

THE COMING OF THE NATION

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A Journal of Things Doing and to be Done

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A Day of Progress and Promise

BY CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL



A DAY of progress.—A day of promise. We have the confirmation of the great victory that was won for Socialism by the workers of the country last November. The future of the movement is no longer to be questioned or doubted. Here is our task shaped ready to our hands. Comrades who upheld the red banner during the long, dark years when there seemed no flicker of hope, comrades who followed and led

in turn, comrades but newly pledged to the great work of humanity—look about you.

Socialism is at the threshold. It is the dawning of the era for which you dreamed and sacrificed and strove. This vast army of the mentally emancipated, marching on to industrial, social, political emancipation, has sprung into being in answer to the truths you spoke and the ideals you held.

Is it not good, my brethren?

The light is coming.

* * *

The result of the fall campaign left some timid souls hesitant. It was, perhaps, a matter of blind chance or brief opportunity, they said. They reminded us that we must not expect too much, that we must be content to make haste slowly. Predictions were not wanting that we must even look for serious setbacks.

And now observe what the spring brings forth!

Notable Socialist victories in a score of towns and cities where we had not looked for strength—some of them clean sweeps.

Astonishing Socialist gains everywhere.

Socialist defeat only in the face of opposition which called into play the combined forces of reaction.

The significance of these municipal successes, their importance in gauging the political temper of the nation, can not be denied. Be sure that the masters do not deny them, or underrate them.

At this moment Socialism is the big, black cloud on the horizon to the men accustomed to manipulate both old parties. The returns from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Montana, Colorado, Texas, California, Kansas, New York, are being tab-

ulated and studied with exceeding care by the professional thimble riggers who carry elections for capitalism. They are fully informed of the tremendous growth of Socialist strength.

They know—and they are worried.

Worried and fearful.

* * *

A political party does not make steady and consistent gains at incidental elections unless a great drift of political thought is stirring the people.

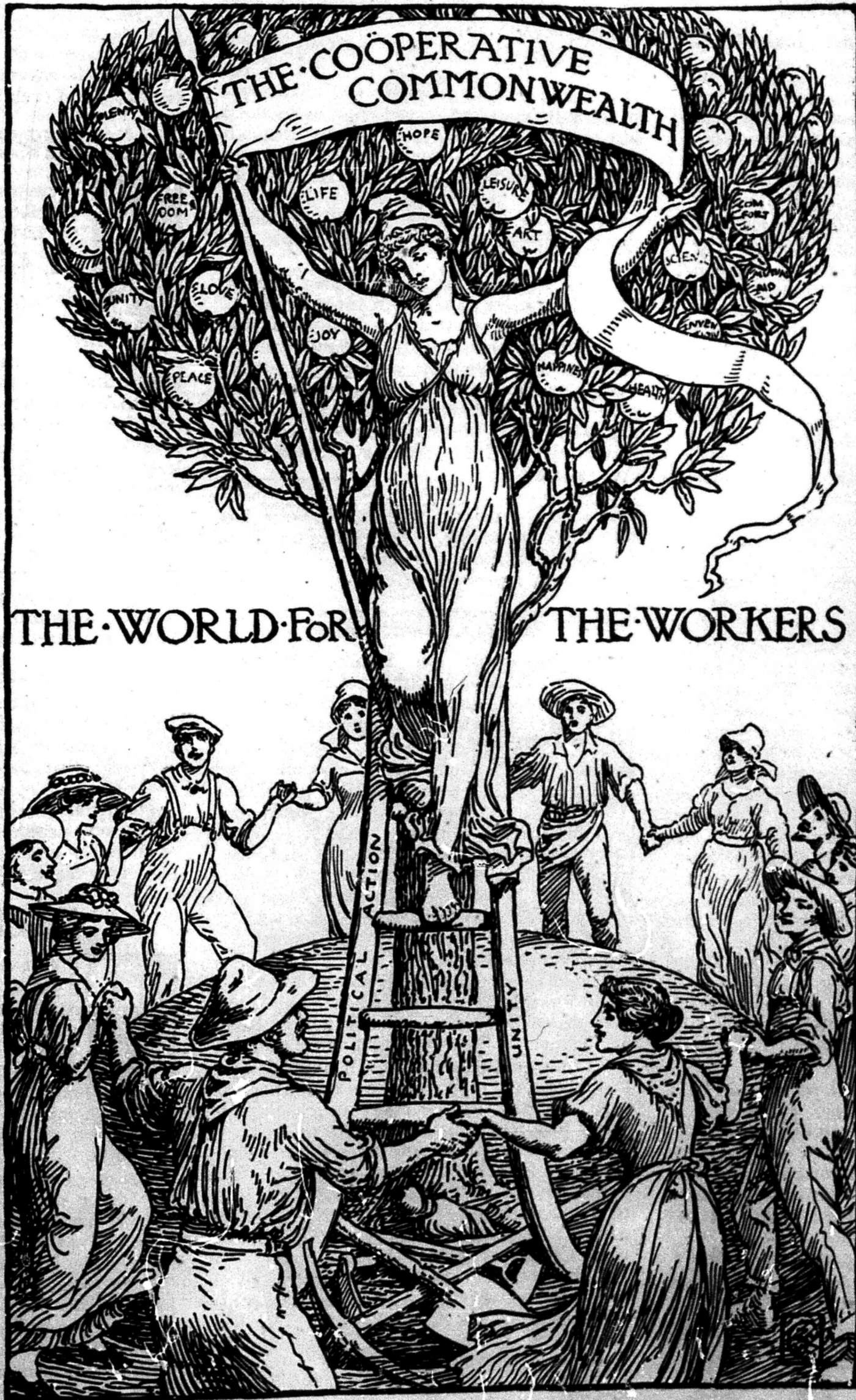
Local conditions may occasionally furnish a logical excuse for a startling change in the political complexion of a community. The reactionaries have been wont to comfort themselves with this reflection whenever confronted with isolated instances of Socialist advance.

But when twenty or thirty communities, widely separated, show proof of the increasing vitality of a new party at the same time, when existing political systems are rudely shaken in twenty or thirty towns by the same protesting force, it bodes, truly, "some strange eruption to the state."

For in these skirmishes, in these contests over mayors, aldermen, commissioners, the Socialists fought their campaigns on the identical issues. No where did they present themselves as a merely municipal and local organization. In their attacks upon corruption, inefficiency, injustice, as demonstrated by the immediate situation in their respective towns, they never lost sight of, never obscured, the great national movement or the vast world movement of which they form a part.

In winning votes the Socialists made their plea not as reformers, not as adherents of this smug politician or that, but as workers in the cause of universal democracy. They trumpeted no individual. They drew no line of good man and bad man. They stood for the entire Socialist programme, taught the Socialist philosophy and sought converts by conviction to Socialist principles.

And here is the point that must make us all rejoice. Where gains are



May Day Souvenir—Drawn by Walter Crans for the Coming Nation

The BATTLE of the MULLIGAN

By ALLAN UPDEGRAFF



(Illustrated by John Sloan.)

In the Yellowstone Park branch of the Oregon Short Line, some miles on the Park-ward side of Ashton, Idaho, there is a cut-off that forms a big "V" with the main line. Both tracks are raised a few feet from the level of the plateau which they intersect at this place, so the crotch of them forms a protected resting place for the sundry foot-travellers who pass that way. By building a barrier of stones from limb to limb of this "V", certain foot-travelers have constructed a triangle where, with the assistance of a small fire, one might make shift to pass the night.

The fellow who started this barrier was Harry Trench, formerly a time-keeper for the Baxter-Straw-Storrs Construction company. It was in the days, five or six years since, when the big construction company was finishing the line into Yellowstone Park, and foot travelers were plenty. If a man got fired, or quit his job, against the wishes of his boss, there was only one way for him to get back to civilization; he had to "hoof it." Neither love nor money nor arguments nor threats, availed anything with the crews of the construction trains. They had their orders.

Trench had quit his job. I don't know why he had quit his job; I never asked him. And there was such a variety of reasons why anyone should wish to quit that particular job that it would have been a hard matter to guess. I had been a "mucker" on one of the grading gangs and, for reasons too numerous to mention, I had quit my job, too. Foot-sore, tired out, and hungry as a wolf, about four o'clock one chilly May afternoon, I reached the "V" and sat down to rest. Trench showed up about half an hour later. I had already got a little fire going.

"Hello, 'bo!" he said.

"Hello," said I.

"How's the chance to get accommodations in your hotel?" said he.

"Good," said I. "Come in."

He took his roped roll of bedding from his shoulders and sat down before the fire. He was built on the order of a pickhandle, his shoulders and head, topped off by a wide-rimmed felt hat, were considerably the widest part of him. He must have been six feet three inches tall.

"Got a little grub here," he announced, beginning to undo his bundle, "such as it is. Say we chew?"

"I've got a little, too," said I, tapping my own bedding-roll; "but if yours has come from the Park same as mine, maybe we'd better wait a while and get up a better appetite. I couldn't go anything harder'n nails and barbed wire—just yet."

He agreed that it would be a good idea to wait a little while, and we sat for some minutes silently staring into the fire. Cold white little cirrus clouds were chasing each other southward across the cold sky, and the fire was very agreeable.

Two other foot-travelers came up presently and stopped to look down at our blaze.

"Come in!" called Trench. "All accommodations free!"

They hobbled down the sides of the embankment and silently seated themselves on their bed-

ding-rolls. One was an Irishman, lanky, wrinkled, with bushy bluish eyebrows and an expression of worn-out disgust. The other had the wide cheekbones characteristic of the Slavic races. He seemed to be very cheerful.

"It's a murder would a-been committed in a few minutes by me gold watch and chain," grumbled the Irishman, thrusting his brogans up to the blaze, "wid that grinnin' Polack for the corpse. It's too damned happy he is; and him not understandin' scarcely a word of English—the durrutt furriner."

"We might cook him up," suggested Trench. "He'd go well in a Mulligan."

"A foine idea!" The Irishman bared his teeth ferociously at his fellow traveler. "We're talkin' o' cookin' ye up in a Mulligan, ye scum! D'ye savvy that?"

"No savvy," replied the "furriner," showing his big teeth in a grin. He laid a hand gently on the Irishman's shoulder, and winked at Trench and me. "Wild Irishman—yes?" he suggested.

We all smiled at that, even the "Wild Irishman." "Dammin!", grunted the latter. "Sure, and I don't know how I'd a-got along at all today widout him to swear at. Ah, it's the foine cheerful lad he'd be as the cintral figger at a lynchin'!"

We didn't find anything in particular to say after that; and I think the thoughts of the other three turned, as mine turned toward the subject of grub. There is something about the thought of grub, especially when a man has a very little and wants a great deal, and expects to share with others who

have even less and want even more, that makes one taciturn. I began to feel a primitive desire to get off in a corner and eat my bone by myself—as if I had been a dog. None of us said anything, but the grub-thought was certainly in the air; and the thought made us surly and sad.

"Howdy, gents!" put in a round, mellow voice just over our heads. We looked up. A wide-mouthed, oldish little negro was grinning down at us, a bit doubtfully, as if afraid of his welcome. In one hand he held a bundle, wrapped in a piece of newspaper; in the other a big round powder can, of the sort used to transport the black powder used for blasting.

"Who the devil are you?" demanded Trench, pretending great irritation.

"Why—nobody in partic'lar," said the negro, losing a part of his smile. "I seen yoh-all's fire, an' I was jess thinkin'—"

"Well, come in, Nobody!" cried Trench. "I guess you're related to all of us!"

With relief that showed itself in a half-moon grin, Nobody scrambled into our midst. There was water in the powder-can he carried. He set the can down by the fire, and laid the bundle down beside it.

"Gen'lemen," he announced, "dey's a chicken in dat-ah bun'le! Wif yoh kine pe'mission an' 'sistance, I'm a-gwine to mek yoh de Mulligan of yoh life! I was jess wonderin' how I was a-gwine to git shet of all dat chicken!"

We didn't ask Nobody how he had come by that chicken; it didn't occur to us, at the time, that that made any particular difference. With one accord we

congratulated Nobody, and began to open up our bundles, to add what we could to the perfection of that Mulligan. For a Mulligan, be it explained for the benefit of those so unfortunate as to be unacquainted with Mulligans, is the Course Dinner of the Road. It contains everything edible that can be scraped together at the time and place of its preparation. It is hors d'oeuvre, soup, entree, vegetables, salad, roast and dessert—all courses in one.

While Nobody set about his preparations, we watched him with the eyes of hungry wolves. It is a safe bet that not one of us there assembled had had a decent hot meal in three days of tramping. Such grub as we had managed to beg, borrow, buy or steal from the cooks that served the various camps had not been plentiful nor appetizing, and the few ranchers along the way kept guns and dogs especially for such as we. For myself, I had started with a loaf of bread and a soggy chunk of boiled beef. If you will walk three days provisioned only by a loaf of bread and a soggy chunk of boiled beef, you will have some idea of how I felt about that Mulligan. From the manner in which the others shattered the Third Commandment—which is a common way of expressing strong emotions, including joy—I judged that they were as ferociously hungry as I was myself.

Into the powder can, supported by stones over the fire went the chicken, cut into chunks; also the heel of the loaf and the remnants of the cold beef I had brought; also half a dozen raw potatoes from the Irishman's bundle, and another crust of bread; also sev-



At the same instant there was a flash and roar close at my side.

LYRICS OF A LABORER

By Berton Braley

I.

JUST A COMMON LABORER.

YOU KNOW me, sure at least you know my kind—
I am the sort of guy you'll always meet
Where any "common labor" you can find—
Diggin' the sewers in the city street,
Tampin' the ties where railroad line is run,
Wheelin' the concrete-mixer's mess away,
Doin' the kind of work that "must be done"
I'm "common labor," workin' by the day.

I ain't a thing of beauty nor of grace,
I'm kind of stiff an' bent, but I kin swing
A pick or shovel here or any place
As good as any guy you want to bring;
I used to think that maybe I would be
A boss or somethin'—of a workin' crew—
But Fate—er maybe it was only me—
Ain't never let that dream of mine come true.

So I goes on a-toilin' at my job
Week after week, an' year atop of year
An' while this pump of mine kin throb a throb
I'll still be doin' what I'm doin' here.
Maybe I've had my chance an' let it go
Maybe I never had no chance to climb,
But here I am, that much fer sure I know,
Doin' my work an' puttin' in my time.

II.

HIS FAMILY.

There's Mabel an' Billy an' Jennie
An' Tommy an' Jimmie an' Sue,
I'll stack 'em all up against any—
You bet they're a husky young crew.
It keeps us both busy to feed 'em
Me diggin'—the wife at her tub,
But—we keeps 'em in clothes when they need 'em
An' none of 'em's lackin' fer grub.

We does just as well as we're able
An' no one kin do any more,
They're all in the school except Mabel
An' she has a job in a store.
There ain't many brighter than Jimmie,
You bet he is nobody's fool,
An' Billy is better than him, he
Is simply a winner in school.

The rest is as keen as they make 'em
An' worth all our trouble an' sweat
To raise 'em an' learn 'em an' break 'em,
An' keep 'em all healthy, you bet!
They're ours an' I'm thinkin' we love 'em,
An' we wish we had money to blow
Why—we could make anything of 'em
If only they had a fair show.

III.

HIS CLUB.

Down at Muldoons is the place fer the bunch,
Where you git a big beer an' a bully free lunch,
Where you spit on the floor if ye're minded that way
An' there's talk with yer friends on the news of the day—
The death of a statesman, a prize fighter's punch,
A famine in China, a row on the docks,
A ship that is smashin' to bits on the rocks—
It's all of it grist fer the things that they say
Down at Muldoons.

You guys have your clubs where you gather fer cheer;
Our club is Muldoons—where a nickel fer beer
Is all of the fees that you really need pay
Fer the comfort you gits an' the card games you play,
There's friends, an' there's papers, an' good talk to hear
Down at Muldoons.

IV.

HIS WAGES.

One fifty ain't what you could call such a lot
When you work for ten hours to earn it,
We seemed to be long findin' somethin' was wrong
But at last we are comin' to learn it.
So it's lockin' now like we will go on a strike
We ain't hardly fixed to go through it,
But the only good way of increasin' yer pay
Is to threaten to strike—an' to do it!

Fer how can we live on the wages they give,
With prices that's higher an' higher?

Some claims that we use all our money fer booze?
Well, the guy who says that is a liar!
You can't get much drink if you haven't the chink
An' a guy must be pretty blame thrifty
Who kin hold out enough to get full on the stuff
When his wages is only one fifty!

No, take it from me that our chance fer a spree
Ain't nearly as great as they say it,
An' the guys who declare we drink more than our share
Don't LIVE on our wage—no, they PAY it!
An' they say that we shirk?—Well, just handle our work
You'll quit 'fore you even begin it.
So we're goin' to strive fer one seventy five
An' I think we'll be able to win it.

V.

THE PICK AND SHOVEL BRIGADE.

There's Tony Caponi an' Johny Morony an' Boscovitch, Slovak an'
Burke,
You'll find here the faces of all of the races that's doin' this back-
breakin' work.
Some people don't love us an' thinks they're above us—which may
be considerable true
For we're the foundation that gives 'em their station—this every-
day laborin' crew,
They'd have lots of trouble a-ridin' in bubbles er makin' big money
in trade
If WE wasn't sweatin' fer what we are gettin'—the pick an' shovel
brigade.

The rouse you takes pride in the roads you are ridin'—we handle the
rock an' the muck,
Whenever some one'll be plannin' a tunnel—it's us that must shovel,
Worse luck!
Whenever you goes in them buildin's imposin' that tries to make
holes in the sky,
Why—we are the fellers that dug out the cellars that's under them
buildin's so high.
With toil we are branded—stoop shouldered, hard handed, we don't
make a handsome parade,
But though you would flout us you can't do without us, the pick
an' shovel brigade.

There's others comes after—that puts up the rafter an' handles the
rivets and steel,
But 'for they begun it, our jobs we had done it so they could git in
on the deal,
They makes all the city look han'some an' pretty but WE had to
make 'em the room
We pulled down the hovels an' then with our shovels we followed
the dynamite's boom;
We wasen't no dreamers'er planners er schemers—we worked fer the
cash that was paid
But where we had wallered the others guys follered the pick an'
the shovel brigade!

VI.

THE STRIKE.

When the boss says nix to a fair demand
An' yells he'll give you to understand
HE'S runnin' the job an' no uppish skate
Of a blankety blankety delegate
Kir: tell him the place to git off at—
What would you do in a case like that?
Would you say—"that's the kind of talk I like."
Or—strike!

We're nothin' but common place workin' men,
But we has our feelin's, an' now an' then
We gits 'em riled an' we gives a yell
An' tells the bosses to go to hell.
So the diggin' gang, when they all had heard
The boss's answer an' what occurred,
They says, "We'll fix him, we will, sure Mike!
We'll strike!"

So the strike is on fer a two-bit raise
An' we ain't been workin' fer days an' days
An' my pay is spent an' the larder's thin
(All goin' out an' nuthin' in)
But we'll stick it out like we said we would
Till we gits the pay that we fairly should
An' win the strike—why we must, we MUST!
—Er bust!

VII.

THE STRUGGLE.

SOME way it makes me sad to think how kind of hard I'm grubbin'
To set around without a job while Mary goes out scrubbin',
But since the strike I've done my best to find some work or other

But everywhere I gits the same, one turndown—then another!
An' Bill an' Jim is out of school, I hates to have 'em quit it
But SOMEONE has to git a job an' I can't seem to git it;
The kids are helpin' all they can—it makes me almost crazy
To think they must support their dad, so useless-like and lazy.

I guess we're goin' to win the strike but it is slow in winnin'
The pawn shops got the parlor lamp an' that's a bad beginnin'.
I tell you what, it ain't just right that guys like me is driven
To fight the way we has to fight fer pay to keep us livin';
I want to keep my kids in school just like my richer neighbor
I want 'em learnin' somethin' more than bein' "common labor"
It ain't myself I thinks about that makes me feel so heated
My KIDS ain't gittin' half a chance—an' THEY'RE the ones that's
cheated!

VIII.

HATING THE SCAB.

THEY tried to git scab-labor in our place
But some one throwed a brick an' hit a man,
An' then the lively doin's all began
An' some one got a knife-cut on the face!
Then come the cops an' we all hit the trail
It was the scabs that landed in the jail.

I hate a scab—he's nothin' but a bum,
A thief who takes yer job an' doesn't care
How just yer strike may be, how fair an' square,
If anybody pays him—he will come!
He hasn't got no home, no fam'ly ties
He sells himself to anyone who buys.

An' though I'm peaceful in my daily life
An' never lookin' fer a fight er row
I'd jump 'most any scab 'most anyhow
(Keepin' a lookout fer his gun er knife!)
I cannot love my feller man when he
Is low enough to steal my grub from me.

IX.

THE BOSS.

TODAY the boss went ridin' by
He has a bran new motor car,
His big fur coat was turned up high
He smoked a great big black cigar.
I sees him, an' I starts to think
About the way the world is run
An' how the guy that has the chink
Gets all the luxury an' fun.

Now mind you, I don't mean to claim
That motor cars an' furs an' such
Is MINE by right, but just the same
SOME people has too bloomin' much
While me an' other "sor. of toil"
Just barely lives an' pays the rent
It don't exactly make me boil
.. But it don't make me feel content.
In fact I guess I'm kind of sore
To see the boss an' all he's made
.. When I—who asks fer two bits more—
Have got to strike to git it paid;
I leave it to you—on the dead
Does that seem right or is it wrong?
I'M kind of rattled in my head
From thinkin' of the thing so long.

X.

THE DAUGHTER'S INSULT.

Last night when our Mabel came home she was cryin'
She buried her face in her good mother's lap
An' then twixt her sobs an' her tears an' her sighin'
She told how a nobby-dressed, impudent chap
Had foiled her all of the way she was walkin'
An' called her his dearie an' asked fer her name
She almost ran home—but she said that his talkin'
Was such she could never repeat it fer shame.

An' all of the while she was tellin' her story
I seen Billy's face gettin' angry an' red,
An' 'twas not very long—fer I noticed—before he
Went out, with his hat crowded down on his head;
While I says to myself as my hairy fist tightened,
"I'd like to lay hands on a feller like him,
I'd pay him fer all of the girls he had frightened,
I'd teach him a lesson to keep him in trim!"

Till midnight an' after we waited fer Billy
An' when he came in he was surely a sight.
But he says, "Well, I fixed him—I knocked the guy silly
Though he called me a kid when we started to fight.
I paid him I guess, fer his talkin' to Mabel
I give him full measure fer all that he done,
He may want to flirt—but he ain't hardly able—
Who was it? O'Reilly—the contractor's son!"

XI.

THE BROTHER'S FIST.

You kin talk about money an' all of its tricks
In courts an' in love an' in trade,

But when it comes down to an old fashioned mix
Where yer fists is the weapons displayed,
Yer wealth ain't what helps you—you hark to my hunch
The poor man's as good as the rich,
An' Billy won out cause the boy had the punch
Though his father digs dirt in a ditch!

I know it ain't righteous that people should fight
But I'm proud of my brave little kid
Who wasn't afraid to go out in the night
An' do just the way that he did,
The boss may be better an' richer than me,
But his son's had a lesson from mine
An' I reckon he won't be so flippant an' free
Fer the lesson was certainly fine!

It's hard that yer daughter can't come home alone
Without bein' followed an' spoke
But the feller that done it has woes of his own
For his nose an' his collar bone's broke.
An' though he's the son an' the heir of my boss
I'll guess he'll learn THIS pretty clear,
Not to bother SOME girls that he happens across
Fer maybe their brothers is near!

XII.

THE LAW AND THE COP.

THE coppers came this mornin'
An' knocked an' rang the bell,
An' when I asked 'em what they wished
They didn't want to tell
But I says "Billy can't be took
An' throwed into a cell.

"He only done his duty
An' what was just an' right,
You ain't a-goin' to take him
Fer just a little fight,
He ain't no common robber
Ner a burgler in the night."

But all the same they took him
An' locked him up in jail
Because they said he'd broke the peace
Accordin' to the tale
Of Mr. James O'Reilly's son
That Billy had to whale.

A fine old justice that is
A justice kind an' free
That puts my Billy into jail
An' leaves that masher free
To trouble other daughters of
Such workin' men as me.

But I kin only worry
An' clamor an' complain,
An' that won't be no remedy
Fer all this grief an' pain,
An' all the protests I kin make
Is bound to be in vain!

If Billy'd stole a railroad,
Er wrecked a savin's bank,
He'd git his bail instanter
From men of wealth an' rank,
But he just fought his sister's fight
An' so the jail doors clank!

THE "YELLER" PAPERS

MY Billy's free of jail again—the papers got him out
Them wicked "yeller papers" that you hear so much about.

The editors of other sheets that "holds a higher tone"
They listened to my story, but they let the case alone

Then the "yellers" heard about it an' they grabbed it like a streak
They told my Billy's story with a beller an' a shriek.

An' the jail doors opened outward an' they opened mighty soon
(There is lots of people dancin' to the yeller papers' tune.)

So my Billy was a hero when he hit the homeward track
An' I guess he wasn't welcome when we seen him comin' back!

You kin talk about the "yellers" an' their awful sins an' crimes,
But they fights the poor man's battles an' they wins 'em, too, at times,

Keep yer "quiet fam'ly papers" that adopts a high brow line
I am boostin' fer the "yellers" that will boost fer me an' mine,

Maybe they ain't really honest, maybe it is all a bluff
But hey got my Billy's freedom—an' that's honesty enough!

WE WON THE STRIKE.

THERE ain't no strike—it's over now,
The gang is diggin' rock again,
Seems like we were in clover now
Our stuff is out of hock again;

(Continued on Page Twelve.)



"Aha! I See a fly-speck on the City Hall! How are you Socialists going to explain that? Aha!"

THE CAPITALIST BOGEY

By J. B. Larric

THE Socialist administration in Milwaukee has developed a mania for dying off about once a week. But it is rapidly getting used to the stunt and it likes it.

Every Sunday regularly the capitalistic press announces Milwaukee's demise in large, tear-stained bold-face. "She Can't Last Long!" "Fail-

ing Rapidly!" "The End Expected Any Moment!" "Rigor Mortis Has Set In!"

And then just when the shutters are about to be solemnly latched together, the curtains decently drawn, the blinds silently pulled down, the mischievous corpse peekaboos from beneath the shroud and winks like a village prohibitionist ordering soda.

Now, what's to be done with a thoughtless corpse like that? Nothing. Even suppose it should take it into its head to cash in! Would it have the good grace, the decency and manners to remain buried? Certainly not.

In all probability, after the hearse had started on its sad journey, the remains would get up, as Aaron Burr did on a certain remarkable occasion, and ride with the driver, commenting rapturously all the way on the glorious spring scenery. Is it any wonder that the anti-Socialist literary bureau is showing such impatience? Who wouldn't?

Having very tender natures, the politicians cannot see Milwaukee suffering so. They are profoundly stirred. Their grief is like the magnate's for the beggar. The mendicant's poverty moved the rich man to his depths. "Is it possible," he exclaimed, "that there is so much misery in the world? Such destitution! No shoes! No hat! No coat! Man, you break my heart! Butler, ho, butler! For heaven's sake, quick, fire the pauper out! I cannot endure the sight of such wretchedness!"

The Milwaukee politicians feel just that way. Rather than look at the poor Socialists they would have them driven from their sight. But be just, be kind. Their motives spring from the trinity of faith, hope and charity. Don't think they are animated by anything save by the love of brotherhood and humanity. Don't!

If you chance across cartoons picturing doctors holding Milwaukee's pulse; if you see interviews on the city depicting her going down for the last time with a low, gurgling cry; if you read magazine articles describing her death rattle with so-

prano runs and modulations; if you hear speakers drawing harrowing scenes of the final agonies to soft, slow, distant music—be calm. Be calm, don't excite yourself. It is nothing more than this samaritan political philanthropy at work. For rather than see Milwaukee in travail, it would end the torture at once. They are merciful, sympathetic, lovely gentlemen, these same politicians. Don't accuse them of trying to remove the crape from their bank accounts to fasten it around the high brow of Socialism. Don't! Please don't!

The Milwaukee obituary writers crowd up into their conning towers. They are armed with field-glasses, telescopes and binoculars. When a pin drops, the next day the whole country hears that fifty tons of dynamite have exploded in the city. When they spy a speck of dust in the left-hand corner of the southwest wall, the news is immediately sent flying all over the land that Milwaukee is wading knee-deep in filth, mud and garbage.

Milwaukee commits the unpardonable crime of opening a municipal pawn-shop. Horrors! A shudder goes through the veins of the Associated Press. A few hours later the cold beads of perspiration stand out like this on the printed page:

"Milwaukee opened a municipal pawn shop today. This is but the beginning of a long series of municipally owned shops soon to be established.

"The Socialists propose to erect a limberger cheese factory, a corset plant, a tooth-wash establishment, a harem skirt industry, a tennis-racket foundry, a ping-pong mill, an automobile manufactory, a skating rink, a flying machine plant, a bon-bon atelier, a cocktail mint and a photograph studio.

"In addition to these establishments, it is rumored that the city will shortly erect chewing-gum stations for working girls. The gum can thus be checked with custodians when not in use. The metropolis will also furnish plush divans along the streets for the comfort of laborers. In fact, it will be made compulsory for the workingmen to repose on them for an hour after every five minutes of work.

"Interviewed today on the situation, Mayor Seidel said:

"The municipal pawnshop is intended mainly

for the convenience of republican and democrat politicians. They will shortly need them, as I hear their funds are getting low.

"Next week, I shall have a bill passed in the assembly for the erection of a great municipal bologna studio. The building of this plant has been the dream of my life. I am over enjoyed now that I can realize it.

"I have asked Signor Brostoli to come over from Italy to superintend the industry. He is a recognized bologna expert. The bologna project I have in mind will solve the problem of the high cost of living. It will also do away forever with dyspepsia, bronchitis and spinal meningitis.

"This specially prepared bologna has an outer mackintosh skin, making it absolutely rain-proof. This skin can be peeled off the meat part, and if desired converted into an umbrella cover, a cravenette, an awning, a hand-bag, and many other useful things.

"The cost of erecting this industry will amount to the trifle of thirty millions. It may come to a few dollars more or less but what does a mere detail like that matter?"

"But how do you expect to finance this gigantic project?" the Mayor was asked.

"There could be nothing easier," he replied. "Popular subscription. We propose to send a list around to all the city departments; for instance, The Hospital for the Insane; The Home for the Deaf and Blind; the Asylums for Incurables. We shall get the inmates of these and other institutions to assign to us their debts and liabilities. This collateral we shall deposit with one of the New York banks. It will undoubtedly be put by that bank under the head of "Assets" in its annual statement. Thus we will be able to draw out ten per cent yearly interest, which will be applied to the running expenses of the bologna atelier. It is all really very simple."

The editors all over the country then fell to and cogitate hard and earnestly over this interview. And with his coffee and rolls the next morning this is what the American citizen gets:

"The Socialist administration in Milwaukee is a complete failure. It would have been far better for that city not to have strayed from its solid, conservative path. Whisking thoughtlessly aside the pure, spiritual, spotless Rose regime and putting the Berger and Seidel pirates and buccaneers

(Continued on page 12)

Greetings to American Socialists

By J. Keir Hardie, M. P.

With the approach of the First of May our thoughts turn instinctively to our comrades of other lands. May Day is more than Labor Day.

America has its Labor Day on September 4th and it has twice been my lot to witness the parades connected therewith. In 1895 I was in Chicago, and two years ago I was in New York, and it was good to see the thousands of big, clean-limbed, brawny and brainy men who marched past in the processions. This, however, was only Labor Day for America, and the flag carried was almost invariably the Stars and Stripes which of itself marked the occasion off as being only national.

The First of May is not merely national; it is Emancipation

Day for the proletariats of all lands. On that day the sun in his journey round the earth, beams all the way round upon the pioneers of a new faith kneeling at the shrine of our common humanity. A band of comrades encircles the earth on May Day in a sympathetic bond of common aspiration. All creeds, dogmas, sects and parties blend in one common thought—the emancipation of the race.

It is in that international spirit that I send fraternal greetings to our comrades in the United States of America. To them the past year has witnessed a great triumph and much progress; may May Day this year usher in the beginning of a time better than all that has gone before.

Springtime of the Race, May 1, 1911

BY A. M. SIMONS

THIS is the springtime and seed time of the earth's history.

Measured by our puny memories and our heaped up books, history seems long. Lester F. Ward tells that were all the ages of the world represented upon a clock face marking the twelve hours, then all but a few minutes would be used to indicate the endless centuries before man set foot upon the globe, while our recorded history would be measured by but a few seconds in comparison.

Those bleak ages of preparation, of glacial cold, and boiling rocks and convulsive upheavals and the slow shrinking that built the continents, and the slow wearing down of valleys, made the earth ready for life.

There has been a geological winter for the race also. For centuries men fought against the bitter mastery of nature. Cold, floods, drouth and wild beasts slew millions that a few more fitted to survive, might be chosen to perpetuate the race.

Then, when a few of nature's secrets had been sought out, and some of her forces turned to the service of man, the stronger within the race of humans seized those treasures gained by common effort and used them to enslave their fellowmen.

Then came those long centuries of oppression and exploitation and misery, when,

"Man's inhumanity to man made countless thousands mourn."

The central fact about this long winter of race misery was, that never did those who produced the things by which the race was clothed, housed, amused and educated, receive their product.

Those who sowed and reaped and baked did not eat the bread. Those who spun and wove and fashioned the clothing were always clad most poorly. Those who built pyramids, mansions, palaces and cathedrals dwelt in huts.

Around this fact that labor was robbed of its product, all that we call history has centered. Wars were but the struggles to determine which gang of robbers should have the plunder.

This winter of discontent is drawing to a close, and that just because it is a winter of *discontent*.

Less than a century ago a few among the workers awoke to a realization that the geological winter of the race was over. They showed that invention and science had made the earth ready for a new world of free men.

They showed that, with the coming of ma-

chines, the weapons were now at hand with which poverty and ignorance could be as completely exterminated as had been the cave bear, the saber toothed tiger and the mammoth that once haunted the camp fires of our cave dwelling ancestors. Slowly the rays of this new idea melted away the accumulated snows of ignorance and illuminated the intellectual darkness of the great toiling millions.

We are today in this great springtime of the race.

The light and warmth of the sun of Socialism has penetrated into the minds of the frozen and enslaved millions and has aroused them to action.

Just as there was more life and movement in any century after sentient beings appeared upon the earth than in all the eons that came before; just as there are greater transformations in each

upon the lakes now that springtime is here. And after springtime comes the harvest.

That harvest will be the first to be reaped and enjoyed by those who sowed and tended it—by them and their children and their children's children. For we are about to usher in a new age. An age in which there is neither hunger, nor cold, nor slavery nor ignorance.

Of the glories of that summer time and harvest time of the race we can have but a faint vision. We can only know that all the triumphs over nature gained in the long, long winter of toil and pain, and the greater triumphs that the swifter moving life of spring and summer bring, will be at the service of all humanity. We know from the law of accelerated motion that has prevailed since "the earth was without form and void" until the present that each day will bring greater things than years do now.

We know that those will be the days in which mankind will reap the harvest for which there have been thousands of years of preparation and centuries of sowing. We know that man will stand master not only of the earth, but of himself. We know that the struggle against environment will be ended and the struggle of man with man will be no more.

Nature will be the servant of mankind and mankind will be brothers.

Even that primal curse of toil, that has rested upon man, first by the harsh necessity of the battle against physical forces, and then by the yoke that has been laid upon him by those of his own kind, will be removed. Labor itself will be a joy, when into it every worker can put the knowledge that the race has handed down to him modified by his mind. In that day toil will give place to play, for the production of the things that satisfy our needs will be made a source of pleasure.

This vision has hung before the race in one form and another these thousands of years. Sometimes it grew so faint and dim that it was only hoped for at the end of life. Today, we know that it is no longer a dream, but the only certain thing that the future holds in store.

There may have been doubts of the coming of life when the rocks ran molten from the mountains. There may have been doubt of liberty when all man's energies were taxed in the fight to tear from reluctant nature the food to maintain life. The coming of the harvest may have been doubted when the snow lay deep upon the earth.

Today when the ground is ready for seed, when we know that the sunshine and cultivation will not fail, we feel assured that the crop will be ours.

And we who till the soil and sow the seed today are making possible that day.

It is good to be alive in the springtime of the race.



Just Beginning to Fight

BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

Message of encouragement! Ha! Tell our American comrades to remember the American captain who, when called upon to strike his flag, replied that he was only just beginning his part of the battle. We shall not win, but the truth will. The mills of thought grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small. I hope our American friends will be Socialists and not laborists, and that they will never stoop to the politics of the political parties. And I wish them and all Socialists of all nations good courage and good speed.



hour of the warm, pulsating springtime than in all the long frozen months of winter, so there is more progress in a modern moment of the struggle for liberty than in all the ages of slavery.

The sowers in this springtime of mankind and womankind are millions. They are sure of the harvest now. There are many who do not yet know that the winter is passed. There are some so blinded by the snows of prejudice, so encrusted by the ice of selfishness, that they cannot see the liberty bringing sun.

But their blindness will not stay the sun in its course. It is as impossible to retain the slavery and robbery of the past as it is to keep the last winter's snow upon the hills, or the coat of ice

A DAY OF VICTORY

By A. M. Simons



TRULY labor has cause to rejoice. The day of the realization of our hopes is in sight. No longer need we talk of the awakening of labor as some far-off dream. The election returns of the last few months and weeks tell of the capture of the first outposts of the citadel of capitalism. It is not alone that in Milwaukee, Berkeley, Battle, Flint, and a host of smaller towns, the powers of local government have fallen into the hands of the Socialists. These victories in themselves would mean little were they not so evidently a part of a great wave.

Within six months Socialist victories have been gained in states as far apart as Pennsylvania and California, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Washington, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan and Mississippi. There is no section of the country exempt. Wherever capitalism has entered, there Socialism has followed.

Organized labor seems to be moving almost en masse. The mistakes, misunderstandings and ignorance that have so long made the American labor movement an anomaly in the international revolt of the workers are passing away. The United Mine Workers, the most powerful union in America, is moving toward Socialism so rapidly that one step treads upon another. The machinists, cigar-makers and other trades, once recognized as among the most conservative, are now permeated with the spirit of Socialism. The Civic Federation, the latest and biggest effort to mislead and obstruct the progress of labor, has been discredited and cast aside.

The press of Socialism that, a few years ago, was but a still small whisper in the roaring Babel of capitalist publications, has grown until its voice sounds clear and true above the shrieks of the profit-serving press. Scarcely a day passes that does not add several more to the long list of Socialist papers. These no longer spring up as the result of a momentary enthusiasm, to die when the enthusiasm has spent itself. They come in response to a need and backed by a demand that insures permanency. Whole groups of papers, edited from a common center, are spreading over the country.

That the number of Socialist publications has trebled since the last presidential campaign would be a modest estimate.

The press, too, is but a portion of the growing literature of Socialism. There has been a frenzy of enthusiasm for the written word as a method of propaganda. Leaflets, pamphlets, books, posters and other forms of printed matter are being circulated at this moment to a far greater degree than in the closing days of the biggest campaign the Socialists have ever waged.

The spirit of Socialism is permeating the publications of its enemies. Forced by the very hunger for profits which they are defending, the great magazines find that only by breathing the spirit of Socialism into the dead bones of capitalist muck-raking can the current of circulation be made to flow.

On the platform, too, we are accustomed to think that when the Red Special was touring the country and every nerve was being strained in the last weeks of the presidential campaign, that the high tide of Socialist speaking had been reached. Yet, today, fully as many orators are on national tours as then, while state and local organizations are maintaining an army of propagandists and organizers.

Here again Socialist influence is capturing the very weapons of the enemy. Lyceum Bureaus have discovered that the message to which the people listen gladly, and for which they pay liberally, is that of Socialism, and Socialist speakers are tempted with flattering offers from those who, but a few years ago, would have barred them from access to the platform.

Insurgency and radical democracy died before they were

born. The last session of Congress was barren of results, and the present only attracts attention because it is unique in the possession of a representative of Socialism.

All this, of course, is but a reflection of the industrial life. The world market is glutted. There is no room, no hope of expansion.

The nations of the world, at the behest of the capitalist rulers, are piling up greater and greater armaments in the hope that in the final struggle each may gain some advantage. So tremendous has become this waste of militarism that no ravages of war ever pressed heavier upon a people than do the preparations for war today.

This cannot go much farther. It is a truism that modern war is fought with bonds, not bullets, and modern militarism bids fair to conquer and crush those who create it. Each nation is building its own Frankenstein.

The rulers of the world alternately hope for war as a method of relief and of attracting attention from the uprising of the toilers, and fear it as an opportunity of revolt that will end in the overthrow of militarism, plutocracy and slavery.

War is welcomed, feared, hated, expected, dreaded. It is a confession of failure, a resort of despair.

The great task of the workers of America today is to organize for freedom these mighty forces of revolt. We all know this. In every section of the country, the convinced Socialists are working with desperate energy to enroll and drill the fighters for the coming battle.

They are enrolling them. They are being drilled and prepared at a rate the most optimistic of us would have thought impossible. Three months ago there were but fifty-eight thousand members in the Socialist party. Since then twenty thousand have been added. It is significant that in this growth Pennsylvania, the most industrial of states, leads with fully ten thousand members. But a dozen other states are pressing her hard as to rate of growth.

These facts are encouraging, but only as they point the way to greater possibilities. We must enter the next presidential campaign with not less than one hundred fifty thousand organized and drilled workers. This will give our national organization over seven thousand dollars a month income.

The expenses of administration need not exceed two thousand dollars, that means more than five thousand dollars a month for literature and agitation. When to that we have added the sums that can be raised in the enthusiasm of a campaign, and to that the still greater resources that come from a trained army of devoted workers, the Socialist party of America can, for the first time in its history, maintain a more powerful campaign than either of those that are financed by capitalism.

With such an organization, borne on the ever-rising wave of enthusiasm, cheered by the success of widely separated yet closely united victories, who shall set metes and bounds to the possibilities of the coming year?

The next presidential campaign, and it is only a short twelve months until that campaign will begin, will be an historic one. The Socialist party has never failed to register at least ten times as many ballots as it counted members. We are, therefore, on the safe ground of mathematical calculation when we count within the bounds of probabilities a vote of a million and a half in November, 1912.

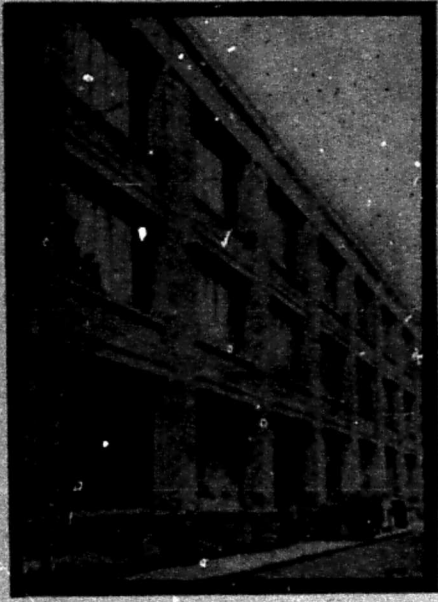
That would mean congressmen from a dozen states. It would mean from one to twenty members of the legislature in each of these states. It would put a hundred large cities, and five hundred smaller ones in the control of the working class. It would give a majority for labor in many county governments, and would produce a frenzy for "radical" legislation that would bring many alleviations of capitalist oppression.

It would send the entire nation "to school to Socialism." It would so focus attention upon the rising tide of Labor that we would no longer need to seek out readers for our literature, and listeners for our spoken message.

These things are at hand. Are we ready for them? Are we willing to make the supreme effort that the climax of a fight demands?

The Socialist world, and the non-Socialist world, will expect much of America during the next year. We must meet those expectations.

The Socialist Co-operatives in France



The "Revendication" at Puteaux



"L'Egalitaire" at Paris



A Village Co-operative



The "Union" at Lille

Jean Longuet

Foreign Correspondent Coming Nation

BELGIAN co-operatives have become famous within the international Socialist world. The vast Palace of the People at Brussels and that admirable creation of the organizing genius of Edouard Anseele, the Vooruit at Ghent have won the praise and admiration of all comrades. The co-operative movement in France is on the other hand very little known, though it has grown unceasingly for at least twenty years, and has developed in a remarkable manner during the last six or seven years.

The French co-operative movement is less extensive, less rich than the English, but it is almost equal to that of Germany. It is undoubtedly far more permeated with the Socialist spirit than either of these. Only within the last two years has the German movement separated from the bourgeois co-operatives.

There are about 2,500 co-operative societies in France, divided among eighty-three departments and representing about 90,000 members. These figures comprise not only the proletarian co-operatives thoroughly imbued with the Socialist spirit, but also many old societies of bourgeois bent, or others having no conformity with the working class movement, especially the bakery co-operatives in many of the small towns.

The truly proletarian co-operatives have about 300,000 members and of these about 200,000 are united in the Central Exchange of the French Socialist co-operatives and in the various district federations; the Ardennes, Brittany, the Center, the East, the North, the Northwest, Pas de Calais, the Paris district, the Somme, the Saone and the Loire, and the Southwest.

The co-operative movement is assuming identity with Socialist activity in the industrial districts especially, and the statistics given by one of the chief militants in the French Socialist co-operative movement, the ex-Mechanic Helies, at the National Socialist congress last July are significant with this fact in view.

Helies calculated that the North, the Seine, Pas de Calais, the Vosges, the Meurthe and the Moselle, the Doubs, the Loire, the Saone and the Loire, the Rhone, the Aisne, the Ardennes and Haute Vienne, (the twelve most proletarian districts of France) contain 600,000 of the 690,000 members of the co-operatives in all of France. These twelve departments do a yearly business of 163,000,000 francs, (about \$32,000,000), out of a total of 228,000,000 francs by all the co-operatives. Then in these twelve departments there are 530,000 Socialist votes; Helies pointed out the correlation between the number of Socialist votes and the number of workers in the co-operative societies.

The great effort of the French co-operative movement in the last few years has undoubtedly been the establishment of the co-operative wholesale house, (*Magasin de Gros des Co-operatives*) which proposed an economic federation of the co-operatives in the production of merchandise just as the Socialist Co-operative exchange federates them morally for action and propaganda. This is the French "wholesale."

The soul of the Co-operative Wholesale house is a Socialist militant, member of the central committee, Comrade Louis Helies, whose eloquent discourse at the National Socialist congress has just been referred to. He laid the foundation of the establishment and is its director.

Established in 1906 with the small capital of 15,000 francs, the *Magasin de Gros* did business amounting to 1,800,000 francs the first year, 3,786,000 the second year, 5,606,000 in 1908 and 7,888,000 in

1909. Last year, 1910, the wholesale house passed the 10,000,000 mark. It has established important factories, among them a shoe factory at Lille in the Pas de Calais district, which already employs more than 200 workers and for which a magnificent new building is being constructed. It has bought up the rural vine-growing co-operatives of the south, notably the famous "Free Vine-dressers of Maraussan." It thus receives pure wine at low prices directly from the south and sells to the workers of Paris and the north. It has established a biscuit factory in Paris and a coffee-roasting estab-



Shoe Factory Under Construction at Lillers

lishment in Paris, together with several large warehouses.

All the workers and employes of the *Magasin de Gros* are union members, co-operators and members of the Socialist party. The proletarian co-operatives affiliated with the co-operative exchange and with the wholesale house subscribes thousands of francs yearly to the fund for the striking workers. As a rule they also furnish bread and milk free to striking co-operators, as long as the struggle continues. In the north, under the influence of Jules Guesde, the co-operatives subscribe a yearly sum of between fifty and sixty thousand francs besides to the Socialist party following the example of Belgium.

This question of subscription by the co-operative workers to the party, in particular during election campaigns, has raised much controversy and was the principle subject of debate at the National congress at Paris in July, 1910, between the majority led by Jaures and Vaillant, which claimed with Helies that the Socialist character of co-operation would not depend on that single question of subscription to the party, and the Guesdist fraction which declared that the only criterion of the Socialist spirit in a co-operative resided in such subscribing.

It must be remembered that this is only a question of form. All French Socialist co-operators agree in the statement that proletarian societies ought not be animated alone by the mercantile



Educational Co-operative at Paris

spirit, a reproach that can be laid at the door of English co-operatives, which are prone to consider only the advantage of a good bargain and big dividends. Neither can one find in the French co-operative movement that deplorable opposition to the political activity of the Socialist party, which exists in a certain part of the union movement and which is the great weakness of the French movement.

Even the co-operators who belong to the larger fraction with Helies, and who oppose obligatory subscriptions to the party, are not at all opposed to its activity. Very much on the contrary, since they are members of the party; moreover the great co-operatives of the Paris region which they represent, if they do not subscribe to the party fund like the co-operatives of the north, are nevertheless strong centers of Socialist propaganda. Lectures are regularly given in the quarters belonging to the societies and they pay funds regularly in case of strikes. Educational societies are formed, that is to say the children of the co-operative workers are gathered into societies and taught Socialist songs and Socialist ideas. Finally all the co-operatives—those of the Seine district as well as the others—gave their support to the daily paper of the party, *L'Humanite*, when it was threatened with ruin. The great societies of the Paris region were the first to respond to the appeal of Jaures in 1906 when he asked the working-class to save the paper. Not less than 206 shares in the paper were subscribed for by the co-operatives.

The largest Socialist labor co-operatives in France are found in the Paris district. The most important and without doubt the one most imbued with the Socialist spirit is the *Bellevilloise*, which is located in the old revolutionary quarter, Belleville, represented in Parliament by Vaillant. It has almost eight thousand members, representing at least thirty thousand human beings. Its annual business account amounts to about six million francs. The last National Socialist congress gathered on its premises in the People's Palace. This co-operative has eight branches.

L'Egalitaire is next in importance. It has a membership of 6,723, and its business amounts to 2,322,000 francs a year. Then comes *L'Avenir de Plaisance*, with 3,336 members and an annual business of 664,000 francs.

In the suburbs of Paris, the most important Socialist co-operative is the *Revendication*, founded in 1866 by Benoit Malon, the communist and well known Socialist writer. It has 3,000 members and its annual business amounts to 1,647,000 francs. One of its members, the mechanic Voilin, is the Socialist deputy from that district.

The most important Socialist co-operative in the provinces is the *Union de Lille*, directed by the militants of the Federation of the North, who have Guesdist tendencies. It has a membership of 7,500. But although it has a membership almost equal to that of Belleville, the amount of business that it conducts is far less, 1,700,000 francs a year. The worker of the north, not as well paid as the Parisian worker, is naturally constrained to consume less.

To sum up, it must be admitted that the co-operative proletarian movement in France is in many respects worthy of the interest of all Socialists. It is profoundly imbued with the spirit of labor enfranchisement and revolt against capitalism. They offer themselves everywhere as centers and strongholds of the party and at the same time prepare for it within the ranks of the working class, men having a sense of reality and a capacity for administration very necessary to the conquest of the system of production and exchange by the organized proletariat.

TOILING IN DARKNESS

By Morris Strunsky



trip and every shovel-full of these thousands of tons must be carried by the stokers from the bunkers where the coal is stored through long narrow passageways and deposited before each individual fire. The passageways are about two feet wide, just the width of a narrow wheelbarrow and about five feet high. The only way in which a stoker can go from one row of fires to another is in a stooping posture and only a stoker knows what it means to crawl through the little tunnels between the boilers, have one of his bare shoulders touch the sides of the heated iron, hear the zizz that comes from the broiling flesh, and cry out with agony and pain as he staggers through with his burden.

Dividing the Work

The stokers are divided into two divisions, firemen and trimmers. The work of a fireman consists in shoveling coal into the fires for four or six hours every half day, as the case may be, for each company has its own particular laws. These men are usually those who have made the trip before in one capacity or another, and they are supposed to be hardened to the work and the treatment which they receive on board.

The trimmer has the more arduous work of the two. He must haul the coal to the fires which are sometimes over two hundred feet away, he must haul ashes for three hours outside of his eight or twelve hours a day; and it is the trimmer who is continually being buffeted and kicked by every man on board who is cloaked with the least bit of authority.

About one hour before the watch begins, the stoker is awakened, the usual method is to pull him out of his bunk so that he will fall to the floor. His toilet consists in putting on his shoes. Breakfast consists of biscuits, rancid oleomargarine, and black coffee. The meal is downed in a gulp and the men stand at the head of the narrow stairway that leads to the hell below, waiting for "eight bells" which is the signal for one watch to end and the other watch to begin work. A chill draft blows down from above and they huddle together in their thin garments so that the cold wind will not penetrate their very marrows.

Suddenly bells begin to ring and the shout of eight bells goes through the ship. As the men scramble down the slippery, circular stairway, a troop of men pass them from below. They are bared to the waist and their bodies are black with soot. Perspiration steams and streams from every pore. Their tongues hang out and they pant wearily as they stagger past.

The Ship Must Go On

A hot blast of stifling air seems to give the men a weird welcome as they reach the pit. The noise is terrifying and the air is heavy and thick with dust. The shouting of orders is only interrupted by the heavy, tired panting of the men.

In front is an immense row of boilers, under which twelve fires crackle and roar. Five of the men immediately take their places before the fur-

naces and begin to rake out the living fires, for new fires are made every watch. Water is thrown on the red, blazing coals and as the liquid strikes the fiery mass the air is thick with steam. The water rebounds, and, heated to a boiling point by coming in contact with the burning coals, sputters back upon the naked shoulders of the men. The perspiration oozes out of their tired bodies and the temperature rises higher and higher. The thermometer registers one hundred and forty. Men drop unconscious from the terrific heat, but the work continues. The ship must go on!

There are rows and rows of these boilers, all connected by the little passageways through which the men must creep with the heavy wheelbarrows. And for four or six long weary hours they stagger from bunker to fire and from fire to bunker, always hauling coal to feed the iron gourmand which asks up all that is fed to it and is always demanding more. There is no rest for the men. The fires must be fed.

The Pace That Kills

At the end of the watch the trimmers stagger up to their bunks and drop wearily upon the little sacks of hay which form their beds. There they lie as in a trance, tired, exhausted, weary of work and life. A few minutes later they are down in the stoke-hole once more, this time to haul the ashes which are raked out from beneath the fires. These ashes are hauled in sacks the entire length of the hold and then they are brought up on deck and thrown into the sea. The sacks are made of heavy burlap and the rough cloth and the hot ashes continually rub into the raw flesh caused by the many burns and cuts which they receive every watch. The ashes are inhaled by the men and the very lungs seem dried and cracked. There is no pause, no rest. There can be no outside aid. The work has to be done, to be done by them alone. They have no time to sicken, they have no time to die. They all have to keep up with the pace, the pace that kills.

After the work is done the men once more climb the narrow stairs (there seems to be millions of them) and wash themselves in buckets of slimy sea water. They do not eat, they do not sleep, they are too tired for either. And the mighty throbbing of the engines, the engines of which they are a part, drums incessantly in their brains and they stare vacantly at the blank walls, thinking.

There is not much difference between one day's work and another. It is one long, dreary grind, shoveling coal, raking fires, hauling ashes and then the cycle is repeated until the life-long passage is over.

There is only one way out of the stoke-hole, through a little iron water-tight door which leads to the stairs above. Every watch the men are drilled in closing the door so that in case of accident the in-rushing water will be confined to the hold. But it also cuts off all means of escape for the men and in case of accident, they would be caught like rats in a trap. The men go through the performance reluctantly, and sometimes one notices a grim, cold smile gleam through the grimy, sooty face, but usually the men are too far gone to care or think of the meaning of the drill. But, then, life is cheap in the stoke-hole. The life of a stoker—but why speak of trifles?

Speed spells death to the men in the stoke-hole. It means more work for the men, for the men who can work no more. The pace becomes faster for the engines consume more steam and more steam means more work. It is said that when the Lusitania made her maiden trip to this country, twenty-one men were sent to the hospital besides the several whose corpses were cast overboard during the voyage. And that trip was no exception.

The most vivid stretch of the imagination cannot picture anything else of the stoke-hole but a living Hell where the men suffer so that they might live. When the abuses will stop, no one seems to know, and no one seems to care.

Meanwhile the slaughter goes on.

Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole Republic, the dignity of the elective franchise—all alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken, and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free.

—Robt. C. Withrop.



WHENEVER a modern greyhound crosses the Atlantic with one of those magnificent bursts of speed that clips a few minutes off the record, the world at large stands awed and cheers and applauds this marvelous feat of the twentieth century.

The name of the ship and its wonderful achievement is spread around the world and there is a rush to secure state rooms on this eighth wonder. Records mean financial success to the ship-owners.

But records spell death to the men in the stoke-hole. Every turn of the ship's monstrous propellers represents not only a certain amount of steam consumed but also a certain amount of human vitality, lost by men who can ill afford to lose it. But the race between speed and life will always go on, for speed means money and life is cheap.

It is estimated that 2,500 stokers are wantonly murdered every year on the passenger boats that cross the Atlantic.

This figure is conservative. No one knows how many lives the Grim Reaper extracts as his toll among the human animals who sweat and toil in darkness. No one knows how many bodies are cast over the sides of the ships into the briny deep during the dead of night while the pleasure-seeking passengers sleep. No record is kept of the number of men who jump overboard, crazed by the heat. To the public it will always remain a mystery.

There are approximately 15,000 stokers in the passenger service that conveys the thousands of pleasure seekers who spend their yearly vacations abroad. The number of stokers that a ship carries varies. From the "tramp" where from twenty to forty men feed the fires, to the gigantic Mauretania, which carries five hundred and fifty, the work and the condition are much the same. It is the stokers duty to see that there is enough steam in the boilers to keep the engines moving, no matter under what conditions it has to be done. Broken ventilators, air fans that do not fan, exploding steam pipes, poor food, barbarous treatment, sickness, and even death itself must not stand in the way of their work. The propellers must turn for the ship must reach its destination. Twenty-four hours late may mean a pestilence or a shortage of food. The ship must go on.

15,000 Slowly Dying

So there are 15,000 men slowly watching their lives flicker out as they stagger through the dust-laden air, shoveling the heavy coal and hauling the burning ashes to the tune of the pulsating throb of the mighty engines. And out of these 15,000 almost twenty per cent die in the performance of a needless duty.

There are few qualifications necessary to become a stoker. One must not be too old, or fat, or strong, for heat is deadly to those having these three qualities. The men are mostly chosen from the riff-raff that inhabit the sea-port towns, and even then, only those who are on the verge of starvation can be forced into accepting the positions. Every ship is short handed and it is doubtful if a ship ever left an American port that has its full complement of stokers. In Europe the searchers for stokers are better rewarded, for in towns like Hamburg, Cherbourg and especially Liverpool, the streets abound with men who are neither strong nor fat, half-starved wretches who are only too glad to leave their present abode in the hope of finding something better far off in distant lands. As the nature of the work is not explained to them, it is quite easy to entice them on board and once on board the officers see that there is no returning.

The stoke-hole is a world in itself, a world of which few know. There is no sunshine in that little planet; only night. It is there that the men toil and suffer until relieved by only death itself.

In this theater, everything is black. The place is only lighted by a few electric lights and the gleam of the fires that escape through the chinks of the furnace doors. The air is heavily laden with soot which fills the lungs and stuffs the nostrils until breathing becomes as laborious as the work itself. The noise is deafening. The ringing of bells, the clashing of gongs, the shouting of men, and the clanging of iron upon iron, gives one the impression of a chaotic underworld, and it is here, in the cess-pool of misery, that men's senses are being constantly deadened until they become less than human.

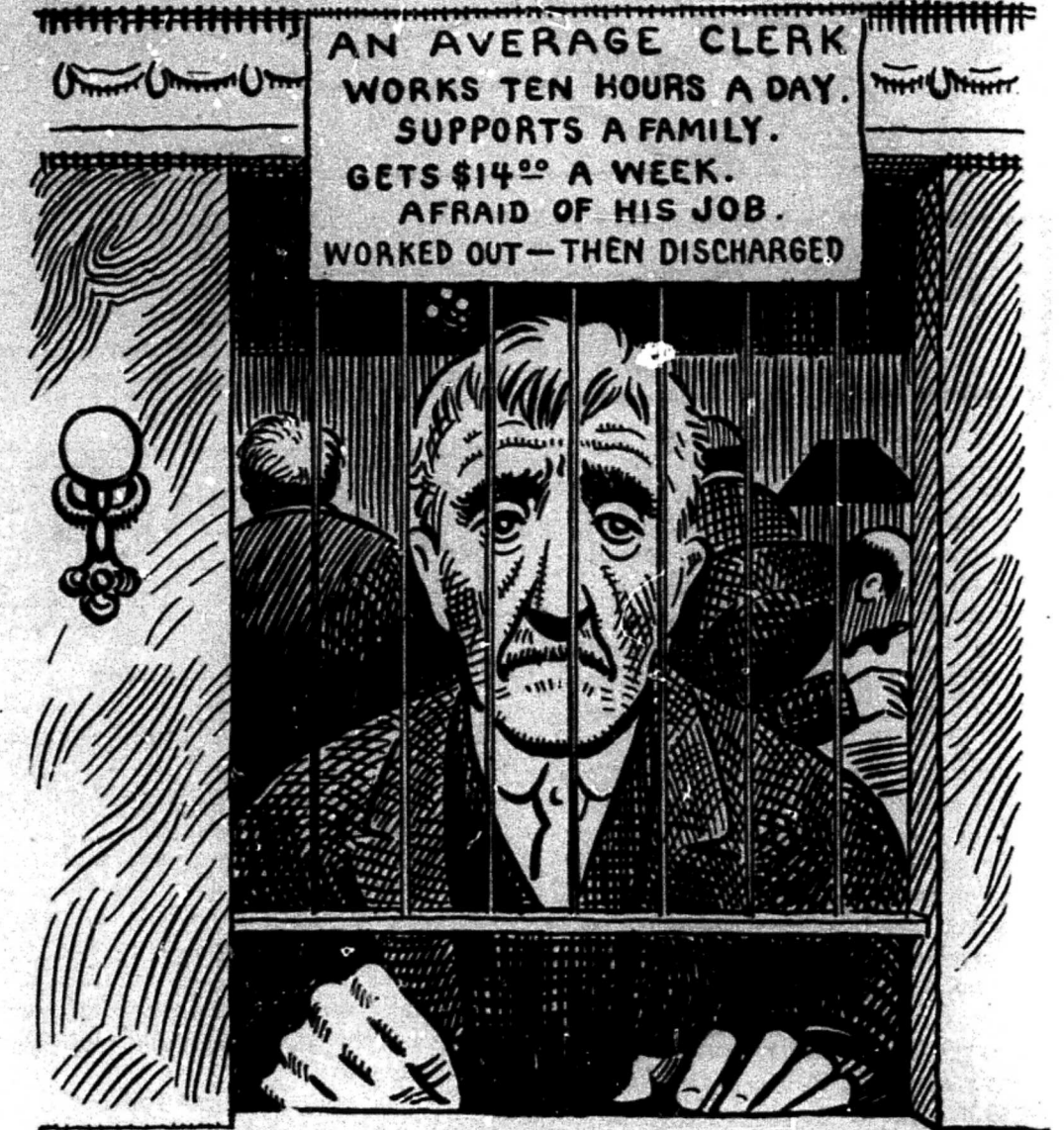
Thousands of tons of coal are used on every

PENITENTIARY



In jail and he knows it

CAPITALIST SYSTEM



In jail but he doesn't know it

Fighting On in Japan

That hanging and imprisonment does not crush out the spirit of revolution is shown by a bunch of clippings from English papers published in Japan, recently by the COMING NATION.

These tell of constant "outbreaks" in new places and new efforts at suppression. The principal of the first high school at Tokyo recently permitted a Mr. Rokway Tokutomi, a celebrated Japanese author, to address a meeting of the students. He took advantage of the occasion to defend the parties who were hanged, and to explain something of the causes that gave rise to their punishment. As a result the principal has been dismissed and the press has once more been stirred into activity in discussing the old question.

Mr. B. W. Fleisher, the publisher of the Japanese Advertiser, has also been prosecuted for publishing a translation of an article on Kotoku and his associates. In the diet, the parliamentary body of Japan, a committee has been appointed to investigate the whole problem connected with the imprisonment of revolutionists.

An attempt was made to hold an anti-anarchist meeting in Tokyo college. In this meeting Dr. Yujiro Miyake declared that there were causes back of the anarchist movement and that the judicial authorities had made a great blunder in keeping the whole matter in darkness. The result was that the meeting broke up in something very closely approaching a riot.

Three officials of the forestry bureau at Nagano have been officially reprimanded because they had not sooner hunted out one of the condemned men who was employed in that department.

The department of education is very much stirred up by the fact that it is claimed that one of the histories which is being used in the schools contains matter of an incendiary nature and an investigation is being made to determine who is responsible for the introduction of this book.

The agitation is also bearing fruit in other directions. A strong movement



*From the factory dingy and drab, from the galleried mines with their riches,
From the tenement crowded and foul where the faces are gray,
From the sweatshops, the farm and the sea, from the tunnels, the roads and the
ditches
The toilers are turning their eyes to the radiant day.*

*But the song that is thrilling their innermost souls is no song you have taught them
Oh singers of "calm and content" to the laboring throng,
But a chanting deep-throated music their dreamers and minstrels have brought
them,
The chant of the toilers, the mighty unquenchable song.*

*There's a gleam and glow in the weariest hearts of the weariest workers
As they straighten their backs from the weight of the burdens they bear,
There's a vision of terror and fear in the eyes of the wasters and shirkers
At the beat and the throb and the surge of the song in the air,
For here is no chant such as drowsy-eyed priests are sonorously droning
But a music that's woven of wrath and of toil and of wrong,
Of love and of labor and sorrow, of hope and of mirth and of moaning,
The chant of the toilers, the mighty unquenchable song!*

*The earth is ashock with the tread of the feet of the myriad toilers,
The children, the aged, the youth in their vigorous pride,
Their banners are flaunting aloft in the sight of the rulers and spoilers
And now there is fire to their glance and a swing to their stride,
Not always in darkness and murk shall they wander and waver and stumble
They shall learn the truth of their power and be valiantly strong,
And the walls of the fortress shall shake and the castles of tyranny crumble
At the chant of the toilers, the might unquenchable song!*

*They are coming into their kingdom, oh ye who have marked them for plunder,
They will take the world they have built as their pay and their wage,
They will cease enduring the lash they are writhing and suffering under
They will burst from their chains that have bound them for age upon age,
They are learning their might and their strength, they are freeing themselves from
the hoary,
The hollow old phantoms and forms that deceived them so long,
They are chanting the thunderous chorus of triumph and power and glory,
The chant of the toilers, the mighty unquenchable song!*



for the reform of the prisons has set in, and exposures of the present system are being printed. This is the same prison system that was so lauded at the International prison congress at Washington last October. It is now discovered that the prisons are so terribly over-crowded that an almost inconceivable death rate prevails among the prisoners.

The government has also introduced a factory act which will abolish some of the worst abuses in the factories. This bill is being attacked, however, as ridiculously ineffective, and it is pointed out that even its very mild measures would not take effect for two years.

In short, Japan seems to have entered into the full turmoil of the class struggle.

Another Step Forward

ELLIS O. JONES.

Mr. George W. Perkins, in a recent speech, urged a "more broad, humane union between capital and labor in which each shall meet the other half way."

That appeals to us all as eminently fair. Half way is always an attractive rendezvous, but the next thing is to locate it on the map so that the most casual stranger can find it.

In order to do this, several other points must be considered. First, how did capital and labor get so far apart? Second, which way are they going? Third, what will happen if they do meet?

We may assume from Mr. Perkins' remarks that at least they are not going in the same direction. When they meet, therefore, will they stop or go sidewise or match pennies to see which shall take up the other's direction? What part of the distance has capital already traveled? What part has labor?

Mr. Perkins may be helping, but the problem is still complicated. The advantage of the half way idea however may be seen by restating an old problem thus: What would happen if an irresistible force should meet an immovable mass half way?