is a negro constructively only.

(Concluded next month.)



Marxian vs. Nietzschean.

BY MARCUS HITCH.



HE recent volume, **Men vs. The Man**, published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, is an epistolary debate between two well-equipped champions, consisting of six letters by Robert Rives La Monte, Marxian, and six replies thereto by H. L. Mencken, who is called by his opponent a Nietzschean.

In his first letter La Monte takes special pains to warn his correspondent that the socialism which he advocates is not a scheme for human amelioration which society is free to adopt or reject as it will. This warning, right at the beginning, is important because we shall afterwards find that it is disregarded by his opponent. The first letter then proceeds to state the position of socialists from the economic standpoint, and lays particular stress upon the great volume of surplus wealth that is actually created and cannot be disposed of except through the medium of foreign markets, wars, earthquakes, or other calamities. This phase of the subject is so familiar to readers of the **International Socialist Review** that we do not need to go into details.

In his first reply, and in fact in his very first sentence, Mencken characterizes himself and his false view of socialism by saying that he and the Marxian both agree that the world is by no means perfect, but that when they come to discuss the precise method of bettering it and to define the goal which lies ahead, the divergence between them is abysmal. La Monte is needlessly cautioned that schemes for human amelioration are wasted. He then proceeds to show that the immense surplus referred to by La Monte does not in fact exist; that there is no danger whatever of clogging the channels of commerce with surplus wealth; that the laborer gets in wages all that he earns; that nearly all the rest of the product is earned by the employer, and that the balance remaining, which goes to the idle capitalist, is insignificant, though he admits there is a small balance; that the possibility of exploiting the workingman is the one thing that justifies and optimistic view of human progress.

In his second letter La Monte justly calls attention to the fact that when you measure progress, as Mencken does, by the increase of accurate knowledge, and thus apotheosize human reason, you put yourself back on the standpoint of the French Rationalists of the eighteenth century. He then returns to the discussion of the economic basis of socialism and the rate of exploitation which the wage-workers suffer, giving statistics to show that an average income per family of \$5,000 per annum would be possible if the waste of the competitive system were eliminated.

In his second reply Mencken disputes this statement, principally for the reason that no allowance has been made for shirking, for laziness, for drunkenness, for illness. The workingman has before him two methods for satisfying his "will to power"—first by entering into a conspiracy with other workingmen, which has for its object an artificial bulling of the market wherein their skill is sold, without offering any corresponding improvement in its quality; second, by seeking to improve his own skill so that it shall bring more than the average price. A vast majority, instead of seeking to increase their efficiency, try to do as little as they can for their wages, which is only an attempt to penalize society. As to the profits made by the rich, they pay back their debt to humanity by the establishment of libraries, museums, hospitals, the erection of monuments, etc.

In his third letter La Monte endeavors to convict Mencken of inconsistency, in that, on the one hand, he fears the world will be over-populated, and on the other hand he praises the rich for establishing hospitals and institutes, which have a tendency to preserve life and thus intensify the over-population. As for the laziness of the wage-worker, what inducement has he to be anything but lazy and drunken? What gives me, says La Monte, my firm and unshakable belief in his potentialities as an efficient worker in the future, is the very fact that he has sense and manhood enough to be discontented with the conditions under which he works now.

Mencken in his third reply rebuts the charge of inconsistency. What he meant was that the hospitals and institutes founded by wealthy men to preserve life are really for the benefit of high-caste people who are temporarily in need of assistance and that such institutions do not principally aid the vast mass of the population who are described by him as "low-caste." We do not vaccinate negroes to preserve their useless lives, but because we do not want them to fall ill of small-pox in our kitchens and stables, and so expose us to danger, inconvenience and expense, says Mencken. What are the virtues of a high-caste man? He should possess, to an unusual

and striking degree, all of those qualities which distinguish the average man from the average baboon. The chief of these qualities is a sort of a restless impatience with things as they are,—a sort of insatiable desire to help along the evolutionary process. The low-caste man dreams chaotic dreams without working out practicable plans for their realization. He pins his faith to christianity, socialism, or some other vaporous miracle cult. The high-caste man, having efficiency as well as imagination, makes the thing itself arise out of the idea of it. He peers through microscopes, builds great steamships, reclaims deserts, makes laws, and overturns the gods. The distinction between the two is the product—not so much of varying environment as of inborn differences. Castes are not made by man, but by nature.

In his fourth letter La Monte replies to these misrepresentations of socialism very fully and ably, and in his reply Mencken branches off to the subject of political democracy. Its comparative safety and efficiency lie not in the florid strophes of the declaration of independence, but in the fact that those strophes must ever remain mere poetry; that is to say, its practice is beneficent because its theory is happily impossible. Once a year we reaffirm the doctrine that all men are free and equal. All the rest of the twelve months we devote our energies to proving that they are not. The typical low-caste man is entirely unable to acquire that power of ordered and independent reasoning which distinguishes the man of higher caste. The binomial theorem is as far beyond his comprehension as an epigram in Persian. In the true sense, such a being cannot think. The low-caste man's insatiable desire for company, for fraternity, for brotherhood, is a proof of his low caste. He has no resources within himself, so he joins fraternal orders, goes to church, and affiliates with a political party.

In his fifth letter La Monte discusses the rise of the pecuniary magnate, and the tendency under modern opportunities to concentrate financial power in the hands of a single person or small group of persons.

Mencken replies, that when this condition becomes intolerable it can be terminated by assassination; that the pecuniary magnate is inevitable at our present stage of progress. He is the incarnation of the dominant concept of mankind to-day. He will live and flourish until the ideals of humanity are changed. Once the ideal was an eternity of bliss at the right hand of Jehovah. After the age of faith there followed an age of military endeavor brought on by the gradual crowding of Western Europe. Then came the discovery of America and the gradual submergence of the military ideal in commercial ideals. That the commercial ideal will rule mankind forever, I by no

means assert, says Mencken. How long it will remain more powerful than all other ideals, I do not know, and neither do I know what other ideal will take its place. My own private view is that the ideal of truth-seeking will one day take the place of the ideal of money-making.

In his sixth letter La Monte is able to enlighten Mencken as to how these mysterious ideals which rule the world are themselves manufactured. They are determined by the modes of production and exchange; but the explanation is thrown away.

Mencken's reply contains a statement of his own philosophy. In order that the human race may go forward it is not sufficient that the unusual man be given enough to eat and a roof to shelter him from the weather, for such things are within the easy reach of practically all men. He must have, in addition, a reward which effectually marks him off from the common man. Whatever he desires, he proves title to it by getting it. This is an admirable arrangement. It determines every man's value, not by his yearnings or his intentions, but by the immediate value of his acts. The workingman's notion that in addition to his just wages, he deserves a definite reward for the mere act of remaining alive, is one to which I cannot subscribe. I cannot think, says Mencken, upon my own good fortune in life, without a feeling that my thanks should go forth somewhere and to someone. My day's work is not an affliction, but a pleasure; my labor, sold in the open market, brings me the comforts that I desire; I am assured against all but a remote danger of starvation in my old age. Outside my window, in the street a man labors in the rain with pick and shovel, and his reward is merely a roof for to-night and to-morrow's three meals. Contemplating the difference between his lot and mine, I cannot fail to wonder at the eternal meaninglessness of life.

When disputants cannot agree on the facts, the debate as to the cause of these facts, who suffers or profits by them, and what results any proposed changes would have, is a waste of breath. Mencken claims that the exploitation of the workers is small; that there is no forced unemployment; that capitalists do useful work;—in fact, that there is no criterion by which we can tell what work is useful and what not useful; that everyone gets the actual value of his work in the open market; that there is no waste in competition; that human labor power is only muscle power, ox power; that the necessity of getting a livelihood and supporting one's offspring, which is effective in the case of wild beasts, is powerless to overcome the congenital laziness of the ordinary human being; that nothing but the magic touch of exploitation for private profit will work this miracle; that the difference

between the high-caste man and the low-caste is congenital, not economic; but apparently he fears that the removal of the economic difference would destroy the congenital difference.

Well, if these things are true, then Mencken's philosophy appears reasonable and debate is useless. Mencken is unwilling to pay men anything merely for the labor of being alive; we, too. We are also unwilling to pay men anything merely for the labor of being property-owners.

Mencken is grieved because low-caste men cannot understand the binomial theorem. That is nothing. We have tried a hundred times and have never yet found a high-caste man (outside the socialists) who could grasp the axiomatic proposition that the abolition of exploitation in industry would necessarily cut away the foundation of graft in politics and make an honest government possible; or the equally evident proposition that although you cannot change men's actions directly by legislation, nevertheless you can change industrial and property conditions by legislation, and that these changed conditions would in turn affect men's actions. That is as an "epigram in Persian" to the high-caste man; on economic subjects he cannot truly think, as Mencken would say. He has a contempt for the "master equation" of economic determinism which reveals sociological truths; but master equations in any other department of human knowledge are acceptable and indicate a high-caste mind.

As the oyster cannot free himself from his shell, so the typical individualist cannot free himself from the idea that the "natural" function of public government is to enforce private contracts by the artificial means of courts. This whole philosophy is based on the delusion that under bourgeois freedom the contracts and business customs of men, which grow into laws, arise out of industrial relations which are the result of the deliberate choice of the parties; in other words, that men choose their methods of social industry according to their varying tastes or whims.

The individualist assumes, in the first place, that all men can individually get a livelihood, which is only an incidental thing, produced by ox power; that then the principal business of life consists in the spiritual act of deliberating upon and making a choice of the ways in which ultimate happiness can be attained. This view lays a foundation for the theoretical separation of matter and spirit by the same gulf which is claimed to separate the two-legged ox from the truthseeker, and, of course, leads to dualism. In one age, says Mencken, this ultimate good was found in religion; later in military glory; then in commerce; it will reach its ultimate of ultimates in the pursuit of

barren knowledge and speculating on the eternal meaninglessness of life and the riddle of the universe.

In this scheme the producing problem, which solves all problems by the reconciliation of mind and matter, is left out of the account entirely; whereas, in fact, the meaning of life is found in the living of it here and now, which includes the getting of a livelihood, (i. e., a human livelihood in society with all it implies), by a co-operation and co-ordination of matter and spirit. There is no meaninglessness of life except for one who is chasing the phantom of a far-away and ever receding telos, which is assumed to be wholly different and disconnected from the present; the placing of this telos in the distant future on earth gives it no advantage over the old religious telos in heaven.

There is no riddle of the universe except for one who has lost his mental footing by separation from the productive process, as well as by a misconception of the process, of cognition, and has a preconceived notion different from the alleged riddle; and who perverts his logical faculties by trying to apply to the universe as a whole laws of cause and effect, beginning and end, purpose and goal, which can be applied only to the parts of the universe in relation to each other; who views things only as successive, not as coexistent; as unrelated, not as correlated; who plays the one-string melody of evolution, and ignores the symphony of convolution. To apply to the whole the laws of the parts is to create riddles where they do not exist, and leads to agnosticism, not in philosophy only, but in sociology as well.

Truth-seeking or cognition is not an act of the mind alone, but requires the assistance of material phenomena. A man thinks not with his brain exclusively, but with his whole body, and ultimately with the whole Universe. The mind does not understand the Universe that stands under the mind. This Universe is the prerequisite and basis of understanding in the same way that standing room is the prerequisite of lifting. Why then should a man try to think himself out of the mystery of the Universe any more than he should try to lift himself away from the mystery of his standing place?

To get out of this slough of despond we need only observe that industrial relations are not secondary, but are primary, and are not of men's free choice, but are as involuntary as they are unavoidable; and that these compulsive relations account for men's tastes in pursuing certain ideals and establishing certain customs, which, when crystallized into laws by long usage, appear to the self-styled agnostic as the immutable laws of nature; whereas, in fact, they are as immutable as the methods of industrial production only, no more and no less.

So long as the mystery of commodity production and class government stupifies the high-caste man in the same way that the mysteries of physical nature affect the primitive savage, the universe will remain a riddle. Not until man has mastered his own social environment does he rise from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom and become able to grasp the riddle of the universe. He will then also be able to grasp the paradox that a high Individualism can only be attained by means of Socialism.

The Story of the Telephone.

By JACK MORTON.



WHEN Professor Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, was a young man of 22, he was informed by Professor Helmholtz that an electromagnet would set a tuning-fork ringing. Professor Helmholtz was not trying to invent a telephone, but to demonstrate the physical basis of music. But the humming tuning-fork was a new and very interesting phenomenon to Bell. If a magnet or an electrofied wire could set a tuning-fork ringing, why would it not be possible, he argued, to invent a musical telegraph whereby many sounds might be sent over the wires at the same time. Thereupon Professor Bell set out on the trail of the telephone.

His continued success as a teacher of acoustics, so brilliant that it won for him a professorship in Boston University, required much of his time, so that young Bell was continually divided between his interest in his method of teaching deaf-mutes and his quest of the telephone. But he was generally able to fix up a small work-shop in some basement where he carried on his experiments with batteries, tin trumpets, tuning-forks and magnets. He always seemed to be in a state of mental delight, either over the success of his teaching or the possibilities of the musical telegraph, or telephone.

It was Dr. Clarence J. Blake, who suggested that young Bell experiment with a real, human ear. Dr. Blake was an aurist of note and it was natural that he should make this suggestion which probably would never have occurred to Bell. The ear of a dead man was procured and a straw was arranged to touch the ear drum at

one end and a piece of smoked glass at the other. When Bell spoke loudly into the ear very small markings appeared upon the smoked glass.

Ordinary people, who have always lacked faith in inventors, would have called Bell crazy as he danced about this crude contrivance, so full of delight at his discovery that he could scarcely control his emotions. In a flash the idea of a membrane telephone came to his mind, and he imagined two discs connected by an electrofied wire receiving vibrations at one end and reproducing them at the other. Just as he arrived at the point when he felt confident of ultimate success, his financial backers declared they would produce no more money to advance an ear toy that would be no use to anybody, and insisted that Bell continue his experiments on the musical telegraph.

Fortunately, at this time, Bell had an opportunity of meeting Prof. Joseph Henry, who knew more of the theory of electrical science at that time than any man in America. Prof. Henry experimented with the Bell model and declared that Bell was on the track of a great invention.

Three months later a single twang was sent over the crude affair Bell had rigged up in a workshop—an exact reproduction of the twang received at the other end—the first message sent—and reproduced—and the telephone was born. The telephone was in existence, it is true, but it had not yet spoken one word, and Bell set himself to master the intricacies of electricity in order to complete his work. There were no sign posts to guide him, for nobody had ever progressed over the road to the telephone before him. He wandered about in a labyrinth growing ever a little nearer to a solution of his problem.

For forty weeks Bell experimented. All this time the telephone would gasp and jabber and whisper, but no words came over it till on March 10, 1876, it said very plainly, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want you." Mr. Watson, who was at the other end of the wire came dashing up from the basement workshop, "I heard you; I heard you," he said joyfully.

When Bell was twenty-nine, he received his patent from Washington. It was issued under the phrase "an improvement in telegraphy." There was then no such word in the language as the "telephone."

WIRELESS TELEPHONING.

From the first Bell telephone to the wireless telephone is a long step, and the latest achievements in this line have been performed by Dr. Millener in the yards of the Union Pacific R. R. Co. at Omaha,

Neb., where he has installed a wireless apparatus which will ring a bell at some distance from the operator. Dr. Millener believes that practical apparatus may soon be installed in trains for receiving wireless telephone messages on moving trains. Communications are being held daily between the shops and Fort Omaha, four miles distant. The electric truck at the shops can now be controlled by the operator at Fort Omaha.

"In the operation of a wireless station on land a large area of ground covered with metallic netting is required to intercept and gather the electric waves."

In wireless telephoning on moving trains, Dr. Millener claims there will be no danger in electrifying the rails, as persons passing over them will never know, nor feel, the high voltage passing through them.

The Barbarism of Capitalism.

By J.



JOHN K. TURNER has told us in the American Magazine about "Barbarous Mexico." Fred Heslewood and others have told us something about "Barbarous Spokane." We have heard of the barbarous slaughter of hundreds of coal miners, murdered like rats in a trap, time and again, in our own civilized United States of America.

We hear of the killing and mangling of thousands of our fellow citizens yearly by the barbarism of modern railroading. We are continually told, by the press of the world, of the most revolting scenes of barbarism in all of the so-called cultured nations. We know that the people are clubbed, lashed, imprisoned, tortured and killed in order to keep them in subjugation, not only in imperialistic Russia, Germany, China and Japan, but also in monarchistic England, Spain, Portugal and Italy. I would like to stop at that, but it must be added that this barbarism is also practiced in France and in all the Republics of America.

So it is beside the mark and wholly inadequate, to speak of a country, a city, a president, or a governor, as being "barbarous." It

is not the **place**, or the **person** that is particularly "barbarous." What we see is the periodical outbreak, at certain times and places, of the whole mass of the devastating Barbarism of Capitalism, that is festering in the body of modern society, slowly eating its way to the heart and threatening to produce either a quick death, or a new birth, or both.

For many years, one of the places of refuge of the liberty loving and free minded people of Italy and Spain has been the Argentine Republic; but within the last five years the most horrible barbarities have been practiced there and many of these people have been glad to escape with their lives, even to such a country as "Barbarous Mexico." All of the countries between the United States and Cape Horn are governed by so-called presidents, who are nothing more than dictators, or petty dispensors of barbarism, who dictate to their people, but who in turn are **dictated to** by the great boss dictator, capitalism, whose capital city is New York, with a branch office at Washington, D. C.

The Argentine government at present is in the hands of Figueroa Aleosta, a heartless and despotic tyrant, who within the last few years has inaugurated a series of persecutions and banishments that have just about suppressed the last vestige of free press, free speech and democratic government.

On November 14, 1909, Colonel Falcón, chief of police of Buenos Aires, the Federal Capitol, and his private secretary, were killed by a bomb thrown by a person still unknown, but who was doubtless one of the victims of persecution who had escaped with his life and being human, felt a powerful desire for personal revenge.

The day following, the whole Republic was declared in a state of siege for 60 days and a reign of terror was begun by the government.

The offices of "La Vanguardia," a socialist paper, were attacked and partially destroyed. The office and machinery of "La Protesta," an anarchist paper, were completely demolished. The halls of organized workers and of the lay schools, were also ransacked by the police and practically suppressed. Libraries were burned. Men, women and children were arrested by the hundreds everywhere and herded to Buenas Aires. Old men, nor women, were respected. In one of the towns of the provinces, where an old man was a prisoner, his fourteen year old daughter was violated in his presence. To shorten a long story, a large group of men were driven from place to place and finally on board of a war ship where they were stripped and robbed of all but their underwear and compelled to run at a trot around the deck while the marines lashed them, beat them and jabbed

them with bayonets and swords. Among these men were novelists, artists, editors, laborers and merchants, of diverse nationalities, dispositions and tendencies.

Two days later twenty-eight Russians were taken out to be sent to Russia and before embarking were given another run of the gauntlet worse than before. They were hacked with machetes till the deck was covered with blood and in one case the weapon remained sticking in the victim's back. The others stayed in that horrible daily torture till December 24, when thirty-eight Italians and Spaniards were released to be sent to Europe, only to find the police there ready to continue the persecutions as much as the conditions of the country permit.

Part of this narration I take from a letter dated Vigo, Spain, Jan. 22, 1910, and signed by eight of the deported Spaniards. It was published by "El Socialista" of Madrid. Fellow workingmen of the United States, this Barbarism of Capitalism is coming nearer and nearer to your own little home. The only remedy is the abolition of the capitalist system of production and distribution and the only way to do that is to effect a more perfect organization of the entire working class, both in the political and in the industrial field. At present you are almost helpless. Your congress is made up of millionaires and lawyers. You have no members of your class in places of power and even the so-called "prominent labor leaders," such as Gompers, are traitors to the working class.

The right of free press and free speech, is being taken away from you and you still sleep on. Forget your differences of craft and creed and language and join hands with all the other members of the working class in one magnificent movement; having for its purpose the complete annihilation of Barbarous Capitalism and the inauguration of a new society, in which not only a few will enjoy life, but all will live as humans should, in a state of peace and plenty.

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Party Congress. The delegates of the Socialist Party who meet at Chicago May 15, will have a hard task before them, and a great opportunity. The convention of 1908 adopted a Declaration of Principles on which practically all members of the party can unite heartily. But it also adopted a platform for 1908 which has become obsolete, and a series of immediate demands which require careful revision. It is useless to disguise the fact that two opposite tendencies will be represented at the convention. There will be those who want a platform that will appeal to "all the people",—that will attract the votes of petty exploiters who want exploitation to continue, but would be glad to have the help of wage-workers in curbing the trusts. This view will be aggressively put forward and ably defended by men who are experienced in the ways of conventions. They will go into the struggle well organized, with the advantage of knowing exactly what they want. Yet we believe they represent a minority of the membership of the party. If those who stand for revolution rather than reform can unite on a definite program, applying the recognized principles of Socialism to the conditions of today, we may be able to go into the campaign with a platform to be proud of. Taking the old platform and demands as a basis on which to work, the *International Socialist Review* suggests the following revision as one on which we all might unite:

PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR 1910.

The Socialist Party, in national congress assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and invites the support of all wage-workers and all who desire to put an end to the system by which wage-workers are deprived of the product of their labor.

The United States is now at the height of what the great daily newspapers call "prosperity". Wealth is being produced at a rate swifter than was ever known in all the world's history. The machinery of production is being increased by leaps and bounds, and capital is piling up in the hands of the great captains of industry, who are preparing to use it to make the labor of their wage-workers more productive still.

Amid all this "prosperity" the real wages of the wage-workers, measured in the necessities and comforts of life which they will buy, are swiftly and steadily declining. The production of gold, in which all prices, including the price of labor-power, are measured, has been wonderfully cheapened by new machine processes for extracting gold from ore. With this cheapening of gold, the prices of all the things the laborer must buy have risen by fifty per cent within the last ten years, while his money wages have increased but slightly.

Against this automatic reduction of wages the laborers have here and there resisted by strikes, but for the most part they have either accepted insignificant concessions on the part of the employers and returned to work, or else have seen their unions ruthlessly crushed out by the employers, aided by the judges, soldiers and police, acting as the representatives of the ruling classes.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the Republican or Democratic parties. As long as individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit through the exploitation of others, so long the misery of the mass of the people must go on increasing. No half-way reform measures in the way of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interest of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, the Prohibitionist and all parties other than the Socialist Party are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class. Each party, wherever it has been in power, has been equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class.

We recognize that no laws that can be passed while capitalists control the means of production, will put an end to the poverty and distress of the working class. Nevertheless we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program, as measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim.

PROGRAM.

1. Employment by the United States, state and municipal governments of unemployed workers in the construction of canals and roads, the building of schools, the reclamation of arid or swamp lands, the development of water power to be used for public purposes,

the exploitation of government mining lands, and other useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be employed directly by the government and to be paid not less than the prevailing rate of union wages, with an eight hour work-day. The United States to lend money without interest to states and municipalities for the purpose of employing wage workers under such conditions:

2. The government to establish a compulsory system of insurance for the protection of all wage-workers, the cost of such insurance to be borne by the government and the employer, and no laborer to be debarred from the benefits of such insurance by reason of membership in a labor union or participation in a strike.

3. All wage-workers, whether employed by the government or private employers, to be given the right to organize into unions without interference of any kind on the part of the employer. Any corporation discharging employees for organizing to forfeit its charter.

4. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication. All land not personally used by the holder, to become a portion of the public domain.

5. Abolition of police interference with laborers in search of employment. Any innocent person arrested on suspicion to be compensated by receiving double the amount of wages he would have earned during time confined. Any policeman or jailer using unnecessary violence to be forever debarred from holding office.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

7. Improvement of industrial conditions for the workers, by shortening the work-day, by securing to every worker a rest period of at least a day and a half each week, by effective inspection of workshops and factories, by forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age, and by compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, old age and death.

8. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women. Residence requirement for suffrage to be reduced to three months in the state and thirty days in the voting precinct.

9. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall. The Constitution of the United States to be made amendable by majority vote.

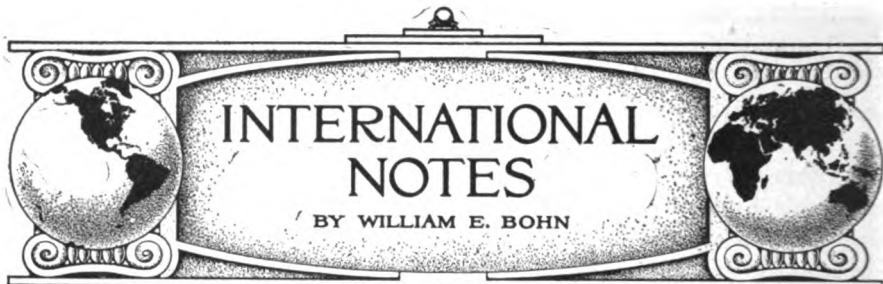
All these measures are but a preparation for the seizure by the workers of all powers of government and all the means required for employing their own labor and enjoying its fruits.

It will be observed that in this draft of a platform we have made no attempt at originality nor at elegance of style. We have followed

the language of the old platform except where there seemed to us to be a distinct reason for a change. We have eliminated about half the old "demands", partly because we think brevity adds strength, and partly because some of them are of a distinctively middle-class character. For example, it makes no difference to a wage-worker whether the government raises its revenue by a tax on incomes or in some other way. The demand that the national constitution be made amendable by majority vote is broad enough to cover the principle involved in the other constitutional changes suggested in the old program, and we believe it will be better propaganda to pass lightly over the details. "The free administration of justice" looks like a sop to the small proprietors, who are at a disadvantage when attacked by the big capitalists in the courts. In place of this we urge the new demand numbered 5, which is of vital interest to wage-workers.

Our demand numbered 2 is made necessary by the steps recently taken by several large corporations to establish insurance systems under their own control, to be used in a way likely to cripple the labor unions, an example that will probably be followed by many other employers in the near future. The addition we have made to paragraph 8 has to do with a matter that is vital to the life of our party. It is now in the power of the capitalists to nullify any local success we may win by discharging socialist voters, sending them adrift after jobs, and employing new laborers who are not allowed to vote for a long time. Even where no discharges are made for political reasons, the wage-workers' party is always at a disadvantage under present laws because its members lose their votes by following their jobs from place to place. This is a measure that will be bitterly fought by nearly every capitalist, while it will strongly commend itself to nearly every wage-worker.

Of course, the committee of the Congress will and should write its own platform, but we hope that these suggestions will at least clear the air. And we desire to take this occasion to deny most emphatically the charge that the International Socialist Review has opposed, opposes, or is preparing to oppose political action by the working class. We hold with Frederick Engels that the victorious proletariat, when it comes into its own, will have little use for the old political forms of the dead middle-class. But we also hold that in the fight with capitalism that is day by day growing fiercer, the wage-workers, if they depend on their unions alone, will be crushed by brute force. If they are to contend on equal terms with the capitalists, they must combine at the ballot-box to win for themselves the control of the soldier's rifle, the policeman's club and the judge's injunction.



Australia. Another Strike that Failed. Australian capitalism is not full-grown, but in suppressing unionism it is as expert as our own giant. It has used the capitalistic weapons, the laws, the courts and the police, as effectively as Spokane, Philadelphia or New Castle, Penn. And that, too, in the face of a Labor Party and an elaborate arbitration system.

The great Australian Coal Strike is broken. It seems to have been a case of the labor leaders restraining the workers from decisive action until the employers had time to perfect their legal weapons and crush the strike. During the first two weeks of the strike the government was thoroughly alarmed. The threat of a general strike drove the ministry to plead with the mine owners and even to talk of state operation of the mines. But the general strike remained, in New South Wales as in Pennsylvania, only a threat. It was not the rank and file who flinched or hesitated. The Wharf Laborers clamored to go out in sympathy with the miners and were restrained only by the personal influence of their President, the cautious Mr. Hughes. The Coal Lumpers struck in defiance of the orders of the Strike Congress. Peter Bowling, socialist and fighting leader of the miners, was busy holding his men firm and organizing relief measures, but even he seemed unable to bring on a general strike in the face of opposition from the Labor Party and the Strike Congress. The government felt the hesitation, realized that they would have only the miners to fight, and abandoned their policy of concession and mediation. A short, sharp program of union-smashing was legalized by the parliament and relentlessly executed by the courts and the police.

Peter Bowling and four other union officers were already under sentence for "promoting a strike." They were tried again on a charge of "conspiracy" under the common law. On February 10th they were found guilty. The jury strongly recommended mercy, but the judge declared that "law must be upheld" and sentenced the strikers to

eighteen months imprisonment at hard labor. Peter Bowling's sentence was added to that already meted out to him by another court for the same offense, and he is, therefore, under sentence of two years and a half imprisonment at hard labor. The excessively severe sentence showed the government's fear of him; its hatred was shown in the petty persecution of sending him to jail in irons.

A dramatic interlude worthy of Philadelphia took place on February 8th. The socialists of Sydney organized a street demonstration to protest against the imprisonment of Bowling and the other strike leaders. Men and women marched through the streets of Sydney, carrying red flags and inscriptions demanding the release of the unionists. The police fell upon the procession and dragged men and women to jail. Sixty-four paraders in all were hauled to court. There men were condemned on such damning evidence as that they "knew Tom Mann or Peter Bowling," that they "did not believe in capitalism" or that they "were not Christians." Those adjudged guilty of these widely varied offenses were fined.

Sixteen other strikers were sent to jail under sentences of from two to eight months. But the leaders who had opposed the general strike and had even urged the miners outside of the Newcastle district to return to work were not arrested. They were left free to continue their work of conciliation and adjustment. The Sydney Coal Lumpers rebelled against loading ships with scab coal, but Mr. Hughes, the politician of the strike, succeeded in getting the matter postponed by a referendum. The Wages Board was sitting, but no miners appeared before it. Again the miners asked the employers for a conference, again they were refused. With their leaders in prison, their union funds exhausted and hunger pressing on their families, the miners' unions began to ballot on the question of resuming work. During the second week in February the surrender came. The miners of the Northern and Southern Districts voted to resume work and submit their demand to the Wages Board. So the mine-owners and the government, by their straight policy of brute force, ably assisted by the compromise policy of certain unionists, won exactly what they had demanded in the beginning of the strike.

But the men, though beaten, were not ready to sacrifice their working-class honor. The understanding with the employers had been that, if the unions voted to resume work, all the strikers would be reinstated. But the mine-owners refused to re-employ the engineers and firemen who had aided the striking miners by quitting work with them. The Newcastle miners, desperate as their own position was, refused to betray the men of a brother craft who had stood by them. The engineers carried their case to the Federal Arbitration

court and the strike settlement cannot be completed until this matter is adjusted. The discrimination of the employers against the engineers shows that the capitalists see clearly that it is this spirit of industrial unionism and its triumph over craft isolation which they have to fear. This flash of class solidarity is the only light in the darkness in which the great struggle is ending.

Russia. The Death Sentence of a Nation. For a hundred years now Finland has been struggling to maintain her freedom. This has not been a fight for mere national identity, but for democratic institutions, a fight for Finnish democracy against Russian autocracy. More than once it has seemed lost. In 1899 the Czar decreed that Finland should be reduced to the status of a Russian province. The result was a rebellion. In 1905 the great revolution forced the government of Nicholas II to restore the constitutional liberties of the brave little people to the northwest.

But popular government has not worked to the satisfaction of the Little Father and his ministers. During the past two years there have been four elections to the Finnish parliament. Three times has the parliament assembled; three times has the majority stood determined against the Russian tyranny; and three times has the Czar in wrath decreed a new election. But each election has registered a falling off in the strength of the old Finns and an increase in the following of the Social Democrats. After the last dissolution 86 socialists were returned, to continue the work done by 84 in the preceding assembly.

But the success of the reaction in Russia has inspired Nicholas II with new courage. On March 14th, he dared once more proclaim the order which came to nought in 1905. That is, Finland is to be put on the same basis as any other Russian province. It is to have four representatives in the Duma, but its constituent assembly is to be reduced to a merely advisory capacity and this hitherto independent people is to be governed by the Russian council of state.

Of course, our Finnish comrades will not submit. They will fight for their lives. When they cast their votes for socialists at the last election they knew it would mean a life-or-death struggle. They are prepared for battle, at least so far as a fighting past and well nigh hopeless future can prepare them. The Czar has appealed for support to the government of Western Europe. The revolutionists of the world should stand ready to send aid to their comrades in Finland.

France. The Old-age Pension Law. At last it has become a law, this old-age pension bill which has so long kept French politicians and labor leaders in hot dispute. On March 31st, it passed the

Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 560 to 4. From this time forth French laborers will contribute to a pension fund—the men nine francs a year, the women six, and the children four. The employers and the government are to contribute also, each one turning over to the fund a sum equal to that paid in by the workers. And then at the age of sixty-five each worker will be entitled to a small pension.

At the congress of Nimes, it will be remembered, the socialist party instructed its deputies to support this measure. Nevertheless, among the four negative votes was that of Jules Guesde, the old leader of the revolutionists. During the strenuous syndicalist agitation against the bill Comrade Guesde took no conspicuous part. But shortly before the day set for the final vote he moved an amendment to strike out the provision for workingmen's contributions. This motion was supported by only twenty-seven votes, representing the revolutionary wing of the socialist group. Comrade Jaurés voted against it. His defense was that the acceptance of the amendment would mean the defeat of the bill—and just then the main point was to pass a law of some sort. The future would bring opportunities for amendment. Comrade Guesde denounced the bill as a crime against the working-class, and when the vote was finally taken lined up against it with three extreme reactionists.

Hervé in Rebellion. Immediately connected with the passage of the pension law is the latest move of Hervé, the arch-revolutionist. He is waiting to be led away to prison to serve out a sentence of four years. His crime was denunciation of the police. At least that was the excuse for his punishment. While all the liberal forces of France are loudly protesting against this new attack on the freedom of the press Hervé has thrown a bomb into the the socialist camp.

At Nimes he fought vigorously against the parliamentary group. Now he has published in his paper, *La Guerre Sociale*, a call for the formation of a new party, or, to put it more accurately, for the starting of a new revolutionary movement. Both the Socialist party and **Confederation General du Travail** are too slow for him. What he proposes to substitute for them I do not know exactly. Apparently it is to be, not only a non-political movement, but an anti-political movement—with the general strike as its whole program.

Of course, Comrade Hervé's suggestion is meeting strong opposition. The editors of *l'Humanité* denounce it as treason, and attack its author for remaining in the Socialist Party and at the same time starting a movement against it.

Sweden. The Strikers Take up the Ballot. Stockholm has just completed a municipal election. The result shows that the strike was

not in vain. The Swedish proletariat is aroused. It has started a political strike which cannot end in defeat.

The Swedish electoral system is a peculiar one. Its chief feature is a plural voting arrangement, which, in the election just held, gave the average Conservative voter 24 votes, the average Liberal 17, and the average Socialist 10½. But even with this system against them our Swedish comrades achieved a notable victory. The city council of Stockholm consists of one hundred aldermen, of whom fifty are elected each year. Of those returned in the recent election 12 are Liberals, 16 Socialists and 22 Conservatives. This means 14 new seats for the Socialists. The total Socialist representation is now 19. But this is the least interesting part of the story. Voters are more important than votes. The Socialists marshaled 15,188 voters, the Liberals 8,240, and the Conservatives 10,424. This means, of course, that the Socialists now constitute much the largest of the three parties. An interesting feature of the election were the victories of two women candidates. Comrade Gertrud Mansson, a leading Swedish suffragist, is one of the women who are to hold seats in the city council of Stockholm for the next two years. So in addition to being a victory for the proletariat this election was a victory for Swedish womanhood.

England. Industry and Politics. The *Industrialist*, organ of the English Industrial League, makes a significant contribution to the discussion of the recent English election. It was easy to see why the labor party lost more than it gained. But why was an out and out socialist like Victor Grayson defeated in a constituency where he had been triumphantly elected but a short time before? He actually lost full 500 votes. In a recent issue of the *Industrialist* a man who went through the Colne Valley campaign offers the following explanation: "The capitalists from one end of the valley to the other threatened a look-out if Grayson was elected. What is more, they were in a position to carry out their threat. The whole of the labor movement in Great Britain could not have prevented them."

If this is true it presents a serious condition. We have often seen industrial revolts of the working-class fail because of the lack of political power, but here we see a political movement crushed because of lack of industrial power. What will English workers do about it?

Australia. The Strikers at the Polls. The telegraph brings the news that the Labor Party has won in the federal elections, and will control the parliament of the commonwealth. The defeated Deakin-Cock party was a fusion of the protectionists and free-traders, an alliance made with the avowed purpose of defeating the "socialistic"

program of the Labor Party. Its "anti-socialistic" purposes were disguised as a new "fiscal" policy, by which taxation might ultimately be shifted from the land-owners to the workers. The Fusion party proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution which would place on the Federal government the obligation of paying to the state governments about one half of its present revenue. This measure would relieve the state governments from the necessity of increasing their land tax, but by decreasing the Federal revenue would ultimately make necessary new indirect Federal taxes. It was already suggested that needed revenue be raised from taxes on tea, kerosene and cotton goods, in other words that the workers pay. The fiscal situation is strikingly like that in England; for the chief demand for increased taxation arose from the champions of a greater army and navy, while old-age pensions were brought in as a bait to the people. Australia already has an old-age pension law, and any failure of the Federal revenue always threatens the working of this law. Therefore, if the land-owners could be helped out from the state treasury, the workers would be compelled to submit to indirect taxation in order to pay their own pensions. The Labor Party opposed this constitutional amendment, declared for increased taxation of large holdings in land, in favor of an army and navy for defense only, and, above all, for the "socialistic" proposals of the nationalization of monopolies.

The success of the Labor Party means more than the defeat of the "Anti-socialist" Fusion party and its capitalistic financial schemes. It means a strong popular protest against the union smashing policy of the recent ministry in New South Wales, a policy which had been endorsed by the Federal administration. It seems that the workers, in spite of the wide-spread dissatisfaction with the Labor Party's attitude during the coal strike, felt that their only hope lay in turning over to this party the whole responsibility of government. As in Sweden, the workers, defeated for the moment on the industrial field, have taken up the ballot. It may be that the Labor Party will betray them. That is not the important consideration just now. The important thing is that the workers are awake. If the Labor Party does not serve their purpose, they will soon have another party that will.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Bing! Two more blows are aimed at labor's head. They are now coming in pairs. Having outlawed the boycott and having legalized the blacklist, the judicial sappers and miners are now taking the next logical step. They are going to prohibit striking and forbid the workers from organizing.

Let it be made a matter of record for future generations to marvel, and as a matter of information to those workers who failed to read the few line items that appeared in an obscure corner of the daily press if not entirely suppressed, that almost simultaneously the United States' District Court of Appeals for the Virginias and the Appellate Court of Illinois issued the ukase that labor must not organize and strike.

In West Virginia the union miners have spent several fortunes in attempting to organize the non-union men during the past decade. The Davises, Elkinses, Scotts and other capitalistic politicians in both old parties virtually own the West Virginia mines, railways, etc., and have practiced a system of peonage for years. Notwithstanding the espionage that obtained among the workers, the army of private guards maintained at great expense and the co-operation of the corrupt office-holders with their capitalistic masters, the miners' organizers were making considerable headway in bringing their non-union fellow-workers into the fold, when United States Judge Dayton suddenly issued an injunction over a year ago restraining the organizers from performing their duties. The case was carried up and now the U. S. District Court of Appeals upholds the Dayton decision.

In Chicago a bunch of scab street railway employes entered the court (at the behest of their capitalistic masters, of course) and prayed for an

injunction to restrain the union men from compelling them to join the organization and from going on strike to secure their discharge. The lower court refused to issue the mandate and the non-unionists promptly carried the case to the Appellate Court and secured a reversal of the decision, which forbids the union street railway employes from organizing the plaintiffs or going out on strike and refusing to work with them.

It used to be the claim of conservative unionists, when charged by open shoppers with attempting to compel workers to join the union, that they had a right to cease employment rather than work with non-unionists. This contention was admitted for years as being fair and reasonable. But now this supposed right is denied by the courts and men are bound down to involuntary servitude and commanded, upon pain of being adjudged in contempt of court, to continue in their employment, no matter how irksome it may be.

It's all very well for certain great labor leaders to denounce these decisions and advise that they be ignored. But these same great labor leaders are setting a mighty poor example. When they are confronted with imprisonment for contempt of court they put the trade union movement to tens of thousands of dollars' expense to keep out of jail. The ordinary son of toil knows that the amount that will be spent for his protection is exceedingly limited, and so, rather than "get in bad" and permit his family to suffer, he naturally hesitates.

If these precedents that have been established in Virginia and Illinois become general, and industrial and political history indicate that they will, then the enemies of organized labor have found the means of pre-

venting strikes and the spread of unionism. It may be taken for granted that the capitalists will not use their new power injudiciously. They will bide their time and gradually and insidiously tighten the shackles that already bind the working-class. It will be worth while to keep an eye on this new development in capitalism.

Here's a new wrinkle in the injunction games that's a lalalalooza. Several thousand stonecutters have been on strike at Bedford, Ind., for many months. They were being supported financially by their international union and affiliated organizations in fairly good shape. Then the bosses' combination goes into court and secures one of those blanket injunctions that covers everybody, everywhere and any time. The unionists and "all other persons" are enjoined and restrained "forever" from picketing, visiting homes of strike-breakers to solicit them to join the union, from boycotting those who harbor or feed strike-breakers, from besetting depots and stations to urge imported men to refuse to work, from marching and parading through the streets to demonstrate their solidarity, and (listen to this!) from "assessing any of the members of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America, or any other trade union, for the purpose of hiring any person to leave the employment of the plaintiff, or any of the plaintiffs," and so on. In addition, the striking stonecutters are assessed the costs of the suit!

Everyone in the labor field knows that it is customary, in strikes of national importance, to supply unions with funds to pay the way out of town of men who are imported under misrepresentation. So the cunning capitalists at Bedford, in order to exhaust the funds of the strikers in case they are furnished from the outside in defiance of the injunction, resort to the trick of arresting the rebellious stonecutters right and left and dragging them over into the next county (a circuit court having issued the restraining order), where they are unknown and are compelled to furnish a cash bond, thus tying up their finances! Can you beat it!

But it is doubtful whether this

outrageous proceeding will have any effect in opening the eyes of the great leaders at the head of the international union. Their minds are still centralized on the good old period when the journeyman stonecutter was regarded as an artist and roamed about the earth plying his avocation as a skilled craftsman.

Just because the Bedford capitalists didn't tie the strikers, hand and foot, with wire cord and throw them into a pit, the great leaders will continue to mumble something about their "rights" and vote the old capitalistic party tickets.

The grand success that the Pennsylvania plutocrats have had in ridding themselves of the expense in keeping an army of private police in their employment to beat the workers into submission when they became obstreperous by securing the passage of the law establishing the state constabulary, better known as the "Pennsylvania Cossacks," has aroused the envy of the plutes in New York state.

Now there is a secret movement on foot to sneak a bill through the Legislature of the Empire State to establish a state police force that can be kept loafing about and growing fat at doing nothing while the big thieves in Wall street and at Albany get away with millions of swag, and until such time as a bunch of workmen are goaded into revolt against their merciless drivers, whereupon flying squads of Cossacks, armed to the teeth, will descend upon and scatter them to the winds.

This country is following Russia more closely than any other nation on earth. And it is perfectly natural. The workers of the United States, despite the fact that they have the ballot in their hands, are actually more powerless than the Russian toilers, who, despite the tremendous obstacles in their way, have at least a few representatives in Parliament to make a fight for them, even though they are cast in prison and railroaded to Siberia.

This comes of the "pure and simple" and anti-labor political policies that have ruled the roost in America for generations. The workers have been insidiously taught that nothing is to be gained through political efforts, or that "independent

political action" was constituted in occasionally scratching a candidate on his party ticket and voting for the "best man" on an opposition ticket.

It is not strange, therefore, that the great capitalists, politicians and editors have become imbued with ill-concealed contempt for the workers. I know a unionist who upon numerous occasions has intimated pretty strongly to some of the plutes that labor will soon wake up and sweep them out of power, only to be met with derisive laughter and stinging sneers and open boasts that capital can bribe, bulldoze or flatter enough big and little labor leaders to divide the workers and remain in the saddle until the crack o'doom. It looks that way.

The second year of the Seamen's strike on the Great Lakes has commenced and the unionists are as determined as at the beginning to compel the Lake Carriers' Association to concede the right of the

sailors to organize. Last year the 9,000 men on strike pulled over 60,000 strike-breakers off the boats, and they expect to do fully as well this year. Owing to the incompetency of the non-unionists the season of 1909 was the most disastrous in the history of inland waterway navigation. For that fact the insurance company raised the rates on ships controlled by the L. C. A. and lowered the rates on lumber carriers, manned by union men.

There is no material change in the tinplate workers' strike, which will have been in progress one year next month. The workers remain upon the firing line and are determined to force the steel trust to recognize them. The trust, in order to hold its employes in slavery, has given them a slight increase in wages and promises to introduce an insurance feature. It is a cheap bribe that is being practiced by many corporations nowadays.



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NEWS & VIEWS

Socialists Attention !



FREE PRESS AND SOLIDARITY ATTACKED BY THE STEEL TRUST.

Get in this fight.

Two years ago six or eight determined Socialists seeing that the working class had no means of voicing their wrongs in the capitalist press got their heads together with a view of starting a paper where the wrongs of labor might be made known. Also where the injustices and cruelties of present society might be shown up with a view to their correction.

As they proceeded they found ready support, not only among the Socialists in New Castle but among the working class in general, especially among the

men working in the steel and tin mills. The necessity of the work in view was appreciated and out of their hard earnings the workers gladly contributed, often denying themselves things that they sorely needed. In the Spring of 1908 a collection of \$330 was taken up—enough to buy a cabinet of type and a small job press which was located in a little back room upstairs on Washington street. The work grew. Job work and advertising came in and when we were driven out of the little back room on Washington street in an effort to suppress us we were able to move

to larger quarters on Apple Alley.

Again we grew. Fearlessly we exposed not only the every day robbery practiced by the capitalist class on those who live by honest toil, but also the rottenness of corrupt and designing rogues in official places. In short the Free Press became a menace and a danger to knaves and grafters everywhere. The Free Press was hated. But it was appreciated by the working class and also by everybody who desired to see a better city in New Castle and a better world in which men and women might live. The Free Press was distributed without charge to every door but the free contributions from those who believe in its mission not only made this possible but enabled us to enlarge our work so as to consider the advisability of taking on new work and getting a larger press and moving to larger quarters.

The oppression by the Steel Trust of its employees grew each year. Finally the trust declared for an open shop. This with a view to sweep away the last defense that stood between the men and the mere wages of

a precarious existence. The strike broke out. The Free Press came promptly to the support of the strikers. As the strike proceeded many of the workers came to feel the necessity of a form of unionism that was more strictly up to date and organized in such a way as to include all the wage earners. Locals of I. W. W. were formed. They determined to begin the publication of the now-existing Solidarity. They looked to us to do their presswork not only for the paper but for a large number of pamphlets that they hoped to bring out. We looked again to the workers for the funds to get a larger press. We did not look in vain. The press was secured. Again we moved to larger quarters, this time to 56 S. Jefferson street.

All this while even with the contributions that came flowing in the Free Press was only made possible because every cent received was squeezed until it made two, and most of the work was voluntarily done after hours by hard working men without pay.

The task of delivering the paper

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New Castle, Pa.

from door to door was equally as trying and equally as important as that of printing it. This too was done voluntarily and without pay. The company of men who did this work are known as the famous "Flying Squadron" and only their persistent devoted efforts made the Free Press possible. The Free Press from the start has been built up by the toil and sacrifice of the workers. At times many of the men were tired and worn from long hours of toil in the mills, but they would stay up all night to get the Free Press out, and they would take up their accustomed route when the day came for its delivery from door to door.

Little have the residents of New Castle, other than those actively engaged, ever known the sacrifice and toil involved that the workers wrongs might be known and that a better civilization might be advanced. But they did not look upon it as a sacrifice. It was a labor of love.

But it wasn't loved by the grafters and official crooks. Hardly. It wasn't loved by the Steel Trust. It isn't loved by the Business Men's Exchange. It is hated worse than death and is feared worse than hell. They have cause and they will have more cause in the future than they have had in the past. If the Free Press has waded into this gentry in times past, we will go after them stronger than ever in the future. We have cause too, not only, or chiefly, in the recent arrest of our press committee, but in the recent action of the Business Men's Exchange in endorsing the attempts of the steel trust to crush the striking workers and reduce them, if they can, to a condition worse than the serfs of Russia. Members of the Business Men's Exchange have made their brags that they would crush every form of labor unionism in New Castle and drive every union agitator out of town. Can they do it? Not while the Free Press lives. Shall it live? It's up to you. We are locked in death holds with the oppressors of labor and the municipal grafters who have prostituted public offices to prey upon the people. One or the other must go down. Which shall it be?

The hell-hounds of the capitalist class are out for blood. They have determined to strangle the Free Press. They have thrown our press committee into jail on a trumped up

charge of violating an obscure passage in the publishing laws of Pennsylvania. The issue of battle is drawn. It is the Business Men's Exchange against the workers. It is the steel trust and its lackeys and puppets against the Free Press and every agency that defends the working class. It is the rogues and grafters against the men and women of honest toil. There is no compromise, no retreat, no surrender. It is war, war to the knife, knife to the hilt.

Long and deadly has their hatred been nourished, and they have watched and waited with the patience of a hungry wolf. The recent election of one of our press committee, Charles McKeever, who has been on the press committee from the start, to the city council, filled the measure of their wrath to overflowing. More gall was added to the well of venom. Still they bided their time and were willing to try slicker means. Perhaps we could be bribed or cajoled. Smooth invitations were sent to McKeever asking him to attend meetings of the Business Men's Exchange to raise funds for the July celebration. McKeever didn't go; and in the case of the charge against us for not complying with the publishing laws of Pennsylvania, we retaliated by having a capitalist paper, the New Castle Herald, haled into Court on the same offense.

This enraged them. They gnashed their teeth and went out for blood. Address Free Press Pub. Co., Box 644, or Solidarity, Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

From a "Live One." I consider yesterday the best April Fool's Day I have experienced for a long time. Received bundle of Review in the morning and as I had doubled my order this month, and as my helper was away, I feared I had bitten off more than I could chew. But I started out with 20 copies and sold 18 by noon; took ten more and sold all but one by the middle of the afternoon; took five more and sold all but one—making 34 copies of the April Review sold—a pretty good April Fool Day's work. I wired you last night for 40 copies more. Hope you will get them to me as soon as possible. Enter my order for a bundle of 40 for May as soon as they are out.

JOHN A. BECKER, Wyoming

Librarian or Lackey—Which? The Seattle Post-intelligencer of April 6, chronicles an interesting "news item" regarding the I. S. R. and the Seattle Public Library. The Librarian was no doubt deeply shocked, sensitive soul, by the Review's write-ups of the recent Free Speech Fight in Spokane. No doubt, the Ladies' Home Journal is safer, saner and milder mental pabulum for sissys in general and capitalist lackeys in particular. We quote in full:—

"Its alleged intemperate language is responsible for the barring from the Seattle public library yesterday of a publication known as the International Socialist Review. One member of the board of trustees described its general wording as "hot stuff." The board voted unanimously not to place the paper in the reading room.

There was no intention on the part of the board to prod the Socialists simply to see them jump and cavort. On the contrary, the members were anxious that no undue prominence be given to their action.

"The language of the paper was simply too intemperate, that is all," said Librarian J. T. Jennings after the meeting. A Socialist here, Mr. Varnum, requested some time ago that we place a paper known as the Chicago Daily Socialist in the reading room. He offered to pay for it himself. The committee investigated this paper, as it does all publications, and agreed that it was all right. We therefore installed it, and will pay for it ourselves. Recently Mr. Varnum requested that the International Socialist Review be placed on file. The committee, I think, went through some seven different copies and found the language used too intemperate for the magazine to be placed in the reading room."

Boosts. N. Y. City. I congratulate you on the last issues of the "International Socialist Review." I read it with more interest than ever before.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

A New Paper in Alabama.

We are very much pleased to announce the People's Voice, a new socialist paper, published in Birmingham, Ala., and edited by our friend Comrade William Raoul. The great need of the South has been more Southern newspapers and we feel confident that Comrade Raoul will be able to reach many new people and

to break much new ground for Socialism.

Men vs. the Man. Do not overlook the excellent article in this number by Comrade Marcus Hitch, in which he reviews the new book by Comrade Robert Rives La Monte, editor of the N. Y. Sunday Call, and H. L. Mencken, also a New York editor. La Monte represents the very best in the realm of socialism while Mr. Mencken is one of the foremost advocates of individualism in America.

Scabs and Strikes. The Philadelphia Street Car Strikers were loyally supported by hundreds of unorganized workers. In fact, the biggest surprise of the strike was the walk-out of the 9,000 locomotive builders employed in the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

Whether these workers were "class conscious" or not cuts very little ice—they acted right and had the nerve to voice their discontent. It is a safe bet, that men made of such stuff, will never be bound, gagged and fettered by "sacred contracts" and like superstitions.

During the late (?) panic the Baldwin workers' wages were cut without notice. Several small strikes in various departments gained a little for the men, but the discontent grew and the Street Car strike was the spark needed to fire the latent spirit of solidarity.

As the Baldwin works is built across several streets, several street car lines run through the plant. During a noon recess they smashed several cars and when the General Superintendent and Giant Special Officer interfered, they were likewise handled.

The police drove the men back into the works, shooting up into the windows and "the bullets are still in the rafters as relics of the strike." Speed the time when these men will be organized in one revolutionary union.

All of the Building Trades struck for a few days, the Iron Moulders returned to work, by order of their National Executive Board, after being out three whole days. The Brewery workers voted to strike but, prompt action on the part of "their high officials" put an end to their good intentions. Many more details might be added which would be of interest to Review readers. The one and only reason why the strike was lost was because it was not a general strike.

H. D., Phila., Pa.



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MADAME BRESHKOVSKY.
RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST—SENTENCED TO SIBERIA.

Madame Breshkovsky is 66 years of age, bent and decrepit. She has practically devoted her whole life to agitation among the peasantry. She is called "Babushka," the grandmother of the revolutionary movement. The most remarkable thing about her, says the "Times" correspondent, are "her eyes, glowing with fervour." Not long ago she was in the United States, but her zeal for the cause took her back to the land of the knout and the dungeon. She is the grandest type of Russian womanhood. Of gentle birth, she has endured exile and imprisonment, innumerable hardships and privations, has been hounded by Russian spies and mouchards all over Russia. She has been an inspiration to the whole movement. With undaunted courage this noble martyr told the court openly that she was a revolutionary Socialist. And the vile instruments of the Czar have sent this woman to the land of the eternal snows—to Siberia—to death, because that is what it means.—Social Democrat, England.

Int. Seamen's Union of America.
As a result of the strike on the Lakes, a remarkable situation has developed in Vessel Insurance rates. For the first time in history wooden ships on the Lakes are given a lower insurance rate than is accorded to steel vessels.

At a conference between the Vessel Insurers and representatives of lumber carrying vessels at Cleveland, Ohio, April 12th, rates for wooden vessels were made slightly lower than last year. Just previous to this meeting the insurance rate for steel tonnage was increased 1% above the 1909 rate.

The significant feature of this, is that normally the greatest risk is attached to wooden tonnage, especially to those in the lumber trade, but nearly all of that class of vessels employ competent seamen, Union men, and were not involved in the strike. Hence, they made a good showing last season and have now secured a reduction of rates.

On the other hand, the big majority of steel vessels are in The Lake Carriers Association and were manned by strike-breakers. Accidents were numerous and insurance risks greater because of employment of incompetent seamen.

Since the Union men have now announced their determination to continue the strike this season, the Insurance Companies evidently expect the many disasters of last season due to inexperienced crews, to be again repeated, and have accordingly raised the insurance rates on such vessels.

The Lake Carriers are again recruiting non-English speaking laborers and young boys, placing them aboard of the ships to serve as strike-breakers. They have failed utterly to secure sufficient competent seamen.

Issued by the Press Committee,
International Seamen's Union of America,
674 West Madison Street, Chicago.

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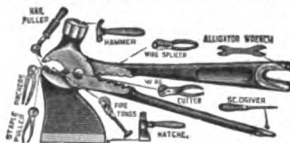


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Hoboed Over Eight Thousand Miles



Thos. J. Mooney won 2nd price in Preliminary contest.

Eugene V. Debs Recommends
T. J. Mooney as follows:

June 28, 1909.

"To Whom it May Concern:

Thomas J. Mooney accompanied us on the "Red Special" last fall and rendered us most valuable service along the route. Comrade Mooney is one of the most active workers in the labor movement. He is absolutely honest and trust worthy and is filled with energy and ambition to better the condition of his class. Comrade Mooney is worthy of any position he may wish to hold in the labor movement and I cheerfully commend him to the consideration of Comrades and Friends as one of the best types of the Awakened American Proletariat.

Yours Very Truly,

(Signed)

E. V. Debs.

Comrades and Friends: It is with the greatest hesitancy that I insert this letter I assure you. Last June I read of the "Wilshire Contest" for the "trip round the world," to one securing the most subscriptions for "Wilshire's Magazine," within eleven months time. Fully realizing the value of such a trip to a working class education, at once I entered the contest determined to win that trip fair and square. Starting out without any finance, as I had just put in one month in a hospital from loss of a finger, I hoboed from town to town getting subscriptions, covering a distance of 8,000 miles, riding in box cars, on blind-baggages and tops of passenger trains over the deserts of Utah, Cal. and Nev. in scorching suns of July and August, through Oct. and Nov. rains in Oregon and Washington, and worst of all the ice and snow and sometimes zero weather of Dec. and Jan. in Mont., Idaho, Utah and Nev. through which I traveled was all that any human could stand, snatching a few hours sleep here and there when convenient, many times in a box car, round-house, sand-shed, engines, barns and socialist headquarters when available as I did most all my riding at night, for it is easier to get over the road.

I don't want the readers of the "Review" to think I am trying to advertise and popularize myself, but to let you know of the efforts put forth by me in this contest and the disadvantages under which I labored. I would never have used this method of trying to secure subscriptions were it not for the tactics of one Geo. Goebel, National organizer and lecturer for the Party, who has been out on the road in the different states, at the party expense ever since the contest opened, and at the same time allowed to compete for this prize. He has offered a number of comrades in the West some of his "Wilshire Bishop Creek" mining stock and has written to almost every town in the west asking the active comrades to get subscriptions for him, also, he has gotten out private subscription cards and sent them to his friends, there are supposed to be no subscription cards in this contest.

I don't happen to have the distinguished qualities that are required to be a National Organizer, but all my work so far in the party has been volunteered and wholly unremunerated, selling over \$1,000 worth of literature in two months on the "Red Special." Speaking every night for six months on the streets of Stockton, Cal., collected \$75.00 for the "Red Special" before it left Chicago, and \$38.00 at three meetings in Idaho, for the Mexican Refugee Fund. A member of International Molders' Union, Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Comrades, I am sure I can win this trip if you will help me to the extent of sending me your subscription for the "Wilshire Magazine," 25 cents yearly, in money order, stamps or coin at once or send it direct to Wilshire to count for me in the Round the World contest, and should I win this trip, the knowledge and experience I would gain from it would at all times be used in the interest of my class. And should I ever be in a position to do you a like favor I will gladly do so. Thanking you in advance, I remain your co-worker and Comrade for Industrial Freedom.

T. J. MOONEY,

973 Market St., Room 301, San Francisco, Calif.

All subscriptions must be in "Wilshire's" office June 1st.

Out of the Dump

A Story by Mary E. Marcy

A sketch of life in Chicago, beginning in the "dump" or slum, and coming into contact with scientific charity in the guise of the Charity Organization Society.

. . . In the main it is a convincing narrative. . . If it is bitter at times, that is inevitable from the array of things of fact brought to bear to make their own argument. . . The movement of the story is swift enough to satisfy the most eager reader, and its materials are handled with unusual power.—Buffalo Evening News.

The "simple annals of the poor" as pictured in Mary E. Marcy's "Out of the Dump" are terrible annals. The book is a voice from the depths. Its outlook is from the viewpoint of the very poor. It is a protest that poverty is not understood, and that organized charity goes about its problem in the wrong way. . . On its face, it is written with full and intimate knowledge.—Chicago Inter Ocean.

Socialist reasoning must fall like constant drops of water on the stultified feelings of those not with us. Mary E. Marcy has contributed a fair share of this wearing-away material in the pages of her little book, "Out of the Dump." She has shown how the victims of the Chicago slums tarry on earth in disease and poverty till death becomes kind enough to relieve them from the capitalist clutches. But she does more than that; she gives hints of the remedy which, if followed out, must lead to the cure—Socialism.—New York Evening Call.

"Out of the Dump" is the truest and most vivid description of the real life of the American city worker ever written.—Robert Rives LaMonte.

There are eight original wash drawings and a cover design by R. H. Chaplin. Well printed and daintily bound in cloth. A beautiful gift book.

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153 Kinzie St. Chicago



"Take heed of the stumicks, sez I,
of the morob! take heed of the morob!"
—OUT OF THE DUMP



A Socialist Library Free. We have on hand sixty thousand dollars' worth of the best socialist books ever published. There are over a hundred titles. The prices run all the way from two dollars to two cents, and in each case the book is well worth the price asked. A catalog will be sent free on request. We want to double the mailing list of the **Review** again in the next few weeks. With your help we can do it, and we can make it worth your while to help. Here is what we will do for you if you help us.

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This means that you can take subscriptions for the **Review** at \$1.00 a year, and get a dollar book for your trouble in taking each new subscription. If you want the books now and can't find the subscribers at once, send us the price and we will send on the books. Then for each dollar we will send you a **Review Subscription Card**, which when filled out with an address and mailed to us will bring the **Review** 12 months to a new name.

These offers include postage inside the United States. Postage to Canada is 20 cents a year extra; to other countries 36 cents.

ARE YOU ON OUR LIST?

If you are a friend of the **Review** and want to see it succeed, you should be on our subscription list. It does not help us nearly so much for you to buy the **Review** each month. Many comrades have to get it in this way because they are moving from place to place, and we are constantly reaching new readers through the sale of single copies who are not as yet sufficiently interested to subscribe by the year. But our main dependence for the money needed every month to pay the printers must be on the friends who send us the full dollar each year. If we had ten thousand more of these, we could and would make the **Review** twice as good.

Our Finances. The **Review** is so far as we know the only socialist periodical that tells each month the whole truth about its income and expenses. The reason is that the **Review**, as well as the book publishing house known as Charles H. Kerr & Company, is owned, not by any one person or small group of persons, nor even by one socialist local, but by over three hundred locals and nearly two thousand individual party members. Each of the owners has a right to know what the publishing house is doing each month, and that is why we print the figures.

WHAT WE DID IN MARCH.

Receipts.	Expenditures.
Cash balance, March 1.....\$ 129.18	Manufacture of books.....\$ 869.20
Book sales 2,827.06	Printing March Review..... 509.83
Review subscriptions and sales 926.81	Review articles 81.22
Review advertising 86.73	Books purchased 27.10
Sales of stock 238.09	Wages of office clerks..... 342.65
Loans from stockholders..... 335.00	Mary E Marcy, on salary..... 90.00
	Charles H. Kerr, on salary.... 125.00
	Postage and expressage..... 696.82
	Interest 73.00
	Rent 70.00
	Taxes 104.93
	Miscellaneous expense 60.89
	Advertising 675.89
	Copyrights 39.64
	Loans repaid 601.78
	Cash balance, March 31..... 174.92
Total\$4,542.87	Total\$4,542.87

Paying Off Loans. It will be observed that in March, as in November, January and February, we paid off loans to an extent far greater than the new loans that came in. That we have been able to do this shows that we are paying all expenses and earning a small surplus each month. But this surplus is not nearly enough to meet the urgent demands of the next few weeks. The loans still outstanding amount to much less than two months' ordinary income, and we have on hand books, fully paid for, that would sell at retail for nearly \$65,000. But our creditors don't want the books; they want the cash. If every reader of this month's **Review** would send one dollar for a new subscription and a dollar book, the debt would be out of the way, and we should have enough working capital to justify some of the big improvements we want to make in the near future.

And remember, some can not help, some will not help. If you are able and willing, we must count on you for an extra lift. Remember we are giving you the biggest kind of value for every dollar. May we not hear from you within the next few days?

The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Times to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two volumes, 690 and 716 pages. Each, \$2.00. Either volume sold separately.

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.

To arrive at the real story of the life of the oppressed classes in ancient times was a task of almost incredible difficulties. To this work Osborne Ward gave a lifetime of diligent research, and his discoveries are embodied in the two volumes entitled *The Ancient Lowly*. He has gathered together into a connected narrative practically everything pertaining to his subject in the published literature of Greece and Rome, including in his inquiry many rare works only to be consulted in the great European libraries. But he did not stop here. Many of the most important records of the ancient labor unions are preserved only in the form of stone tablets that have withstood the destructive forces of the centuries, and the author traveled on foot many hundreds of miles around the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering these inscriptions.

Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist view-point is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

118 Kinzie Street, Chicago