

FEBRUARY, 1911

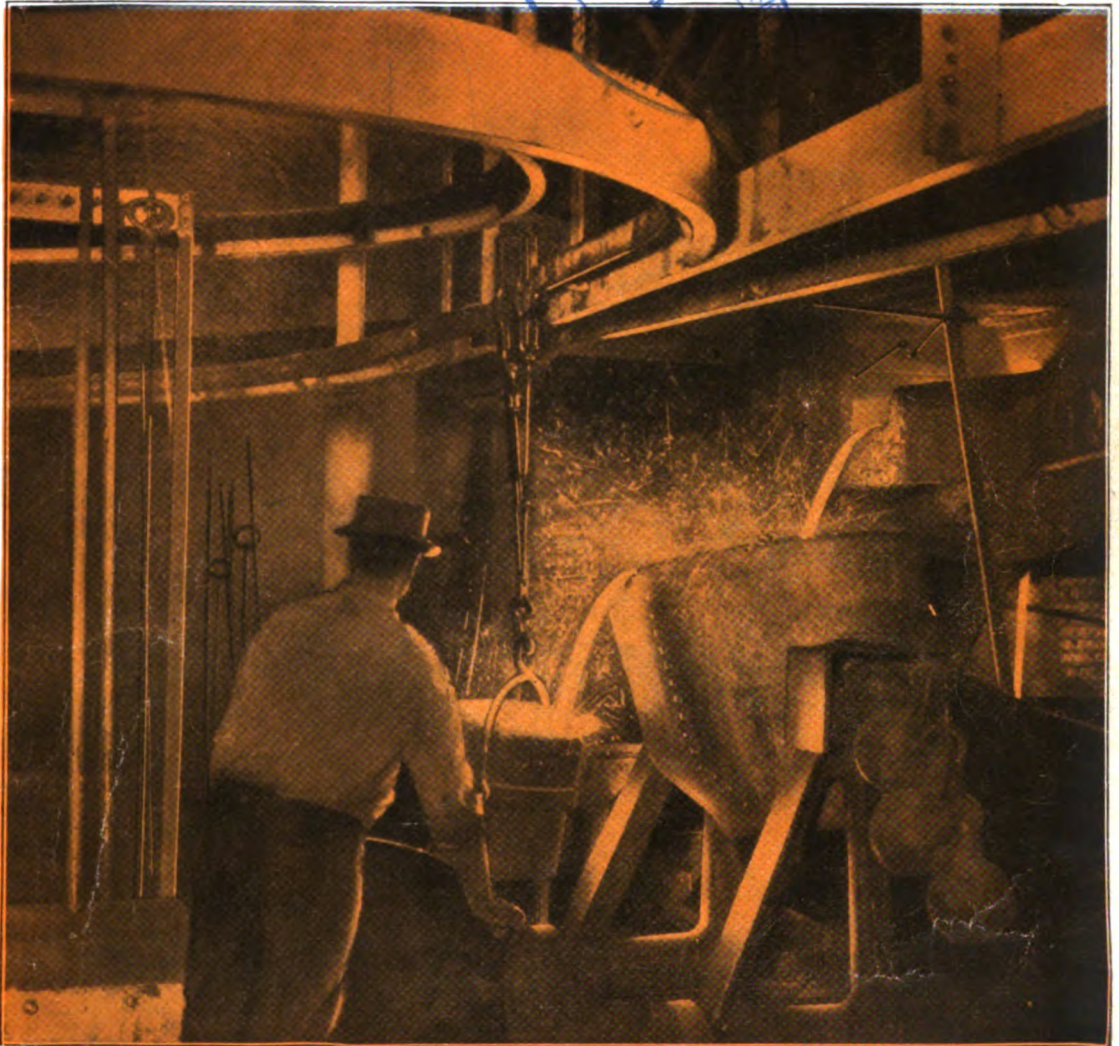
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*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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**THE PASSING OF SKILLED LABOR AND CRAFT UNIONS  
THE COMING OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM**

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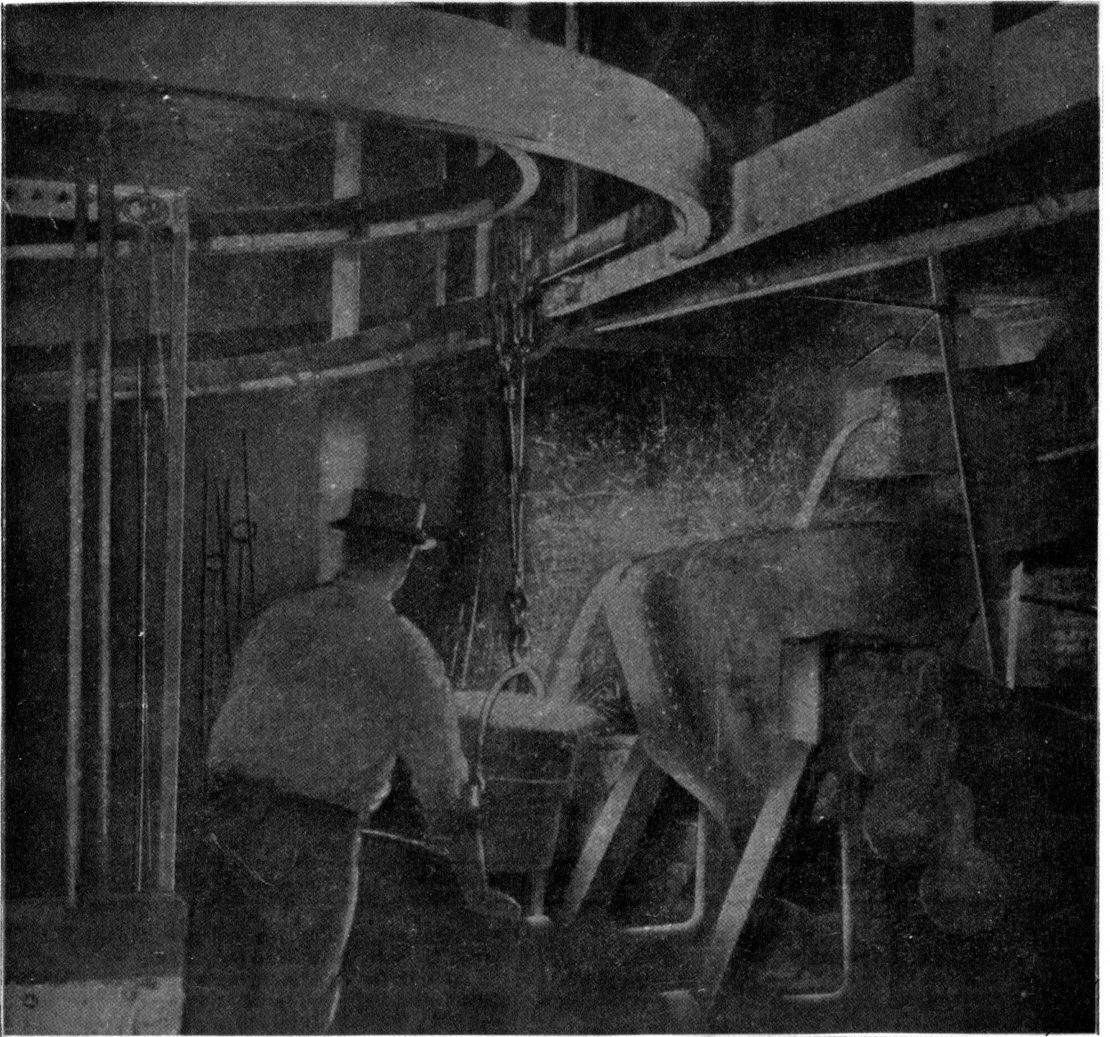
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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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THE PASSING OF SKILLED LABOR AND CRAFT UNIONS  
THE COMING OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM

# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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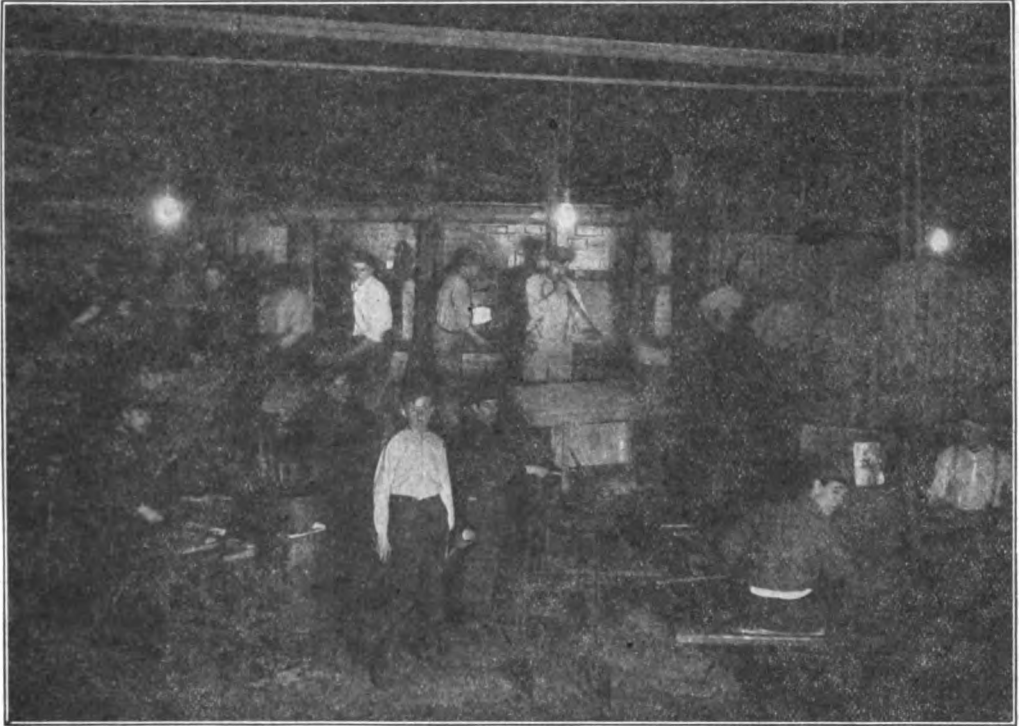
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WHERE MANY ARE EMPLOYED.

## THE PASSING OF THE BOTTLE BLOWER

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

MEMBER GLASS BOTTLE BLOWER'S UNION

**M**ODERN machinery has become a tremendous factor making for ceaseless change in industrial processes and within industrial society. Out of this movement is evolving the new economic system that will

solve forever the problem of the distribution of wealth.

People in general are not aware of the great changes in methods of production or of the revolutionary effects upon the minds of the workers. Society feels, in





THE OLD WAY—LUNG POWER.

a sort of sub-conscious way, that machinery is making progress; but it is the particular groups of workers who have been displaced by the machinery, who have suddenly been compelled to face the fact that their means of livelihood has been taken from them, these men and women are keenly alive to the miracles of modern economic development.

Before machinery invades a particular trade, the workers within that group are, as a rule, indifferent to general machine progress and the inroads being made in other trades. But in these days of astonishingly rapid advance in labor saving devices, workers of every craft and calling are coming to realize that no trade is secure; no craft safe in possession of a profitable means of making a living. Among the workers then, it is no longer a debatable question, but a hard and stubborn fact: machinery is, even now, entering into every branch and department of production. Each year sees faster progress, more wonderful inventions. The automatic stage is being reached. It is no longer a matter of

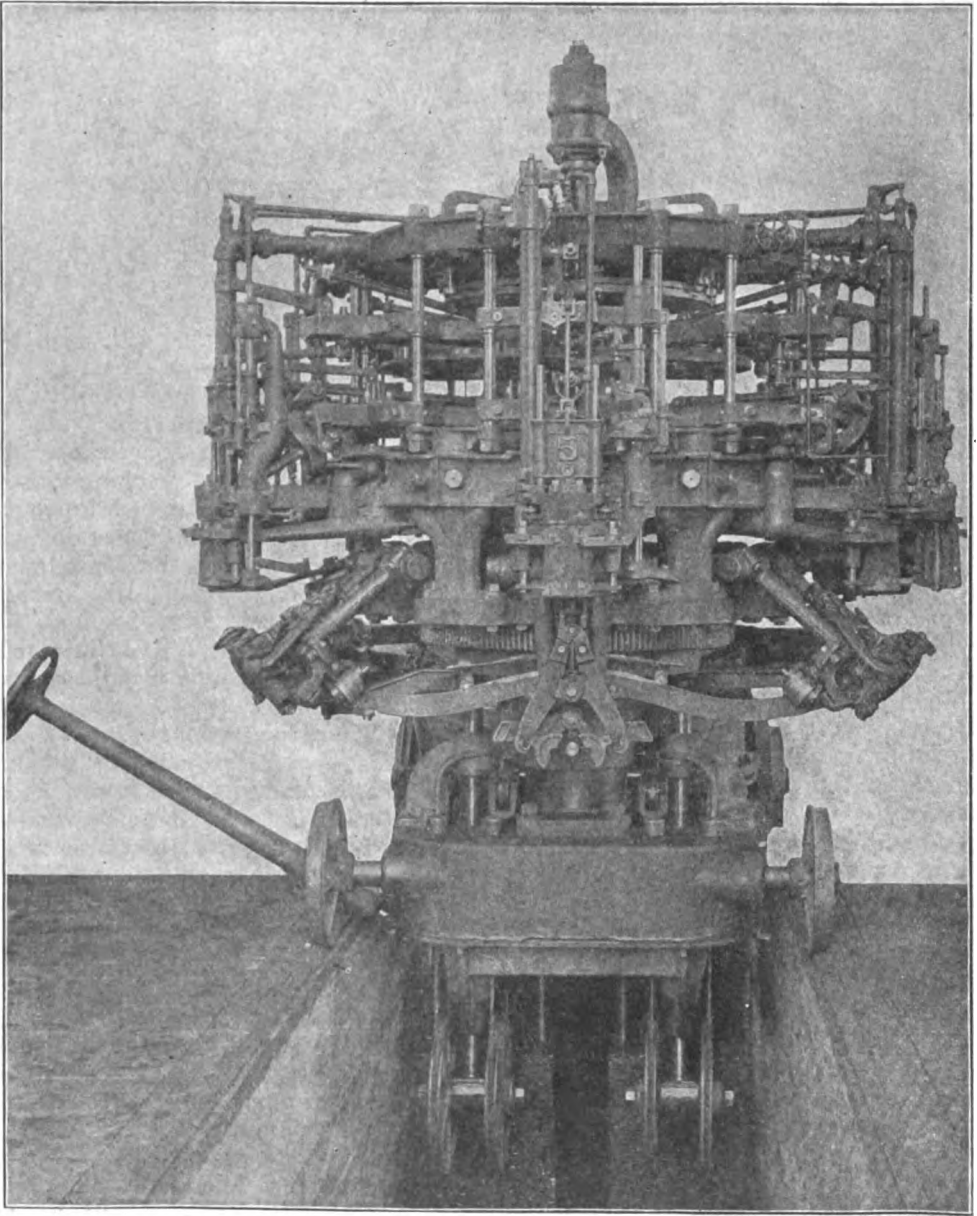
working out an idea that will accomplish a certain part of the production of an article; but to develop a machine that will, in itself, embody every necessary principle making possible the production of a finished article. Henceforth inventors will work toward the ideal, the automatic. We may look for leaps instead of slow growth. The advance will be by "mutations" rather than evolution, as it is commonly understood.

The glass bottle blower's trade is, at present, a fitting illustration of the foregoing. Within the last six years an automatic machine for producing narrow-neck ware has been invented and developed to such a degree that the companies using it now occupy a commanding position in the market. As a result, increasing numbers of skilled men are being displaced; thrown out upon a crowded labor market; compelled to swell the swollen ranks of the unskilled.

The machine, known as the Owens Automatic, was placed at work in 1904. It is the invention of Mr. M. J. Owens, of Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Owens was factory

manager for the Libby Glass Company from 1890. He was formerly a member of the American Flint Workers' Union, and worked at the trade. Previous to the invention of the Automatic, he had brought out the tumbler machine, the chimney machine, a device for drawing glass tubes, and the idea of pressing the blank shapes to be used in the cut glass

trade. These inventions alone are enough to make the man famous. But the invention of the Automatic places him in the front rank of great American inventors. History will credit him with having made possible the application of the modern capitalistic methods to the glass bottle business.



THE NEW WAY—MACHINE POWER—ONE EXPERT TENDING.  
Owen's Automatic Glass Blowing Machine.

The Owen's Automatic is indeed a marvel of mechanical ingenuity. To stand beside it, this creature of wheels and cogs, levers and valves, with a constitution of enduring iron; to see it revolve ceaselessly, tirelessly, needing no food, no rest, while from out of the maze of its motions a constant stream of perfect product flows, no human hand aiding, no brain directing, one is profoundly impressed. Here is the very acme of inventive genius. Here is the full fruition of the ideas, the aims, the hopes of inventors since that day, three thousand years ago, when the first waterwheel turned in ancient Greece. The old Greek poet who celebrated that invention in song, beheld with a seer's vision the dawning of a day when machinery would do the world's necessary work, and the race of mankind be freed from the slavery of toiling to gain only food, clothing and shelter.

Before the advent of the Automatic, the economic situation of the bottle blower was most desirable. For more than a generation he had been the "aristocrat" of the labor world. After the successful general strike of 1888, his union became very compact and powerful. With the increase of strength which came as a result of victory in the famous Jersey strike in 1899, and the accession of some 2,000 bottle blowers from the Flint union in 1902, the Green Glass Bottle Blowers' Association reached the zenith of its strength and power, and the period of prosperity which followed was the greatest known in the history of the trade. No craft in America ever enjoyed better conditions. High wages, short hours, almost entire freedom from danger of accident, most excellent working rules, drawn up and enforced by the union, made this period indeed the halcyon days of the glass bottle trade. But those days are past never to return.

The strength of the union grew out of a set of circumstances peculiar to the bottle trade. The business was and is even today, in greater part, carried on by small companies, scattered over the country, located generally with regard to sources of raw material and fuel supply.

The manufacturers, like all small business men, were intensely individualistic and fiercely competitive. Naturally, compact organization among them was practically impossible. Out of this weakness of the employers, the strength of the blowers' union developed, its greatest progress being made under the presidency of Dennis A. Hayes, who was elected president in 1896, and who still holds the office. The natural difficulty of learning the trade was an important factor in giving the union control. A glass blower is not produced in a few months. To learn the trade thoroughly, several years of application was necessary. Thus fortified the union was able to constantly improve the conditions of the bottle blowers. The greatest period of prosperity began with 1900 and lasted until 1907. During this stretch of years the business expanded until the demand for men considerably exceeded the supply. The ideal economic condition for labor under the capitalistic system was attained. "The job sought the man." Wages steadily rose, reaching the highest point in 1907. Fair workmen could make from \$6.00 to \$8.00 per day of 8½ hours. The speeders in Massillon and Newark, Ohio, Streator, Ill., and Terre Haute, Ind., made from \$8.00 to \$12.00 daily. The work was hard, heat intense, nervous strain great and night work unpleasant, but all this is true of other trades where men are poorly paid and ill-treated. Under the rules of the union, no glass is made in the summer months, July and August. Glass blowers look forward to this rest season with the keen anticipation of men who can afford a vacation and have the money to aid them in enjoying it. Working an eight or ten-month season, men earned from \$1,200 to \$3,000. This allowed a margin above a comfortable standard of living. Glass blowers live well, try to educate their children, give generously to every worthy cause and have no apology to make that they are not bondholders today when adversity has come upon them. A considerable number are fairly well off, probably as large a per cent as will be found among any other class earning the same amount of money yearly.



BOY WORKERS.

The splendid union gave the blowers protection and enabled them to get a large share of the value they produced, but it failed to develop in them an understanding of economic conditions.

And so, at the climax of prosperity, when in fancied security, the bottle blowers looked forward with confidence to even better advantages than they were then enjoying, the blow fell upon them. The machine was invented that has revolutionized the trade and in time will practically destroy it in large part.

We quote from latest news on the Owens machine:

"The machines are now being operated in Monterey, Mexico, a greater number in Germany, and one in Rio Janeiro, Brazil. The Owens Company has received application for the installation of a machine in Johannesburg, South Africa, and in Yokohama, Japan."

Machines were first installed in old style factories which had been fitted up with the patent Owen's revolving furnace. Later, a specially designed factory

was built in Fairmont, W. Va. A description of this factory, making a contrast between the old and new systems, follows. This is also taken from the "American Flint," April, 1910:

"The factory now being erected at Fairmont, W. Va., which will be put in operation during July or August, will have a capacity of 2,000 gross of bottles a day. This plant will be a marvelous innovation and surpass the dreams of the most sanguine idealist. Under the present system of making glassware the raw materials are hauled from the mines to the factory and unloaded, mixed, and carried to the furnaces and placed there by the use of shovels in the hands of common labor. After the glass has been melted, it has been gathered from the furnace by skilled labor and manipulated by hand or semi-automatic machinery into bottles. The ware is then carried by boys into the annealing lehrs, and these have always been operated entirely by hand power.

"At the West Virginia plant all of this



labor, including the skilled, will be dispensed with. The factory is so constructed that the railroad cars are drawn up an incline 100 feet high, hoppers are suspended in a row and the railroad cars pass right over the tops of same. The sand, lime, soda, and broken glass is mechanically removed from the railroad cars and placed in the hoppers. On the lower end of these hoppers is a measuring spout. By the use of a plurality of valves the quantity of sand, lime, soda and broken glass is measured and put into a traveling mixer beneath the spouts of the hoppers. A man sits on this traveling mixer and mechanically manipulates the movement of same. After the mixer has passed under the spouts of the different hoppers and received the quantities of sand, lime, soda and broken glass sufficient to make up a batch, the mixing car is started by him for the furnace room, traveling over the tops of the furnaces. The mixer revolves, which properly mixes the batch, and when it reaches the first furnace, a disc is removed from the cap of the furnace and the hopper lowered through the cap of the furnace, the material passes from this hopper into the furnace where the melting takes place. The hopper is then elevated and the disc placed to cover the hole in the cap of the furnace, and the man returns to the batch house in order to repeat the operation for the second furnace. As the batch becomes melted, it flows by gravity into the revolving furnace used by the Owens process for making bottles.

The machine sucks the glass from the furnace through the bottom of the blank mould, forms the blank, transfers the blank from the blank mould to the blow mould, and by compressed air, expands it into a finished article, glazes the top, the lehrs being part of the machine, anneals the bottle and dumps it out at the exit end of the annealing lehr at which point the wares are selected and placed in crates ready for shipment. The machine has been started to work producing at as high a rate as 23 a minute at 6 a. m. Monday and kept in continuous operation until the following Saturday midnight. Moulds are changed and the machine

oiled while in continuous operation.

"An extraordinary revelation connected with this mechanical wonder is that at the Fairmont factory it will not be necessary to touch the raw materials, or wares, from the time the raw material leaves the mines until the selector passes judgment on the ware at the annealing end of the lehr and places it in boxes ready for shipment.

"To give you an idea of the revolutionizing effect of this machine in the cost of production, will state that it is reliably estimated that at Streator, Ill., with a shop of three blowers and the necessary small help making pint beer bottles, and under a 20% reduction in wages, that shop labor cost is approximately \$1.15 a gross. By the use of a six-arm machine for making pint beers the labor cost is 11 cents a gross. In Toledo where a ten-arm machine is used for making pint catsup bottles the total labor cost is 4½ cents a gross, and it is expected to reduce the Toledo cost when the Fairmont, W. Va., plant is placed in successful operation."

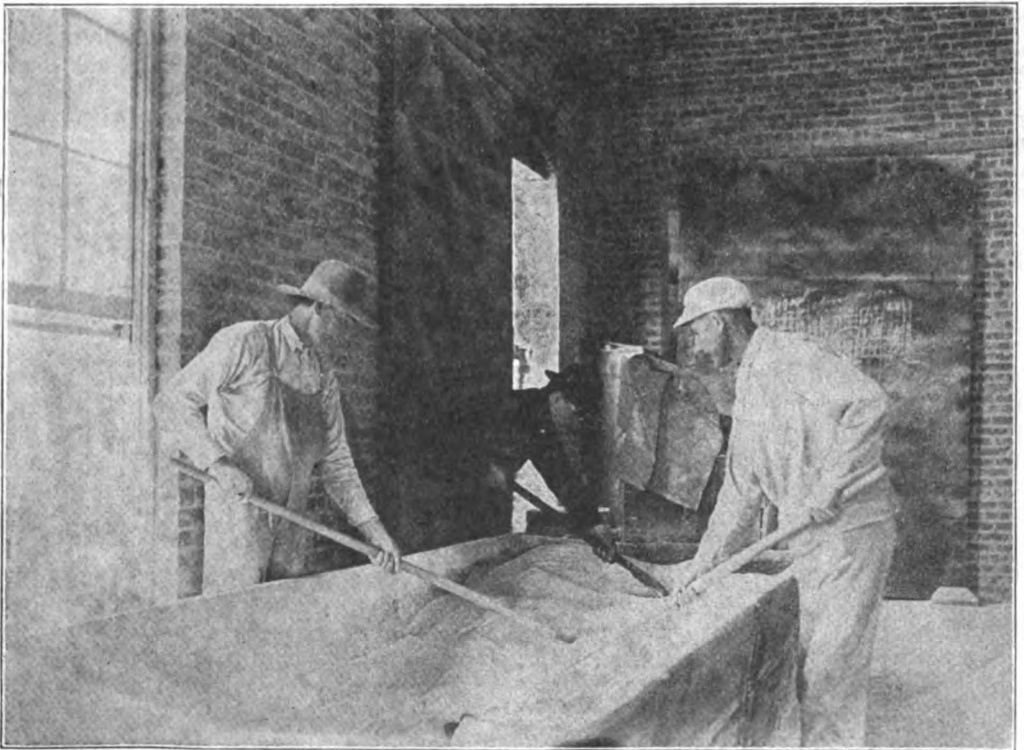
At this writing, the Fairmont factory is operating. The new style of factory, like the machine, requires but few men to keep it in operation.

The trustification of the glass bottle business is now possible. Before the appearance of the Automatic, the bottle blower, through his strong union, was able to demand and get such a large share of the wealth produced that the profits left to the manufacturer were not large enough to attract men with the genius for trust organization. Then too, the difficulty of organizing the small manufacturer made combination impossible. But now the human labor is thrown out and capital will feel perfectly safe. Permanent investment of capital to any amount can be made with certainty of large return. In no department of industry is the prospect so inviting. There are strong reasons for believing that the foundations for one of the world's greatest trusts are now being laid. The Owens Machine Company leases its machines on a royalty per gross of bottles made. The bottle business is divided according to different kinds of

ware. The practice of leasing the machine only to big firms having large capitalization has been carefully followed. The first company to use the machine was the Ohio Bottle Company, formed in 1904. This company was made up of Reed & Co. and the Pocock Company, both of Massillon, Ohio, and the Everett Glass Company of Newark, Ohio. The next year this corporation merged with Anheuser-Busch with two big plants at St. Louis and Belleville, and the Streator Glass Company, Streator, Ill. This company makes beers, soda and brandy bottles. The famous Ball Brothers, of Indiana, leased the right to make fruit jars. The Thatcher Milk Bottle Company, with factories in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois, has the rights on milk jars. The great Alton Glass Company, Alton, Ill., the Whitney Glass Company of Glassboro, N. J., and the Chas. Bolt Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Muncie, Ind., with the Heinz Pickle Company of "57 variety" fame, are all companies with plenty of

capital. The significant thing is that these companies are not engaged in competing with each other, with the product of the machine. The import of this will appear later. These companies are well located geographically, a fact which is of much importance if a trust is to be organized. The Owens Company reserves the right to enter the producing field also, and is now operating two plants and selling the product in the general market. It is safe to say that an understanding exists, as to price, between the Owens and other companies. With the Owens Company owning the machines and gaining experience as a glass bottle producing concern also, profits are sure to be immense and combination inevitable.

The large number of small manufacturers, now struggling in an anarchy of competition, are doomed. There is absolutely no future for them. Even should they be able to beat wages down lower than at present (it should be stated that wages were reduced 20% in 1908, and the



MIXING BY HAND.

Owens Company promptly reduced royalties 37%), the Owens people will do as in 1908, reduce royalties even below the hand scale. This would leave the small fellows no better off. The little fellows cannot combine, even though they were able to put aside their intense individualism.

The coming combination in the glass trade will be outside the operation of the Sherman laws. Its activities will be entirely "legitimate." Its component parts can claim economy as a reason for combination. With each of the big firms making a different line of ware on the machine, the cry of "restraint of trade" cannot be raised. The glass trust will be what Teddy used to call "a good trust." There will be no occasion for the government to repeat the nice little joke it recently played on the Imperial Window Glass Company. Everything points to combination in the glass business. Perhaps, in time, it will embrace the entire field of glass production, bottle, window, tableware and all other lines. There is an immense field before it. Doubtless the glass trust of the future will rival the Standard Oil.

To the student of economics, the introduction of an epoch marking invention like the Owens Automatic and the capitalistic development which is following, affords an interesting subject for observation. The whole process of capitalistic development of an industry is passing in review before him. He sees the entry of the machine, the expropriation of the workers' means of living, the rise of the trust, the domination of the market, the elimination of the small producer and the expansion of the trust perhaps into an international power.

An interesting feature of the activities of the Owens Company is the introduction of the machine in undeveloped countries. It is significant of the tendency of modern capitalism to rise full blossomed in the backward nations. Development will be very rapid, because the most highly advanced engines of production will be utilized. Taken in connection with the cheap labor of those countries, the classical lands of capitalism will soon

be face to face with a competition which cannot be met. And all this will hasten the time when the great change will have to come.

True, most of this development is in the future, but these are the tendencies. Glass blowers who can find jobs are still profitably employed; small plants are still making money; small capitalists are even building new factories. But were they not eating and drinking and making merry before the deluge? Even so today.

### The Beginning of the End.

Automatic machinery is the fruit of the final triumph of the race over the forces of nature. Man has become a creator of a being almost as wonderful as himself; a being which will labor without ceasing, without complaining. This new phase of industrial civilization confounds all the capitalist economists. All their smug philosophy with regard to the relations between Capital and Labor become as "sounding brass." What now becomes of the stock answer they were wont to give to the working man's complaint? "Capital set free by reorganization and labor set free by industrial development, will, in a free market, unite and develop new industries." The machine instead of man will be used by the capitalist. With the day in sight when machinery will be doing the greater part in production, while the workers will be idle, who will purchase the product of the machines? Face to face with this problem, the capitalist economist becomes a discredited counselor. The working class alone can solve this problem.

When in retrospection the economic history of the race is passed it will be a wonderful story. Behold man the savage in his home in the primal forests, most of his needs supplied to him by nature. His existence was no more a burden to him than is that of the bird. See him again, when pressed out of his primitive abode by ever increasing numbers, he is forced to seek a better means of food supply. He begins to invent crude tools and discovers the arts of agriculture and manufacturing. Necessity drives him as a taskmaster. He has never been a willing doer. Even though he has la-

bored hard and builded wondrously, yet his aspirations have been toward a state of existence where the weary would rest and the toil-laden be relieved of their burden. All his efforts in his upward journey have been towards the creation of tools, which producing the means of life for him, would permit him to live again, as in his earlier history, without constant toil. The way of the journey has been a rough one; the hindrances mighty, and myriads of men through the uncounted centuries have toiled and suffered and discovered and died, leaving the final consummation to the men of today.

And now the mighty work is almost finished. All the important forces of nature have been harnessed to provide power. The machine which can produce without human labor is here. The principle is being applied in every department of industry and as the processes are simplified by subdivision, will perform almost

every part of the process of production. There remains but one step more and the goal of economic endeavor is reached and the race made free. Again, as in the beginning, necessity is the driving force. The mass of men made jobless by machinery are facing the age-old question: "What shall we do for food?"

Until this question is answered, further social progress is impossible. Civilization is marking time, gathering power for the next leap. From the working class must come the action that will let loose this power. The machinery must become the property of the workers.

So the glass blower is passing to join the army of outcast workers. A multitude precedes him; a multitude follows—but not to despair. Necessity is compelling; education is preparing and hope is beckoning them to unite and overthrow the capitalist system.

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



# PICK AND SHOVEL POINTERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



**A**GREEMENTS with capitalists are the death warrants of labor.

There can be no closed shop as long as the boss has the keys.

There is no chivalry in the work shop. Capitalism compels sex equality.

Every new invention of machinery makes the journeyman of today the apprentice of tomorrow.

Trade unionists keep men out of the union and then wonder why the Manufacturers' Association can get scabs.

Labor organizations should be free to fight for their class interests at all times.

You recognize this fist as a fighting weapon. It is made up of five members, five organizations. They can all work independently when necessary but when called upon can become a united force.

Suppose one of them is tied up with an agreement—a white rag—for a year or more. What becomes of it? It will wither and decay. And what is true of this finger is true of a labor organization. It is useless to itself and stands in the way of its fellows.

An agreement between the capitalist class and the working class is an unholy alliance, and when entered into by any body of workingmen it removes them from their class and the class struggle and makes them auxiliaries of the enemy of labor.

When the soldier enlists he enters into an agreement to fight the battles of the capitalist class and shoot down his fellow workers. When the trade unionists sign an agreement with the capitalist class, they likewise enlist to furnish the soldiers with guns, with food and with clothing. They are the enlisted men behind the man behind the gun.

# THE FIGHTING WELSH MINERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



All the king's horses,  
And all the king's men  
Couldn't put the agreement  
Together again.

**T**HE miners of Aberdare and Rhonda valleys in South Wales are still on strike. There are over 25,000 men involved in spite of an agreement signed last April to run for a period of five years.

The trouble started with eighty men working in the Ely pit of the Cambrian Coal Company. These men were unable to make living wages under the condition that prevailed; some of them found themselves in debt to the company when pay day rolled around so they went on strike, demanding better conditions and more pay for abnormal places. The company, to retaliate, proceeded to lock out 800 other men, employed in the same mine, announcing their intention to keep all out until the eighty strikers went back to work.

The matter was taken up by the Miners' Federation of South Wales. There was vigorous discussion and demands for a general strike, the officials of the organization throwing all their influence in the balance against the general strike. It was finally agreed to submit two propositions to the membership, namely, a general strike of the South Wales coal fields; second, a strike of all men employed by the Cambrian company. The latter carried and November 1, 1910, 12,000 men laid down their tools. The following ringing resolution was adopted:

"That the tyrannical action of the Cambrian Combine in locking out a body of our fellow workmen to endeavor, through their sufferings, to enforce an unfair price list upon their workmen must be resisted at all costs. We therefore pledge ourselves to be faithful to the decision of the Federation ballot and re-

fuse to work for this combine until a fair price list is settled for the Ely workmen, or our 800 fellow workmen who are not affected are reinstated in their employment."

So serious was the situation becoming that the Cambrian Co. converted their wagon shed into temporary stables, intending to take all the horses from the mines without delay.

Seven thousand men of the Powell-Duffryn pit struck in defiance of the agreement, one of the chief grievances being the discharge of old men. The company claimed it was necessary to dispense with the aged men in view of the Compensation Act, the reason, of course, being that the old men, not so active and alert, were more liable to accident or death.

The growing sentiment for a general strike gave the conservative miners leaders a cold sweat; they issued the following wail:

"Fellow-workmen,—Having seen it reported in the press today that there is a desire by the workmen of the Powell-Duffryn pit, Aberdare, that the whole of the miners of South Wales should join them in stopping work, we feel it incumbent upon us as the chief officials of your Federation to urge upon you not to be parties to an attempt to redress a grievance by this irregular method of bringing about a general stoppage of the collieries, which, under any condition, can only be successful after carefully thought out and proper organization and control. In doing this we are acting in accordance with your instructions recently declared in a ballot vote, when by an overwhelming majority you declared against a general stoppage of the collieries in the South Wales district at the present juncture.

We also ask you to seriously consider the situation. There is not the remotest chance of a proposition, as suggested, for a general stoppage of the whole collieries of the United Kingdom having one moment's consideration at the Miners' Federation of Great Britain conference. They have had no opportunity of discussing the merits of the grievances complained of by the Powell-Duffryn workmen, and we cannot at present offer any opinion upon their action in stopping work, and in the interests of the whole

members of the Federation, including the Powell-Duffryn men and especially the 12,000 Cambrian Combine workmen, the 3,000 Cwmtillery and Roseheyworth workmen, and the Rhosilly and Gelli workmen, who are at present on our funds and whom we are obliged to support, we urge upon the members of this Federation to refuse to consider any proposals for a general stoppage, which if entered upon in such a sudden unconstitutional manner must end disastrously for all concerned. (Signed)

W. ABRAHAM, M. P., President.

THOMAS RICHARDS, M. P., Gen. Secy.

ALFRED ONIONS, Treasurer."

This statement coming at a critical period had the desired result of weakening some of the men; it also strengthened the mining companies in their determination to keep up the lock-out and a threat was made to extend it to other mines.

The Cambrian Co. felt secure in their position. The Coal Owners' Association would indemnify them to the amount of their average output when running full blast. The company's only concern would be to keep their property in working shape, and await the inevitable day when the miners would be compelled to return to barter their labor-power.

It had always been so. The company knew their men or thought they did. During previous strikes they had been peaceable and law-abiding, starving contentedly. The extent of protest being great mass meetings, the men gathering on the council grounds of the ancient Druids at Pontypridd. There among the stones erected in olden days, in the shadow of the historic rocking stone, their leaders would speak to them, extolling the virtues of the master. "Mabon" would sing in wonderfully sweet Welsh notes "The Land of My Fathers." Resolutions were passed. Sacred hymns from a thousand singers would reverberate through hills and valleys, the miners would tighten their belts and sad-eyed mothers and hungry babies would wish the terrible strike was over.

This strike had a different beginning. There was a rod in pickle for Manager Llewellyn of the Cambrian that he had not dreamed of. The first morning of the strike a strong detail of pickets were thrown around the pit. It was their duty



POLICE AND SOLDIERS GUARDING CAMBRIAN COLLIERY.

to see that no one went to work, the "engine winders," stokers, pumpmen and electricians were turned back, the office force was allowed to go on the property, only upon promise that they would not touch the machinery or do other than their own work. Manager Llewellyn hollered "police!" And they came on the first train from Bristol, from London and Cardiff. The hotels of Llynapia and Tonypany were filled to overflowing; the blue-coats established a temporary barracks in the skating rink; they organized in shifts and guarded the Cambrian Company's property faithfully night and day; but they couldn't run the pumps.

One crew had worked thirty-six hours; the water in the mine was getting the best of them; a little while longer and the pumps would be "drowned." There were more than 300 head of horses in the mine.

Llewellyn and the office force, under police protection, took a turn at firing the boilers. Next morning, in a drizzling rain, an army of bread-winners poured out of the rows of stone houses. Several thousand strong they marched on the Cambrian Colliery. The police were called into action; all reserves were added to the forces. The miners never hesitated;

they charged the ramparts of the blue-coats; they tore down fences and brick walls for weapons; they stormed the colliery again and again. When beaten back they tried the strategic move of marching back to town, thinking the police would follow. But the police did not follow the crowd, nor was there a preserver of the peace on hand when some of the more reckless broke windows of the shops along the main street of Tonypany.

One shop keeper who had made himself particularly odious to the miners by saying that "bloaters were good enough for miners," found his place of business completely demolished and ransacked. This rowdyism was no part of the general program of the organization. The chief desire being to close down the mines and close them tight as a means of bringing the company's officials to their senses and speedily ending the strike, which, if allowed to drag on, would cause unnecessary suffering among the miners' families, it is always the helpless ones who first feel the agony of industrial warfare.

Realizing the stern purpose of the miners, the mine officials yelled for their soldiers. The cry went up, "Save the



horses." King George sent a telegram to Llewellyn asking, "Are the horses safe?" The book-keepers and stenographers went down to feed the horses; the ponies were hungry and whinnied, which badly scared the white-handed bunch. When the fact was made public that the horses had been fed, the Society for the Protection of Animals sent Llewellyn and staff each a gold medal more or less suitably inscribed.

The English press was filled with news stories and editorials condemning the vio-

Aberdare. In about two minutes the main body returned, the people standing around watching them coming (we are not accustomed to see mounted police in our streets).

"To everybody's dismay, without provocation or warning whatever, the order was given, 'Left wheel, Charge,' and the police charged the inoffensive crowd of about 80 and drove them into the doorways, the heads of the horses were even inside the doorways. The people could not get away quick enough for the person



THOUSANDS OF MEN Poured OUT OF THE ROWS OF STONE HOUSES.

lence of the Welsh strikers. Most of them were painfully exaggerated. Here is a story, more like the truth, told by one who was there:

"I had been with two friends to the Market Hall to hear Haywood of America, and on the way home we met the police on their way to Aberdare. Reaching the Plough Inn, Aberaman, we noticed two policemen on foot, one Glamorgan and one Metropolitan, *chatting with a number of young men*, which shows how dangerous the crowd were, and a number of young men and women staring and chaffing four mounted policemen who had been left behind the main body gone to

in command. He kept on urging and shouting to his men: 'Go on, Go on, Get at them,' etc. I picked up one lad that had stumbled and fallen, and told him to stand on his feet, for the either drunken or fiendish brutes would have no scruples in trampling upon people, judging by their actions.

"After they had had their fill of this wantonness, they went down towards the Institute, where I had again to take refuge in a doorway. The police here charged the crowd twice, crowding the people into doorways and corners. The screams of the women and children were awful, and it was maddening to the men

that they were unable to stop it (for they were not out for a row). I went home for fear of getting into mischief, and I am thankful the foot police did not say things to me they said to some men as they were crossing the road to go home.

"The police must have thought they were out 'pig-sticking.' The police say now that there was a demonstration of about 400 people coming down the street singing and shouting.

"It is a lie."

The scene described occurred at Abera-

would have outmatched the police but for the arrival of soldiers with shoot-to-kill orders.

But no telegrams for the suffering workers were ever received from His Majesty. And the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals never once lifted its voice.

In this class war the men on strike in violation of agreement, receive but meagre support. The regular strikers get but \$2.50 a week, with 25 cents added for wife and each child. This is the un-



man, a short distance from the Powell-Duffryn colliery. This company had erected a barb wire stockade, electrified the wires with a heavy current, and had entrenched a strong force of police in the works. Food and plenty of liquor was furnished them.

A crowd of strikers marching toward the pit were attacked by the blood-thirsty, whisky-frenzied officers who backed the crowd of workers, men, women and children, into a canal, striking and beating them as they fell into the water, breaking the heads of some who were struggling to keep from drowning. Others who escaped ran into the live wires and were nearly electrocuted. Still the miners

even battle of empty stomachs against the power of plenty.

On the workers' side there are no leaders worthy of the name. With the probable exception of C. B. Stanton, none that they would not be a thousand times better off without. Advisers, yes; there are some comrades who have burned the daylight to exist, and burned the midnight oil to learn how to live; thoughtful, courageous, untiring workers, sowing the seed of class consciousness. Evidence of their work is the present spirit of solidarity in Wales, which is spreading to other parts of Great Britain.

The need of industrial unionism appeals to workers of all kinds.

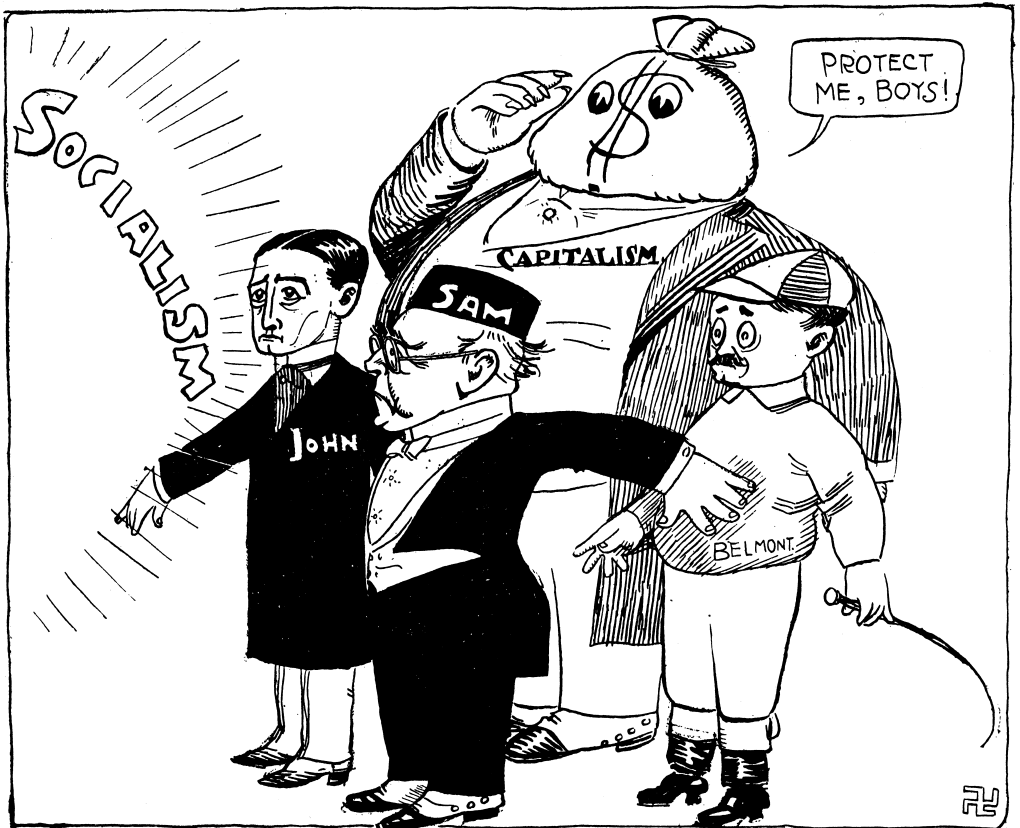
Having been in the heart of the strike region of South Wales, in touch with these militant elements of the miners' federation, living under the same roof, eating at the same table, having met and spoken to thousands of the rank and file, keeping a sympathetic finger on the Celtic pulse of these people, knowing something of their aims and aspirations, I have been able to get at the sap-root of the discontent. *It is the agreement*, which is now looked upon as a bond of penal servitude.

There are no terms vigorous enough to condemn the policy of agreements be-

tween employers and factions of the working class.

None but traitors to their class will foster or advise such relationship. abnormal, rendering the agreement-bound men useless as factors in the class struggle and often making them active participants AGAINST their own class and more effective tools of capitalism than police or military force.

The fight of the Welsh miners is against ignorant, incompetent officials and to abolish the agreement.



LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE RICH.

# THE CRIME OF CRAFT UNIONISM

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

**B**ETWEEN the trade union and the working class union there is all the difference there is between unity and division, progress and reaction, victory and defeat. The trade union is outgrown and its survival is an unmitigated evil to the working class. The concentration of industry forces the concentration of the workers, and but for the trade unions which resist this tendency they would be united within a class union that would fight their battles with all the advantages possible in the existing system. But the trade unions hold out against the unification of the workers notwithstanding the multiplying evidences that craft unionism is not only impotent, but a crime against the workers.

The reason for this is not hard to find. Craft unionism is backed by the ruling capitalists for the very purpose of preventing the workers from uniting in a class organization. Morgan's Civic Federation is sufficient evidence of this fact. Another reason is that an army of officials, big and little, are drawing salaries from the trade union movement. These salaries amount to millions of dollars each year. In addition to these salaries there are graft and pickings without end. The Morganized capitalist monopolists and the army of official salary drawers account for the ability of trade unionism to withstand the forces of evolution. It is to be added that the leaders of craft unionism, like the members of the President's Cabinet, graduate into high official position prepared for them by their masters. Mitchell, Morrissey and O'Keefe are shining examples in a long list of such graduations.

If there were no other proof that craft unionism is an unmitigated curse to the workers in this age of concentration of

all things—except organized labor alone—the proceedings of a convention of the American Federation of Labor, devoted mainly to preventing the unification of the workers by vain attempts to maintain trade jurisdictions, would be entirely sufficient.

In this writing I propose to show by indisputable proof that craft division is a crime against the working class. At Buffalo, N. Y., four union men lie in jail, the victims of craft division, and unless the workers of that city take their cases in hand at once and staunchly back them up they will be railroaded to the penitentiary for a long term of years.

These four union men, Robert Cochran, Joseph Meyers, Harry Millan and John Norton, are members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They have been engaged in the strike of the Lake Seamen's Union, with which they are also affiliated, against the Lake Carriers' Association, which is only a thin disguise for the steel trust. This strike has been in progress for more than two years and has cost this one union alone nearly \$200,000, its treasury being now empty and the resources of its members exhausted, with defeat staring them in the face. More than a score of good union men, members of the same craft union, have been assassinated during this strike by the detectives and hirelings of the Steel Trust, alias the Lake Carriers' Association. These private murderers of the Steel Trust are, of course, backed up by the authorities and their word is taken in preference to that of honest workingmen. The cold-blooded murder of union men is promptly followed by the acquittal of the hired hessians who murdered them, while other union men, innocent of crime, are thrown into jail



upon a trumped-up charge and sent to the penitentiary as victims of craft unionism.

Let me quote from a letter received some time ago from one of the union men engaged in this strike:

"We have been persecuted all over the lakes by the police of all the lake cities and by an army of special detectives. Seven members of the union have been shot down like dogs in the streets of the different lake ports and no redress could be obtained from the authorities. In each instance the assassin was promptly released. Two of our members have quite recently been shot down, instantly killed, by one of these detectives, in as cold-blooded a murder as was ever committed."

This is only a brief quotation from one of the numerous letters and reports before me, detailing the numberless outrages and crimes of which these craft unionists have been the victims in their struggle of over two years against the Steel Trust.

The point I wish to make and drive home with all the force I can is that it is the rank and file, the common workers, who are always the victims of craft unionism. They have to do the picketing, go up against the guns, and be shot down like dogs by the mercenary hirelings of the corporations, while their leaders drink champagne wine at Civic Federation banquets as the guests of the plutocratic owners of these same corporations.

It is not Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell who have to do the picketing and furnish the targets for the bullets of the corporation detectives. They never take any risks. They are never at the front. Gompers has never been in a battle in all his life. He lacks the courage to stand at the front. He is always safely in the rear. The misguided craft unionists who pay his salary are his bullet-stoppers. He is always the champion of craft unionism, but never its victim. The salary he draws is at the price of the craft unionists who are slain.

Every corpse of a union man shot dead in such a fight as that of the Marine Firemen bears ghastly testimony to the crime

of craft unionism. If Gompers and the rest of the leaders believe in it and are honest let them furnish the corpses as well as draw the salaries.

But it is those who are foremost in advocating it who are hindmost in fighting its hopeless and disastrous battles.

Let us examine the situation just a moment. Here is Morgan and his Steel Trust, who have crushed the Steel and Tin Plate Workers' Union until only the shell is left, the shell of craft unionism, and are now crushing the Marine Firemen and other unions connected with the Lake Seamen and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. These craft unions are all but annihilated, as others without number have been before them. Their treasuries are bankrupt, their members impoverished and out of jobs, and about all there remains is the charter on the wall to remind them that they owe what has come to them to craft unionism. And while these poor devils are facing the automatic revolvers of the detectives and having their heads beaten into pulp by the police, and while their families are being evicted for non-payment of rent and their children are suffering for bread, their grand leaders are banqueting with the plutocratic lords and dames under the prostituted auspices of the Civic Federation of Labor, making merry over the beatitudes that flow from the brotherhood of capital and labor, and glorifying the marvelous triumphs of trade unionism in the United States.

It is in the name of the rank and file that I write. I care nothing about the leaders. About all they are good for is to keep the workers divided. At conventions they exploit themselves, grow jealous of each other, and to maintain their petty leadership rend organized labor into factions and keep the workers at each others' throats.

All about us are the evidences of decaying craft unionism in spite of the powerful influences that are propping it up. The workers themselves are beginning to see it. They realize that the forces of capital are united against them and that their craft divisions make them an easy prey to the enemy.

The strike of the garment workers at

Chicago is almost sufficient to open the eyes of the dead. The strike of the nine thousand cigar makers at Tampa is another frightful object lesson. Here union men have been lynched, deported, marooned, slugged and outraged in every conceivable way, and all because of the impotency and treachery of craft unionism.

The strike of the Resistencia at Tampa some years ago may be recalled in the present strike, where the same outrages are being repeated and the same rank and file furnishing the victims. The strike of the Resistencia followed a series of meetings I addressed at Tampa and the papers charged that it was due to my agitation. The strikers, who were Cubans, struck as bravely as ever men did under the flag of a craft union, and they would have won without a doubt had not the members of the cigar makers' union, another craft union, allowed themselves to be used by the manufacturers to crush the strikers. The present strike is an echo of that strike and the treachery of craft unionism is bearing its usual fruit. Of course, I am with the nine thousand striking cigar makers at Tampa, as I was with the Resistencia, and I want them to win and will help them in any way in my power, regardless of the past, but I insist that they shall profit by its appalling lessons.

Only a few days ago, after a prolonged strike on the Missouri Pacific, the Machinists' union surrendered after being completely beaten by the other craft unions, whose members were all diligently at work all around the scab machinists, helping the railroad company faithfully, under their time contracts, to crush their own fellow workers. The leaders are as usual making the claim that it was not a complete defeat since the company allowed them what it had originally offered and against which they went out on strike.

It takes very little to constitute a victory for a craft union leader. To admit defeat is a menace to his job and his salary. He is therefore compelled to make out a victory and the capitalist papers usually support his claim. The "magnificent victory" of John Mitchell in the

Anthracite, which made him "the greatest labor leader the world has ever known," and which was so fulsomely lauded by the capitalist press, is written in the desolation of many a miner's cabin and in the practical annihilation of the union in that region.

And now, what of it all? Simply this: Industrial Unionism, the unity of all the workers within one organization, subdivided in their respective departments, and organized, not to fraternize with the exploiting capitalists, but to make war on them and to everlastingly wipe out their system under which labor is robbed of what it produces and held in contempt because it submits to the robbery. If ever there was a time to unite the workers to fight their battles, and to have it clearly understood that they mean war on capitalism, war without quarter, and that they mean to overthrow that system, wipe out wage-slavery, and make the workers the world's rulers, that time is now.

To step from the craft union into the class union is to step from the darkness into the light, to emerge from weakness into power. All the failures of craft unionism and all the crimes perpetrated upon its victims cry out for industrial unionism. This is now the supremest need of the workers. Without the unity and power such organization confers they can make no substantial progress toward emancipation.

Industrial unionism is the structural work of the co-operative commonwealth, the working class republic. Every wage-worker ought to bend his energies to the task of uniting the workers in one mighty economic organization.

This change cannot be effected from within the craft unions or the federation that is supposed to combine them, although an effective propaganda can and should be carried on within those unions. Industrial unionism is a new and revolutionary unionism which requires a new and revolutionary organization. The new spirit may ferment in the craft unions, but it cannot express itself in the old molds. It must be remembered, however, that there are many whose jobs and means of livelihood are bound up in craft

unions.. Let such as these do what they can within their unions while others set to work without to build up the new organization.

But whether within or without let all the awakened workers put forth their efforts, according to their means, to sup-

plant decadent, corrupt craft unionism with industrial unionism, and unite all the workers, regardless of trade, occupation, nationality, creed or sex, within one powerful economic organization to fight their battles and achieve their emancipation.

## LIBERTY

BY

TOM LEWIS

**T**HE spirit of revolt against wage-slavery is fast permeating the working class from coast to coast and from pole to pole. The forces of capitalist development and modern industry, in the factory, in the mines and mills are bringing the workers together. This teaches us the advantages to be gained from working class organization in industrial lines and in class politics. Also, it is hastening the day when the disrupter in the ranks of the working class will make himself scarce. These men will no longer be tolerated. Class actions teach the workers how strong they are when acting together and they are going to throw out leaders who do not serve them at every stage of the game.

All this is due to class action and class education and to the things we workers learn in the school of Hard Knocks. Since we know that men's actions are guided by their material interests, we must reach the men and women in our class and show them how we can WIN if we only stick TOGETHER.

So we must talk to our comrades with patience without being elated over any mental superiority we may think we possess. Capitalism has already deformed many of our bodies, but let us still be glad some of us have brains enough left to plan an escape from wage-slavery.

We must never overlook any method to help our class—either politically or in-

dustrially, but we must always demand and insist that our comrades work for the benefit of our class.

New machines are being constantly invented and installed that eliminate workmen and women. This intensifies the struggle for jobs and so one of our first and most important demands is for shorter working hours, which will decrease the numbers of unemployed and the consequent number of scabs—the greatest weapon which Capital uses against us. It is the UNEMPLOYED who are used to force down wages and to break strikes.

When the workers join for their own protection, the first thing they will do is to shorten hours and keep on shortening hours. A strong economic organization should charge no fees for admission, should welcome every worker in every industry and leave no stone unturned to make it EASY as well as to the personal interest of every man and woman to join.

Workingmen have no liberties now, except the liberty of quitting one job and the liberty of hunting for a new master. But the common ownership of the means of production and distribution will give us all the fullest freedom, because we will have splendid opportunities for work and play. Then and only then will we be able to understand the full meaning of social liberty. Economic Security under the banner of Socialism will mean a new freedom to us all.



## BANISHING SKILL FROM THE FOUNDRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

**M**ETAL founding is one of the old mechanic arts. Indeed in some of its branches it may lay claim to being something more than a mechanic art.

Castings may be made of any metal that can be reduced to a liquid state without vaporizing. About 150 years ago it was discovered that iron could be cast. Up till that time the chief object of the founder's art was copper in its various combinations with tin and zinc, forming brass and bronzes. And these metals still furnish the raw material for an important branch of the foundry business. Where lightness combined with strength is required, steel castings are displacing iron,

but iron still remains by far the most important foundry metal.

The molder capable of doing the finest work has in him the makings of an artist. He must have eye as true, touch as sure and light and hand as supple and sensitive as any wielder of brush or pencil. He must have imagination, the parent of invention, because every difficult, intricate job requires, if not invention, at least ingenuity. The gradation in the character of the product from a grate bar to the statue of a Greek God are as marked as the gradations from painting a fence to painting a landscape.

The manner in which the foundry resisted the efforts of inventors bears wit-

ness to the difficulties encountered, and is corroborative of my contention that in some of its branches, it is more than a mechanic art. It withstood so long the assaults of the inventors that molders had come to feel like some other craftsmen that, "You can't put brains into a machine."

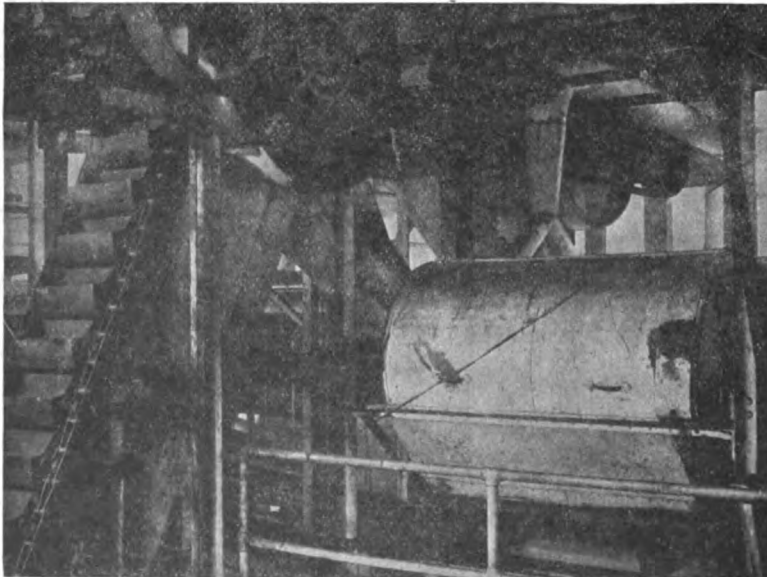
Long before I went into a foundry, twenty-seven years ago, efforts had been made to substitute mechanical contrivances for the hand and hand tools of the molder. Up until that time, and for long after, these attempts merely furnished amusement and a little mild excitement for the molders. In nearly every specialty foundry there was a tradition of the trial and failure of machines, and often they could be seen rusting in the yard. In one case a molder challenged, raced with and beat a machine making molds. Nevertheless the machine won—for its owner—because in beating it, the molder had established a new and more rapid pace.

Out of all this effort and experiment the "match plate," the "stripping plate" and the "squeezer" were evolved years ago. They were all old when I went to work in the foundry. All modern mold-

ing machines are merely adaptations of these old inventions.

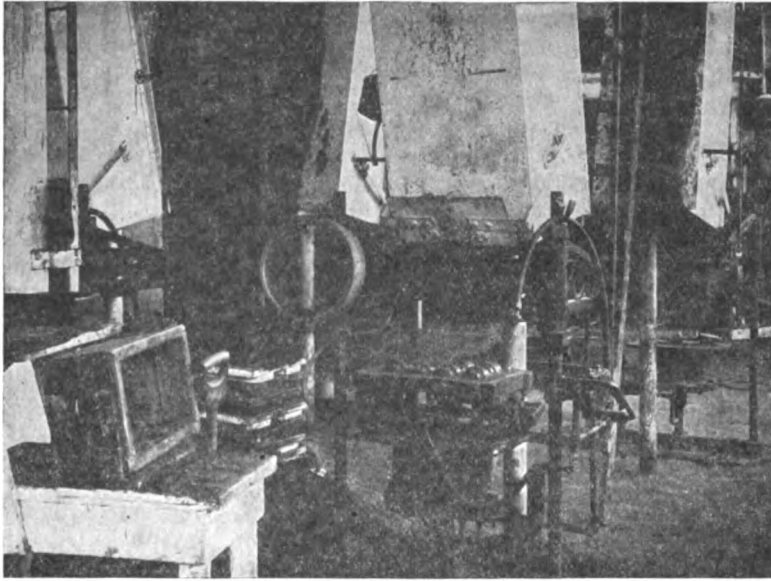
Machines introduced in other industries, while they did not lighten the work, at least did not make it harder. No occupation has connected with it more hard work requiring great muscular exertion than metal founding. The early machines never aimed at this work. They were designed to eliminate skill and were not labor saving machines. They not only left all of the hard slavish drudgery to be done as before but increased it. To this very hour most of the machines added to foundry equipment while increasing enormously the output per "hand" have done so only by forcing the "hands" to greater exertions. In addition to forcing them to greater exertions the machines have reduced the relative and actual earnings and lowered the economic status of the foundry "hand."

It is not therefore surprising that foundry workers, collectively and individually, organized and unorganized were a unit in opposition to "improvements" that did them such irreparable injury, injured them by decreasing their earnings, lowered their status and increased their burden of toil.



BUCKET ELEVATOR AND RIDDLE. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)

From the elevator a chute conveys the sand to a rotary riddle, which is shown at the lower right hand corner of the same illustration. The sand then passes to belts, where it is mixed with water and tempered. The tempered sand is then reconveyed to each molder.



MOLDING MACHINES. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)

A view of the molding machines which stand at the base of the chutes, through which is received the molding sand from the overhead conveying system after it has been riddled and tempered.

This perfectly justifiable hostility on the part of the molders was a factor in retarding the development and adoption of the machines. But powerful economic forces beyond the control of either molders or foundry owners were creating conditions which made it ever more profitable to add molding machines to foundry equipment. So in they went and in they are still going in increasing numbers despite the feeble resistance of the molders.

Some six or seven years ago a national convention of the Molders' Union went on record declaring that the union was not opposed to molding machines. At the same convention they let down the bars so that machine operators can now become members of the Molders' Union. But this official action in nowise altered the feeling and attitude of the workers in the shops who had to compete with the machines. The admission of machine operators—who are not molders—to the union is an illustration of the solidifying power of the machine which I will deal with in another article.

The old "stripping plate" and the still older "match plate" provided the mechanical principles out of which grew the mod-

ern molding machine. They are in fact only pattern devices, and it is taking a rather unwarranted liberty with the word to call them machines. From a purely mechanical standpoint their application is unlimited, but there are practical considerations which fix their limitations. One consideration is the size of the casting, another is the intricacy. But even though size and other features are favorable, unless there is a large number to make it would not be profitable to rig the job for a machine.

A number of forces have been at work creating this necessary condition. For one thing, the world is growing in population and wealth and there is a greater demand for machines. A great many machines and other commodities have reached such a state of perfection that nothing short of a revolutionary discovery or invention can bring about any general alteration in design or construction. Such articles and the castings required for them, can be standardized. The foundry manager when putting in new patterns of a standard design which are to be made for an indefinite time, need not hesitate at first cost as he would if the castings were to be made for only one or two sea-



sons. The merging of big financial interests controlling hitherto competing concerns by standardizing and in other ways, helps to produce the right condition for the development of machines.

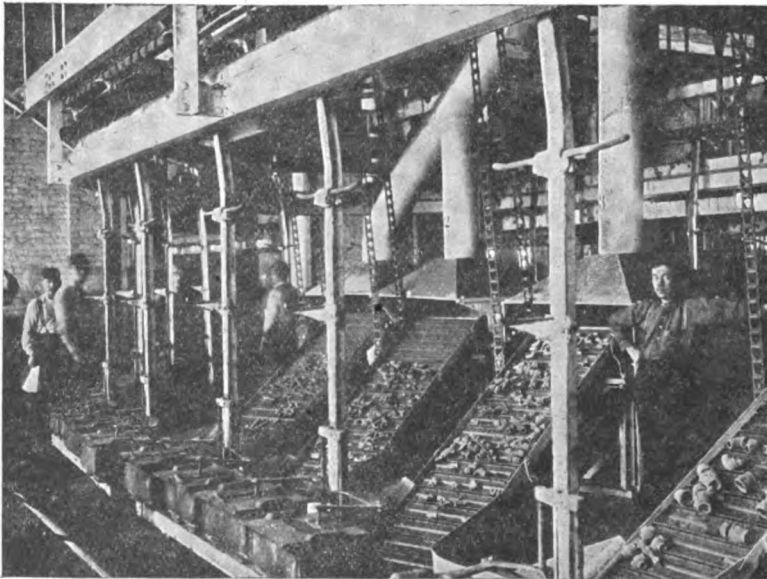
"Match plates" and "stripping plates" have been in use on a small scale ever since they were invented, but for the reasons I have pointed out never came into general use. With the great revival of business in 1899 duplicates of each casting were needed in larger numbers than ever before; molders' wages were advancing; pattern making and pattern making tools had been almost perfected; and corporations were richer and in better condition to carry on expensive experimenting operations than ever before. All things were favorable to the development of molding machines and this period marks the beginning of a new era in the foundry business.

At first the molders were inclined to scoff. Those engaged upon the more intricate and difficult jobs in particular felt perfectly safe. They felt that while they might do the plain jobs on the machines they could never make the difficult ones until they could put brains into the machine. The scoffing soon turned to

mourning as they saw their favorite jobs being made by unskilled laborers on "stripping plate" or "match plate" machines.

As a rule the more difficult the job to mold the greater the profit in rigging it for the machine. Hence it was the jobs made by the very best mechanics that were first attacked. In the case of a plain casting the machine might only enable the unskilled laborer to make as many molds as the skilled molder, while on some of the more difficult jobs it would enable the laborer to make as many as five molders.

One job of which a strong, competent molder made four in a day, two laborers made forty-five when rigged for the "stripping plate." The molders for years had made seventeen a day of a certain job; now three unskilled laborers made two hundred and twenty-five (225). Only a molder or a person familiar with foundry practice who has seen made the most intricate castings could appreciate the finest points about the "stripping plate." From amongst all of its features I select one as an illustration to show its advantages; to show why a laborer, doing all of the hard work formerly done by the molder—the shoveling, riddling and ram-



MOLD AND CASTING CARRIERS. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)

The mold carrying system which conveys the molds from the molding machines to the pourers. The casting is then knocked out, the sand passing through the grate, while the casting is conveyed to the chutes which lead to the hoppers above the tumbling mills.

ming—can still produce so many more castings in the same length of time.

To secure castings against the wash of the metal, in common with every molder, I have spent hours setting small finishing nails in some small "bead" of sand in a mold; then sprayed or brushed it with a mixture of water and molasses and perhaps dried it with a gas flame. Castings with such "beads" are now made on the machine without nails, molasses, water or drying.

In one foundry in Pittsburg, where I worked for many years, there was 100 bench molders in 1901. Now, with the output on that class of work nearly doubled, there is less than ten left.

The possibilities of the "stripping plate"

and adaptations of the "match plate" are only now becoming generally known to foundry men, and conditions are just ripening for their development. Of the tens of thousands of small and medium sized castings produced every year which might be made on machines, only a few have as yet been touched.

Only by the adoption of the continuous heat can the foundry machines already tested and of proven merit be utilized to the best advantage. Only a few foundries in the world run continuous heats. One of these few and the first to introduce the real labor-saving machinery was the Westinghouse Airbrake at Wilmerding, Pa., about which I shall tell in a later article.

When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character.

Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.

Communist Manifesto.

# THE REIGN OF TERROR IN TAMPA

Editorial

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL



WORKING MEN LYNCHED BY CAPITALISTS.

**A** CIVIL war has been raging in the city of Tampa, Fla., for about six months past.

Not a figurative civil war, but an actual civil war.

A civil war with all the most aggravated features of such a war.

A civil war with a reign of terror.

A civil war with deprivation of the citizens' constitutional rights.

A civil war with the murder of citizens in the streets.

A civil war with the hanging of suspects.

A civil war that has driven many of the inhabitants to flight and exile.

For six months this strike has been raging as the result of a strike of the cigar workers against the cigar capitalists. But the governor of the state of

Florida took no notice of this war. And the people of the United States took no notice of this war.

The people of the United States were kept in ignorance of the state of affairs. The daily newspapers, metropolitan and other, their columns filled with all sorts of worthless information, were silent about the civil war in Tampa.

But the governor of the state of Florida, was he silent because he knew nothing of this civil war, or did he keep silence for the reason that in this civil war the capitalists of Tampa had the upper hand of the workers of Tampa?

At last, however, this conspiracy of silence as to the bloody goings on in Tampa has been broken.

It has been broken by the Socialist and Labor press, and by the magnificent solidarity exhibited by the cigar workers throughout the country.

For months past the *Call* has been publishing news items, contributed articles and speeches exposing the reign of terror in Tampa. The organized cigar workers throughout the country have been taxing themselves for the benefit of their striking brothers in Tampa. And Tampa cigars have been laid under an effective boycott, so that the dominant industry of that city is practically at a standstill.

It is this last fact, above all, that has finally loosened the speech of the authorities in Tampa and in Florida. The most sensitive nerve of the capitalist is his pocket nerve. And the virtual destruction of the leading industry of Tampa has finally compelled the mayor of that city and the governor of the state to attempt to justify themselves through the medium of the *Call*, before the forum of public opinion.

Public opinion will give small heed to the words of the mayor of Tampa. His statement abounds with flat denials and charges of falsehood. These denials and charges are themselves transparent falsehoods. For instance, of the charge that the pliant officials of the city of Tampa handed over the two workingmen prisoners to a small gang of lynchers who hanged them, he says that it is "false from beginning to end." From this one would infer that there was no lynching at all.

Further on, however, this precious public official admits the lynching, but says that the prisoners were in charge of county officials, who arrested them "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," and that "the men were never within the limits of the city of Tampa from the time of arrest till the lynching occurred." So while men were lynched, the mayor of Tampa was in no way concerned. Nevertheless, he says still further: "Had I known that it was contemplated, I feel sure that I could have prevented it." But if the lynching occurred "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," how could the mayor of Tampa have prevented it?

But the mayor of Tampa is no other than Donald B. McKay, who, according to general report, was one of the "Citizens' Committee" that, in 1901 kidnaped prominent members of the Cigarmakers' Union and had them transported to the wilds of British Honduras, while other men active in the union were flogged, placed on trains, and taken out of Tampa. Naturally, it is not safe for union men to walk on the streets of Tampa while Donald B. McKay is mayor.

But now comes the governor of Florida. He starts out, in the usual way, with the assertion that he is a friend of the unions. Let us see how his friendship works out in actual fact.

Friendship No. 1.—"There were charges that men were forced to go to work. These charges were supported by the affidavits of four laborers." But the governor was not convinced. "The testimony in rebuttal showed in each case a different result." And to justify his dismissing the charge, the governor wants us to imagine—"as you can well imagine"—that "a great many men had been forced to quit work by the strikers."

When we are called upon to "imagine" one thing, why may we not also "imagine" that the "rebuttals showing a different result in each case" were also "imaginary"?

Friendship No. 2.—It was claimed that two representative union men had been forced to leave the city—deported. But the governor found that "both men left voluntarily—on account of the fear for their personal safety."

Friendship No. 3.—Two workingmen were arrested and lynched by the swell mob. But “one of them had been tried for murder three times and had always proved an alibi.”

Friendship No. 4.—The union hall was smashed up, closed, and the records siezed. This is admitted. But Governor Gilchrist tells us that later on the hall was reopened! Sure enough, you can't lynch a hall, as you can a workingman, into eternity!

Friendship No. 5.—Three strikers were tried by a jury, found guilty and sentenced. The strikers complain of a prejudiced court and a packed jury. Does the governor know anything about it? He doesn't know and he doesn't care. “As to the merits of this trial I know nothing, and if I did it would not be in my province to criticize one way or the other.

either favorably or unfavorably, the actions of the jury and the trial officers.”

Governor Gilchrist of Florida! There was once a governor of Illinois, a member of your party. Several men had been lawfully murdered by a prejudicial court and a packed jury, and two men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by the same court and jury. And when this honest Democrat—not a damned hypocrite—became governor of Illinois, he pardoned the two innocent survivors of that horrible conspiracy, and published the facts to the world. That man's name, Governor Gilchrist, is immortalized in history as that of one of the world's great moral heroes, while your name will be disgraced as a foul coward who besmirches the name of the helpless dead, and a damned hypocrite who pretends to be fair to Labor while he has sold his soul to Capital!

## BE YOUR OWN BOSS

BY

JACK MORTON

**W**E have all seen this phrase at the head of luring advertisements; BE YOUR OWN BOSS, but if we have answered them, we have found a flimsy scheme for getting other folks to work for us.

Nobody but the Socialists have ever suggested that every working man and woman ought to be their own boss. Nobody but the Socialists have ever known how it would be possible for each man to be his own boss—to do away with masters of men entirely.

In spite of the old stories we are taught at school about this “Land of Liberty,” in common every day language we speak the truth. We know we “work for other folks,” and we know we are the slaves of our bosses. And this does not mean freedom at all.

We wage-workers have to have a job in order to earn wages to live and we are the slaves of the men or women who OWN the jobs. We do not sell ourselves

to them for a lifetime, but we do sell ourselves—or our strength to work—by the week or by the day, for so much a day. And since we have sold ourselves for the week or day, we are the slaves of the boss during that time. We are compelled to work as he wills.

Of course, we can rebel and refuse to obey, but in that case we find ourselves out of work. And the man out of work is on the road to hunger and starvation. That is all there is to it. We are not free so long as our only choice is starvation on one side or wage-slavery under a boss on the other.

Of course you want to Be Your Own Boss just as much as I do. Every time the foreman of the mill where I work docks me two hours pay when I am ten minutes late, I feel that there is nothing so much I want in all the world as just to Be My Own Boss. When I read in the papers about the president of the big mill company buying \$50,000 Italian art

treasures, I yearn to LOSE my BOSS, and when I draw my lonely \$18.00 a week I feel that heaven must be BOSSLESS land where pleasant dreams come true.

But I want to lose my boss, and ALL bosses, in *this* world, and when I found the Socialists were working for an abolition of Bossdom, I threw my lot in with theirs and began to help push the good thing along.

Now if you work for the Armour's, of packing house fame, you know they are YOUR BOSSES, because they OWN THE PACKING PLANT. If somebody else owned the packing house HE would be your boss.

The man FOR WHOM you WORK is able to make you pile up wealth for HIM BECAUSE HE OWNS the mill, the factory or the mine where you are employed. The reason you obey HIS commands is because he OWNS the plant and because if you refuse you will lose your job and your chance to LIVE.

If you and I and all the other men and women employed in the mill

OWNED THE PLANT we would be our OWN BOSSES. Socialism proposes that the workers of the world shall seize the factories, mills and mines, the railroads and all the tools or machinery of production to be owned collectively by ALL the workers and to be operated by and for the benefit of the workers themselves.

If the collective workers in the steel industry produce a billion dollars worth of steel, socialism means that they shall own the mill and also own the product and receive the full value of it instead of getting just wages enough to keep our hearts pumping the blood through our veins.

OWNERSHIP of the mines, mills, factories, railroads and all the machinery of production BY THE WORKERS and operated by and for them is the back bone of Socialism.

If you are a BOSS, you won't like it. If you are a wage-worker with a clear, healthy mind, it won't take much thinking to see on which side you belong.







# THE JAPANESE MINERS

BY

S. KATAYAMA

**T**HE Shogun of Japan is chief general of the Empire. How the Japanese miners secured many rights and privileges from the Shogun Iyeyasu is worth the telling. The story goes that in a time of war Iyeyasu, the future Shogun was beaten in battle, traced and followed by the enemy far into the mountains.

And Iyeyasu came up to the gates of a mine and asked the miners to allow him to enter so that he could conceal himself. But it was not customary for the workmen to allow anybody to enter the mines except the miners and they refused Iyeyasu in spite of his urgent pleas.

Then, the story goes, Iyeyasu made an attractive offer. He promised that if he should ultimately be able to defeat his enemies and become a lord over Japan that he would make all miners Nobushi, with special privileges and free passes all over Japan.

The miners were much impressed and at last decided to conceal Iyeyasu in the mines from those who made the attack.

So Iyeyasu escaped death and became final victor. All this happened years ago in the Hikagesawa Mines in Sarugas Province at the foot of the Fuji Mountains.

When Iyeyasu established his feudal government over the whole of Japan, the constitution he gave contained fifty-three articles, among them one which gave the miners of the Empire the privilege of wearing two swords and of calling themselves Nobushi, Field Knight or Open Samurai. This gave the miners of Japan a strong union and many privileges.

## Under Old Japan

At the time of Feudalism, in Japan, the gold and silver mines were worked by the government and very few belonged to private capitalists, so that it was not such a difficult thing for a powerful government official to bestow many favors upon the miners. Methods of mining were primitive and the men had to undergo many hardships and lived lives of constant danger. Miners were supposed to

be the cream of courage in the Empire, men who feared Death not at all. Wages were very high. "Kanayama Shotai," a miner's living, is even today used as a synonym for luxurious living among the working class. Inside the mines the men lived as they chose. There they ruled absolutely and there were no restrictions put upon them. In the great chasms of the earth they made laws and rules of their own.

Few men had households of their own. Nearly all lived communistically in a hanba, all families living together to make the work easier. This hanba is still maintained by miners in all the unions. A head of the hanba is elected by majority vote and has much influence and power.

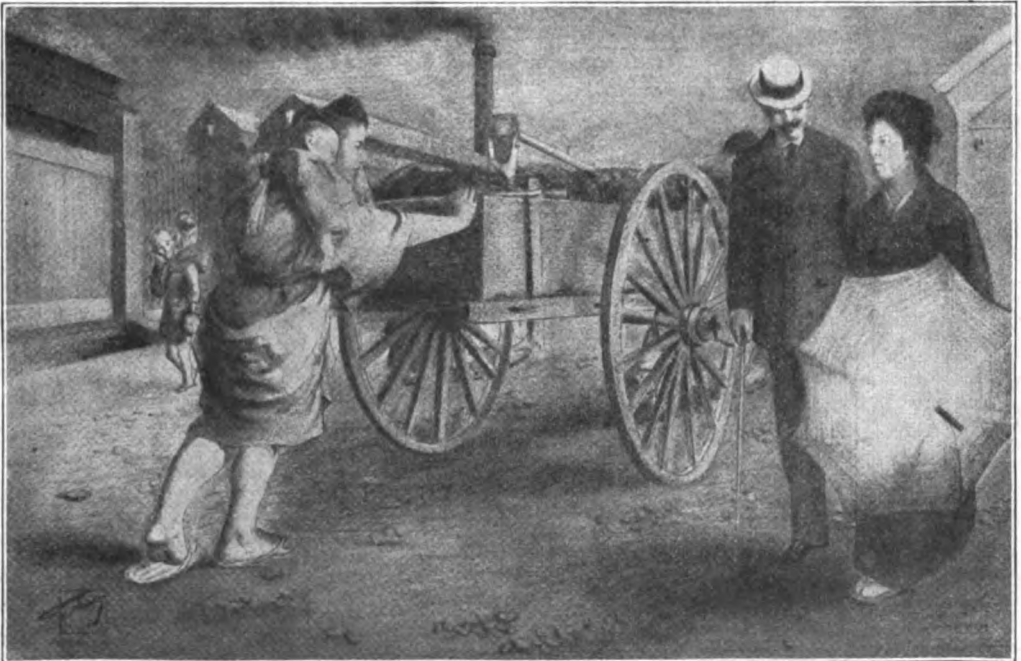
Practically there has been but one miners' union in all Japan. As a miner, each man is welcomed as a brother to any mine in the Empire. For example, a miner comes to a strange hanba. The men and women receive him with ceremonies and treat him, at once, as a member and brother in the great union. If there is no work, or the guest is on his way to a

distant mine, he is welcome to stay a few days when a miner from the hanba escorts him to his new working place. A miner in good standing in the union could formerly travel from one end of Japan to another under the care and guidance of his brother miners. Their strongest watch word is Mutual Aid. But all this was not enough to protect them in their struggles with the invading mine-owners.

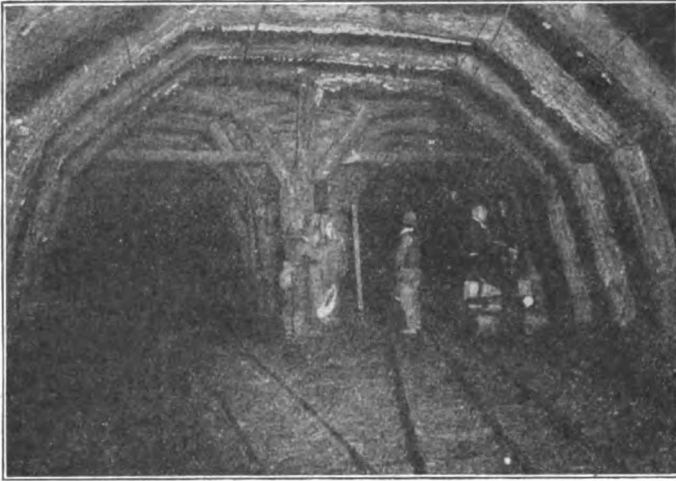
For advancing industry and the introduction of Western mining methods have wrought a great change. Thousands of new mines have been opened for the production of baser metals. The coal mines have become a source of great wealth to the new owners, so that the Miners' union has been materially altered.

Almost every farmer, who has little work to do on the farm in the winter, comes to the coal mines for work at that season.

It was the wonderful Western Shaft System that deprived the men of their underground kingdom. Their rule is gone. These men are now lowered by shaft, run by electric power or carried in by electric railway cars. And the Boss



STREET SCENE—DRAWN BY A JAPANESE COMRADE.



MINE ENTRANCE.

has come to stay. Miners must obey his rules and work under his supervision. The company weighs his product and pays what it deems sufficient. The luxurious living of feudal days is gone.

But the men still cling to the old forms, electing their head and clustering about the old union ceremonies. And all the efforts of the mine owners have not yet been able to destroy the organization.

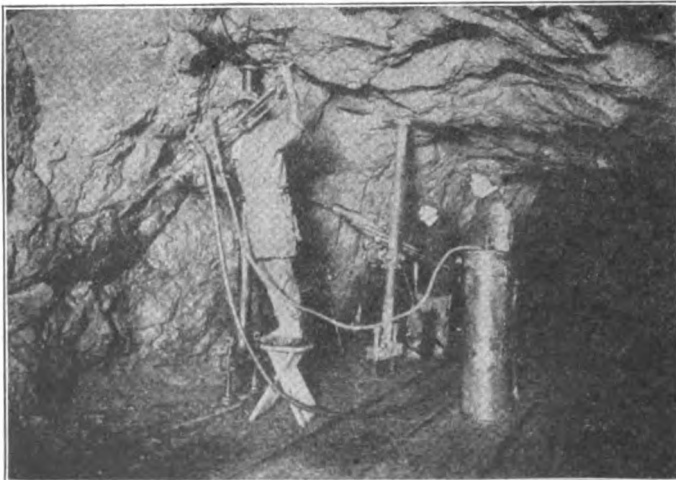
#### The Asio Copper Mine

The Asio Copper Mine is known all over the world for its wonderful copper ore. It is owned by the Furukawa family, which has made huge fortunes out of

this and other mine holdings. Furukawa, the original owner, is now dead. His son leads an easy life, enjoying the wealth the miners dig for him. The most important thing known about him generally is that he paid \$50,000 for a dog.

Asio is 120 miles from Tokyo and fifteen miles from Nikko Temple, figuring straight over the mountain. Freight from the mine is carried over the mountain by cable carriages run by water power. Nearly 7,000 miners are employed in Asio.

Four hundred carpenters prepare the arches and props where the 3,000 copper



COMPRESSED AIR ROCK DRILLING.



GOING TO WORK.

miners work. Over 250 women and girls work outside the mines at various jobs.

#### Labor Trade in Asio Mines

In every mine in Japan there are twice or thrice as many workers as there are miners. These are "common labor" recruited from any quarter. Gradually the miners themselves have come to be recognized as the most exploited workers in Japan. Men are now enticed into

the mines by promises of a good living and many kindnesses, as no intelligent man wants to work in a mine. But when workers are recruited under false pretenses and once enter the Asio mine, they are treated almost like slaves—particularly the unskilled laborers. While the miners in the old organization are still able to demand decent living for themselves, the unorganized workers are almost as bad off as galley slaves.

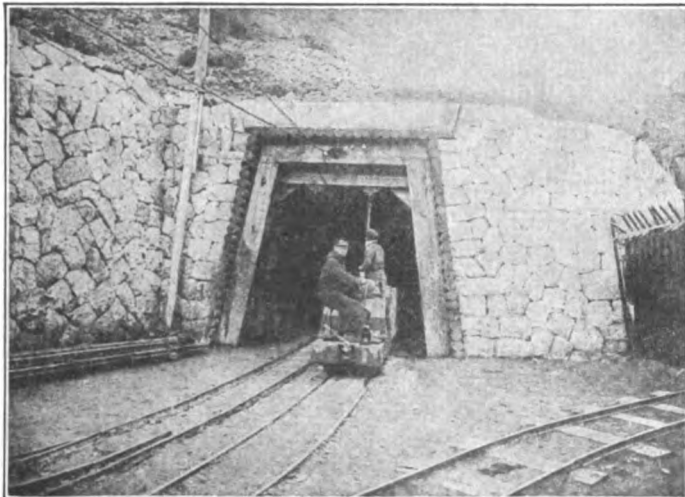
In order to prevent these men from leaving the mines, the bosses keep them in continual debt. Men cannot leave the mines in the day time and the only chance for escape is during the night. But the mines are usually far off from the cities in the mountains and the roads are patrolled by policemen or guards so that the runaway is often caught and brought back.

The old hanba was the real headquarters of the miners, but it has evolved into a tool for the mine-owners. It is still nominally the communistic dining hall or home, but is now used for exploitation and enslaving the men by debt.

It is his debt to the mine-owner that hangs like a yoke about the neck of the miner and forces him to work long hours for a pittance.

#### Girls and Women in the Mines

In Asio we see so many women and girls at work that we are unable to dis-



MINE GATE.



THE ASIO MINE.

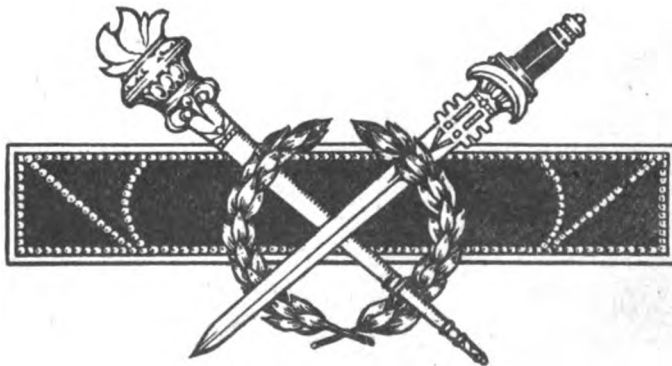
tinguish whether they are men or women. These women and girls are employed by a sub-boss, not directly by the mine company. According to Japanese mining laws, the mine-owners must pay a certain wage scale, but there is a vast difference between the law and the facts.

Asio is a mining town. There the power and influence of the mine master is absolute. Public authority and the police are all serving the mine-owners. The

mine-workers have no protection from the greed of the company.

My Shabsai Shimbun is sent to the miners. It is confiscated by the mine owners and never reaches them. Evidently the mine masters can do as they please and open the mail.

Since the riot of 1907 it has been impossible to work outside for the miners. This makes it worse for them, but we hope that some day we can work openly for them!



# BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

## AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

### IV. How Profits are Made

**M**ANY of us have been accustomed to think that profits are made from graft, from special privileges, or from monopoly. We have talked so much of the thieving among capitalists that we have altogether overlooked the great, main method of profit taking.

As Marx says, if you cannot explain profits on the supposition that commodities exchange at their values, you cannot explain them at all.

And so we shall assume (as in truth they generally do) that commodities, on the average, exchange at their value.

Suppose that it takes two hours of necessary labor to produce the necessaries of life for a workingman—or, in other words, two hours of labor a day to produce LABORING-POWER.

Suppose too (as is very likely the case), that \$2.00 in gold represents two hours of labor.

Now the value of labor-power (which the workingman sells) is determined (as the value of all commodities are determined), by the social labor contained in it. It is represented by the necessities of life, produced by two hours of necessary labor a day.

If the workman sells his labor-power at its VALUE, he will receive in return a commodity containing two hours of necessary social labor. In the case we mention above, he would receive \$2.00 a day.

In other words, a day's labor-power represents two hours of labor, embodied in the food, clothing and shelter that produce it, just as the two dollars in gold (or an equivalent) represent two hours of necessary labor. The labor-power is equal in value to the value of the \$2.00 in gold. The workman has sold his labor-power at its value.

The workman receives enough (\$2.00) in wages to eat, drink, to rest and clothe himself—enough to PRODUCE MORE labor-power. He receives the value of his labor-power.

But wage laborers sell their laboring-power to the bosses by the day or by the week, at so many hours a day. The capitalist buys the commodity (labor-power), paying for it at its value. If the wage-worker is a miner, in TWO HOURS he will dig coal equal in value to his wage of \$2.00 a day. The coal he digs will contain two hours of labor just as the two dollars in gold contain two hours of labor and as the necessaries for which he exchanges his two dollars, contain two hours of labor.

In other words, in two hours (of necessary labor) the miner would have produced value in coal equal to the value of his wages (or his laboring-power). But he sells his labor-power by the day or week and the boss prolongs the hours of work as far as possible.

In two hours, however, the miner has produced enough value to pay his own wages, but the boss, having bought the laboring-power by the day, may be able to make the wage-worker work ten hours daily. The miner needs only to work two hours to produce a value of \$2.00 to reproduce his labor-power. As Marx would say:

He must daily reproduce a value of \$2.00 (which he will do in two hours), to daily reproduce his labor-power.

But when he sells his laboring-power to the boss the boss acquires the right to use his labor-power the entire day—as many hours as the worker's physical endurance or fighting resistance will permit.

If he forces the miner to work ten hours daily, the workingman will be



laboring EIGHT hours beyond the time necessary to pay his own wages (or value of his labor-power). These eight hours of surplus labor are embodied in a surplus value or a surplus product.

In two hours the miner produces in coal value sufficient to pay for his labor-power, but in the eight succeeding hours of labor, he will produce coal valuing \$8.00, all of which the capitalist retains for himself.

Since the miner sold his laboring-power to the capitalist, the coal, or value the miner produces, belongs to the capitalist.

Thus the capitalist spends \$2.00 a day in wages (or two hours of labor) and acquires coal, or other commodities, equal to \$10.00 (or ten hours of labor). Thus come profits.

Year after year, the capitalists buy labor-power, paying for it at its value in the case of the miner at \$2.00 a day). The capitalists *own* the products of the workers—equalling ten hours of labor. They exchange a commodity (gold, or money), containing two hours of labor for labor-power (containing two hours of necessary labor—represented by the necessities of life). But when the miner goes home at night the capitalists find themselves OWNERS of the coal he has dug, which contains TEN HOURS OF LABOR.

Coal (representing ten hours of labor) will exchange for gold (or money) containing ten hours of labor; in this case for \$10.00. The miner has produced \$10.00 worth of coal. He received \$2.00.

The eight hours of value, or \$8.00 worth of coal, which the capitalists appropriate, is *surplus value*, for which they give no equivalent.

"It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the working man as workingman and the capitalist as a capitalist.

"The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring-power and the surplus time or SURPLUS LA-

BOR performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent, by working which the working man would only reproduce the value of his laboring-power, or replace his wages." (Page 81 Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.)

The capitalist owns the product of his wage-worker. When he sells this product he disposes of commodities a part of which have cost him absolutely nothing, although they have cost his workman labor.

It is easy to see how the miner received the VALUE of his laboring power: \$2.00 gold contain two hours of labor, \$2.00 exchange for—or will buy—the necessities of life (produced by two hours of labor) which will enable the miner to produce MORE LABOR-POWER for the next day's work.

In this case, the miner's product, the coal he digs in one day, contains five times the quantity of labor needed to produce the necessities of life, which produce, in him, more strength or more labor-power.

For the things he gets for his labor-power contain only TWO hours of labor, while the things he produces, and which are claimed by the capitalist, contain TEN HOURS of labor.

The miner sells his labor-power and, naturally, the capitalist desires to use it as profitably (for himself) as possible. If the wage-worker demanded commodities in exchange for his products, containing an equal quantity of labor, he would no longer be a wage-worker, for capitalists would no longer employ him. There would be nothing—no SURPLUS VALUE—left for the capitalists.

But men and women who have nothing to sell but their labor-power have no choice in the matter. They are compelled to sell their strength or labor-power in order to get wages to live. Capitalists, on the other hand, employ them for the sole purpose of taking profits. Capitalists are forced to give the working class enough to live and work on, but they try by every means at their command to prolong the working day into ten, or even

twelve hours, in order that more surplus products, or surplus value, may remain for themselves.

But intelligent workmen and women are not content with selling their laboring-power at its value. They are coming more and more to demand the value of their PRODUCTS. We are growing weary of being mere commodities, compelled to sell ourselves, for wages at the regular "market price." We are weary of receiving a product of two hours of labor for products containing ten hours of our labor. We are tired of living on meagre wages while we pile up millions for the capitalist class.

This is the chief demand of socialism; that workingmen and women cease selling themselves, or their strength, as commodities. We propose to OWN the commodities we produce OURSELVES and to exchange commodities containing a certain quantity of necessary social labor, for other commodities representing an equal quantity of necessary social labor.

You and I work for the boss because *he* OWNS the factory or mine or railroad or the mill. OWNERSHIP of the means of production and distribution (the factories, land, mines, mills—the MACHINERY that produces things) makes masters of capitalists and wage-workers of you and me.

Socialists propose the ownership, in common, of the mines, mills, factories, of all the productive industries, by the workers of the world.

When you and I and our comrades OWN the factory in which we work, we will no longer need to turn over to anybody the commodities we have produced. We shall be joint owners of the things we have made socially. We shall demand labor for labor in the exchange of commodities. This is the kernel of socialism. It proposes to make men and women of us instead of COMMODITIES to be bought and sold upon the cheapest market as men buy shoes or cows.

#### Questions:

In the illustration given above, can the mine owners pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit? Explain. Can the mine owners

sell coal at its value and pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit?

Would it be possible for the mine owners to pay the mine-workers MORE than the value of their labor-power and to sell the coal at LESS than its value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

If the wage-workers should become strong enough to demand the value of their products what would happen? Would there be any surplus value left for the capitalist class? Explain why not.

What becomes of the difference between the value of your labor-power and the value of the things you produce in the factory, or mine?

Suppose you are working in a California mine and earning \$3.00 a day, which is sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter IN CALIFORNIA, enough to reproduce your labor-power. Suppose your employer wants to send you, and 200 of your California comrades to work in his mines in Alaska. The value of the necessities of life are more in Alaska than they are in California. It requires \$6.00 a day to buy food, clothing and shelter (to produce LABOR-POWER) in Alaska.

Will you be able to save any more money in Alaska at \$6.00 a day than you would in California at \$3.00 a day? Why not? Who pays the difference in the high prices of the necessities of life? YOU or YOUR BOSS? (We are not speaking of individual cases but of high prices charged for food, etc., in general.)

Of course, we all know that the working class produce all exchange value. We make all commodities, but as we have sold our labor-power to the boss, our products belong to HIM. So the boss pays for nearly everything, because he has appropriated the things we have made.

When the value of the necessities of life RISE, does the working class or the capitalist CLASS pay the bill? In the case of our mining jobs in Alaska, do WE pay \$6.00 for our board, clothes and room, or does the \$3.00 increase in OUR cost of living FALL ON THE CAPITALIST?

# GET-RICH-QUICK SCHEMES

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

**I**T IS time that we stop it. I mean this epidemic of gold fever now raging in the Socialist ranks; this vociferous intrusion of the jackal of the money exchange into the Socialist gatherings; this confusion of get-rich-quick schemes with the message of economic emancipation.

How much longer shall we wait before we say—Stop It! Shall we wait until the red flag shall become, like the British flag, a commercial asset; until the barricades of the revolution shall be placarded—Stocks and bonds for sale! Buy now! Lots for sale! Own a home! Enough has the Socialist party and the Socialist press been prostituted by the gambler, the plunger, the adventurer. It is idle to say—those are private, personal affairs with which the Socialist party cannot meddle. When recognized spokesmen of the Socialist party, national officials of the Socialist party, organs of the Socialist party, are being used for the foisting upon the members of the party of various schemes of quick enrichment, the thing ceases to be a private, personal affair. It is the concern of the Socialist party when comrades of standing use their influence in order to arouse among the Socialists the capitalistic emotions of greed and cupidity. The Socialist movement does not demand of its adherents a vow of poverty, but it does demand that they lay aside their capitalist schemes and dreams of wealth when they enter the confines of Socialist organizations and the sphere of Socialist propaganda.

I say—This we must stop! I mean that we must not tolerate any longer the gambler to ply his trade in the midst of our gatherings. The hawker of stocks and bonds must not be permitted to mix his voice with the voice of the Socialist agitators.

Some may say—Ah, this comrade has an ax to grind! or,—He is jealous!

I will say at the outset that I have no ax to grind; that I am not jealous. I

neither bought nor sold stocks nor lots. I neither lost nor gained anything. But suppose I had a private grudge to pay. It should not concern the Socialist party. Never mind my motive. The point is—We must stop it.

I do confess, however, that the enormity or confusing commercialism and Socialism did not dawn upon me at the outset. I, too, was misled by the phrase, "personal business," and by the standing of the comrades who furthered commercialism, and my good opinion of them. For this reason I am not asking for the punishment, disciplinary or moral, of any one who was instrumental in polluting the movement. I simply ask—Stop it.

And yet I will name one comrade. I will name Wilshire. The reasons why I name Comrade Wilshire are several:

First: Comrade Wilshire's standing as a Socialist cannot be gainsaid. Before he sat down to sup with the devil, he devoted a great deal of his life and a goodly portion of his private fortune to the propaganda of Socialism.

Second: Because my relations to Wilshire are of the best and pleasantest. If I here do not claim him as my friend, it is only because such a relation may be claimed by mutual assent.

Thirdly: Notwithstanding or because of the first and second, I name Wilshire because he more than any other gambler sounded the golden tom-tom and dinned into the ears of Socialists, Money! Money! Make Money! In fact, he led the pestiferous band of promoters into the Socialist camp.

I care not a tinker's damn whether Wilshire's enterprises are financially sound or rotten. We want none of them mixed up with our propaganda and Socialist activity. For the good of the Socialist cause I hope that Wilshire's mining schemes will prove, sundry and all, financial failures. For had the Bishop Creek "greatest gold mine in the world" really panned out anything like what it had been an-

nounced, there would have been no stopping the golden horde from wrecking the Socialist party with their capitalistic schemes. But the Bishop Creek gold mine proved even more elusive than King Solomon's mine. And I have heard of no one making money on any of Wilshire's enterprises excepting Wilshire himself. Perhaps not even Wilshire.

For I have no doubt that Wilshire started out with a notion that he could beat Wall street at its own game. This he thought he could do with the help of the comrades. Instead, I fear, Wall street used him as a feeder to the pockets of many comrades.

Once plunged in the whirl of wild-cat speculation, Wilshire adopted the methods current among gamblers.

Wilshire advertised the Bishop Creek as "the greatest gold mine in the world," at the time when he had not a dollar's worth of gold out of it. Wilshire estimated that he would get \$20,000,000,000 worth of gold out of the mine; that he would pay the national debt; that he could demonetize gold.

Now that is more gold than was mined or washed in America since its discovery. This is going some.

Wilshire sold anywhere between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000 worth of Bishop Creek stock. Wilshire spent less than \$100,000 on the mine. The difference is what the stockholders contributed to Wilshire personally as spending money.

Wilshire sold his own stock. Not a dollar's worth of stock was sold out of the treasury, after Wilshire secured control of the corporation, except to Wilshire himself. Wilshire would buy some shares out of the treasury and then advertise the fact that he was buying in order to un-

load greater quantities of his own stock. Wilshire went the limit in using his magazine to boom his mines. He used the name of Comrade Wanhope to give prestige to his magazine. He used the name of Untermann, then member of the National Executive Committee, the name of Upton Sinclair to boost his mine. What did poor Sinclair know about gold mining? And National Organizer Goebel, now member of the N. E. C., was actively helping Wilshire. Goebel must be a good gold miner. He showed it in helping Wilshire to extract gold out of the pockets of the comrades.

Now Wilshire has departed from hence. He may return. He may justify himself before his stockholders. This is none of our concern. What we demand is that Wilshire keep his stock-jobbing schemes out of the Socialist publications, even if the publication happens to belong to him; that while engaged in these schemes he should keep out of the forefront of the Socialist movement; that he cease hawking his stock in Socialist gatherings; that he cease using the phrases current in Socialist economics and politics in advertising his stock; that he cease employing Socialists of national eminence to boom his stock-jobbing schemes.

Another word. The American Socialist movement has so far contributed nothing to the International Socialist movement. Shall it now contribute Wilshire's stock-jobbery factory? It seems that Wilshire has opened a shop in England and keeps a printing press busy printing stocks and bonds. Let the European comrades be advised. Keep stock jobbery out of the Socialist parties of Europe. And stop it in the Socialist party of America.



# MEDICAL CHAOS AND CRIME

NORMAN BARNESBY, M. D.

**N**OBODY would accuse Dr. Barnesby of being a Socialist, but his new book, "Medical Chaos and Crime," published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York City, offers so many reasons why physicians and surgeons should be Socialists, that all Socialists will feel a debt of gratitude to Dr. Barnesby.

Socialists have long said that when men or women want to know the REAL causes of things, it is well to look for ECONOMIC reasons. And it is the economic need of physicians and surgeons the whole world over that is causing the "Medical Chaos and Crime" which Dr. Barnesby exposes so mercilessly.

Most of us have the old hallucination about "having to live" and doctors are just like the rest of us. They have families to support and rent to pay and clothes to buy just as we have and they have to secure a "practice" some way.

"If our people do not pause in this wild career we shall soon—I mean we of the cities—become a race of neurasthenics and degenerates. And the members of the medico-surgical profession are no exception. It is no longer the call of the suffering that inspires them, but the call of the dollar . . . Yet so false have become our standards that many a physician, formerly honest and even altruistic, has come to look upon the relief of suffering or the saving of a life as merely incidental to the earning of a fat fee. And from honest greed, if there be such a thing, the step is but a short one to dishonorable practices and deceit. Like all who have lapsed into rank commercialism, he finds that he must employ unfair means if he would achieve the success that he craves. . . .

"No doubt there are thousands of struggling doctors who, if they could be prevailed upon to tell the truth, would admit the deceits and petty frauds that they practice on their patients, but would plead pecuniary embarrassment or downright poverty as an excuse. In the summer months, for instance, an ordinarily

good practice often dwindles down to almost nothing, yet the rent and living expenses go on just the same. The worried doctor, with wits sharpened and conscience dulled, looks about him for relief, and then it is that the unwary patient is advised to undergo an operation or receives a long course of treatment.

"The tonsils must come out! A familiar remark, is it not? Furthermore, it is much better to operate in June or July (if you can hold your patient) than in the winter or early spring when business is brisk. . . .

"A well-known physician . . . whose reputation is of the best, told me recently that his great success in medicine was not due to any unusual skill or knowledge, but to the fact that he was a 'damned good business man.' After further investigation . . . I discovered that he was rated so highly simply because he could cure the ills he personally caused.

"His first diagnosis when he finds that the patient is a drivelling hypochondriac is 'stomach trouble,' 'gastric catarrh' . . . or some other reverberating name, which impresses the patient. His first treatment in such a case, almost without exception, is to administer to this poor creature large and repeated doses of potassium iodide in some form, with instructions to return if he feels nausea, headache, pain, or a bad taste in the mouth.

"Now it happens that potassium iodide, given in large and repeated doses and taken with a small quantity of water, causes these exact symptoms . . . Consequently the dupe goes back for relief, . . . and the iodide is gradually reduced, while the pocketbook is being relieved of its contents. In the course of the second or third week the poor frail shadow of a patient wanders into the office once more. My friend now takes pity upon him by withdrawing all of the iodide, thus effecting a brilliant cure of the disease with the high-sounding name. The delighted patient, naturally, is most

grateful. Having other friends afflicted with stomach trouble, he tells them of the clever doctor who has dragged him from the jaws of death. They, too, flock to the master physician, and of course, are eventually 'cured,' the time in each case depending on the limit of patience and the extent of the bank account. . . .

"When a young graduate in medicine hangs out his sign in a large city he must not expect, as a rule, to make his expenses for at least a year. Sometimes, however, fortune provides an early opportunity for him to distinguish himself. Such a chance befell a certain young physician in New York a number of years ago. He had been practicing only a short time—that is to say, he had taken an office and displayed his sign—when it happened, one day, that being the only doctor available he was called by a rich family to attend a young woman for some abdominal complaint. The young doctor soon found that the trouble was insignificant, but he felt that to release his hold on such a case so quickly would not be good business. Accordingly, he looked grave, and after a prolonged examination, announced that the patient was really in a very serious condition which required immediate operation. As he was a good talker and possessed unlimited 'cheek,' he succeeded in winning the confidence of both patient and family, and soon secured their consent to an operation. He lost no time in performing it, sewed up the wound and, after a period of after treatment, sent in a bill for \$2,000. The exorbitant charge was paid without a murmur. The grateful family were made to believe that this able and prompt young surgeon had saved their dear one's life, and for such a service no price they were able to pay was too high.

"Before the patient had quite recovered, however, the shrewd surgeon discovered a complication that demanded another operation. Having gained the complete confidence of the unsuspecting family by his first remarkable success, his word was now law in the household. A second operation was performed, and a second bill for \$2,000 duly honored. Then, finding the game so easy, he played it for all there was in it. It seems incredible,

but he actually succeeded in inducing that poor, rich victim to undergo another abdominal operation at the same modest figure.

"Whether the family became disillusioned after the third operation, or whether the young surgeon feared to tempt the devil once more, I can not say. He went abroad almost immediately afterwards, took a special course in surgery, and returned to America well equipped, both professionally and financially. He owes his start to this one case which he handled (or rather mishandled) with such consummate effrontery."

In speaking of professional ethics, Dr. Barnesby sheds a world of illumination. "A doctor whose record is but a succession of failures, may not only stand high in professional circles but may be instrumental in causing the removal of the best practitioner in the community if the latter has been so unfortunate as to confound ethics with 'medical ethics.' For example, Doctor A., finding that Doctor B. has lost a patient through carelessness or stupidity, may forfeit his career if he so much as hints at the truth to the victim's family. The first offense—killing a patient—is a mere transgression of the moral law; the second violates the higher law of 'medical ethics' and is unpardonable. Hence A. continues his practice, maiming and killing as he pleases, while the over-zealous B. moves away to try to live down his disgrace."

Dr. Barnesby prophesies that in the near future the expression "medical ethics" will be swept away and the standard of professional men become the Golden Rule. We agree with Dr. Barnesby only we do not expect the great change till after the abolition of the Rule of Gold, when men shall be economically independent and your illnesses and my sickness and pain do not mean financial prosperity to the physician and surgeon.

Dr. Barnesby gives us some excellent advice that we may, however, benefit by today.

In all cases of surgery, he advises us to demand of our physician to know how many operations of the kind he has already successfully performed. In cases of sickness we must demand to KNOW.

"Medical Chaos and Crime" is full of

information everybody should possess, but after all, the position of the physicians and surgeons is a hopeless one under Capitalism. Capitalism will never remove the economic need of the young and unexperienced doctor, nor of any other doctor, and life, in the profession, is a continual struggle, as it is everywhere else.

When the great day comes that men and women have abundant opportunity to earn a bounteous living honorably,

then and then only will graft, deceit and actual murder pass away.

But if this book is an argument in favor of physicians becoming Socialist, what must it not mean to the PATIENTS upon whose sufferings and deaths Necessity grows fat! Surely it is to their interests above all, to insure professional men economic freedom in order that they, themselves, may cease to be prey.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW LECTURE BUREAU

### FREE TO LOCALS

Our object in planning the Review Lecture Bureau is to increase the circulation of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, to supply lecturers who are representative of revolutionary socialism—men and women who will drive home the things the REVIEW is trying to say to the working class, and to put some money into the local's treasury.

We have been fortunate in securing William D. Haywood to fill dates for us. Comrade Haywood has returned from his tour of Europe filled with enthusiasm for the growing solidarity of labor he has found in every country. No American has ever spoken to the enormous crowds in Europe that greeted Haywood everywhere he went. Stokers, dockers, boiler-makers, thousands upon thousands of miners and other working men and women heard him and refused to go home when his meetings closed. "More, more!" was the cry that greeted Haywood wherever he spoke.

We have a plan whereby it will be possible for every Local in the country to have a Haywood date, without any expense to the Local. The comrades guarantee to take 500 admission tickets at 25 cents each. Each card is good for a three month subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, wherein Haywood hopes to repeat, drive home and clinch the arguments he makes in his lectures. This is the perfect propaganda. No man or woman ever grew sleepy at a Haywood

lecture or forgot what Haywood said. They will get these things in permanent form in copies of the REVIEW.

The 500 tickets sold at 25 cents each, will be \$125 of which we will pay \$25 on hall rent, furnish posters, dodgers, and pay all of Haywood's expenses. We will send FREE 200 copies of the current number of the REVIEW to be sold at the meeting for the benefit of the Local. The Local keeps the collection and literature sales. The Local takes half of all tickets sold over 500. Remember each admission ticket is good for a three-months' subscription to the REVIEW. There is no better way to arouse the workingmen and women in your city than to get them to hear Haywood speak and to send copies of the REVIEW into their homes every month.

We are filling dates for Haywood in the central states at this time. Take up this matter with your local and write for a date NOW if you want to plan a lecture for February, March, or April. We will send on the cards, to be paid for on date of lecture.

FRANK BOHN, former delegate to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, and state organizer of New York, starts out for the REVIEW Lecture Bureau, beginning February 16th. Every town that has had a Bohn lecture is asking for more, and Comrade Solomon, state secretary of New York, states that Comrade



Bohn is one of the best organizers and speakers that has ever piled up good results in that state. Frank Bohn is a college man and can give you a scholastic treatise if you want it, but he is going out for the REVIEW because he wants to talk to workingmen and women and to put the FIGHTING MAGAZINE into new locals.

Pennsylvania and Ohio comrades can have dates in February and March by applying promptly. We will send on 200 admission tickets, to be sold at 25 cents each. Each ticket will bring three numbers of the REVIEW to holder. It will be the local's chance to break in with revolutionary propaganda. We will donate 100 copies of the current number of the REVIEW to be sold at the meeting for the benefit of the local. If the comrades prefer to take 50 yearly REVIEW subscription

cards rather than 200 three-months' cards (to be used as tickets), we will send them instead. Collection and book sales go to the local.

But don't plan to have a lecture with only 200 people attending. Get 500. Frank Bohn will keep them alert and interested. He will give them more straight socialism in one hour than most lecturers KNOW. We will send cards in advance to bona fide locals, to be paid for at the Bohn lecture.

Subjects on which Frank Bohn will speak are as follows:

- The Trusts and the Labor Movement.
- Socialism (general propaganda lecture).
- Economic Interpretation of History.
- The Revolution of 1776 and the Constitution.
- History of the American Labor Movement.
- The Farm Democracy in America.
- Slavery and Anti-Slavery, the Civil War.
- Industrial Unionism.



FRANK BOHN

# EDITORIAL

**An Eight-Hour Work Day.**—The Socialists and Industrial Unionists in Portland, Oregon, have started a campaign for a universal eight-hour working day, to be started by the workers themselves on the second day of May, 1912. In this agitation they ask the help of the Socialist Press, the Socialist Party, all other Locals of the I. W. W., the American Federation of Labor, and all other organizations interested in the welfare of the working class. The REVIEW warmly endorses this movement, and stands ready to help it in any possible way. As a rule we have small faith in most palliatives, because too often they work out to the advantage of some group of capitalists instead of helping the working class. The eight-hour movement is different. If a wage-worker who has been toiling nine, ten, eleven or twelve hours a day can by uniting with his fellow workers on the political or industrial field, or both, reduce his hours of labor to eight, he is at once better off as an individual, he begins leading a healthier, happier life. What is more, his position in the labor market is distinctly improved. If the capitalists can no longer force men to work long hours, they will require more men to do the same work. There will thus be more jobs; the competition of men for jobs will be less keen, and they can make better terms for the sale of their labor power. As Comrade Haywood says, "If there is an unemployed man, it means that YOU are working too many hours." Here is a fight in which the interests of skilled and unskilled workers are manifestly the same, and they should stand side by side in this concerted demand. The highly skilled workers in many trades have already won the eight-hour day for themselves. But as Comrade Wheeler shows in this month's REVIEW, the new automatic machinery which the capitalists are rapidly installing will presently deprive these aristocrats of labor of all their advantage. To hold what they have already gained they must make common cause with the over-worked and underpaid laborers whom they have left outside their organizations. Every one of these

is now a menace to the union man. Here is the "Something Right Now" for which reformers have urged revolutionists to unite. If you work for wages, a universal eight-hour work-day is a vital matter for YOU. If you yourself already have an eight-hour day, this movement will help you keep it; otherwise you may lose it soon. If you are working longer hours, this movement will give you at once some of the things you want most, and best of all, it will put bigger things within your grasp. Get together. The eight-hour day in 1912 is a possibility for all of us who stand together and demand it. And when once we have united to get that, we shall be in a position to demand more and ever more until we control the machines by which we must live. Discuss the eight-hour day in your Socialist Party Local and in your union. Talk about it to every wage-worker you meet. Write about it to the papers, speak of it from the soap-box, and help start an agitation that by next year will sweep everything before it. It can be done. The time is ripe. This can be made a winning fight, and if we win, it is the beginning of the end of capitalism.

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**"Nationalism."**—Tradition has it that a wise man, wise beyond his generation, for he lived in the age of prayer, once said: "O Lord, deliver me from my friends; I can take care of my enemies myself." We feel like echoing his prayer when we read some of the books on Socialism by amiable idiots who talk, and write, and print, and publish without ever having an inkling of the real meaning of Socialism or of the class struggle. These reflections are suggested by a recent book entitled "Nationalism," which comes to us from the author, Mr. Edwin Gilmore Richards, Sharon, Mass. It is neatly printed, but the union label is conspicuous by its absence. Mr. Richards is to be congratulated on his choice of a title, and we should not criticize him but for his statement: "Nationalism is similar to Socialism—perhaps it is the same thing." Probably few working people will read this book; which is fortunate. Were they to

do so, they would infer that Socialists were indifferent spectators of the class struggle which is the supreme fact of modern times, and that we were leisurely planning the details of a philanthropists' paradise in which all good children should be rewarded and all bad children gently but firmly regulated by the elected representatives of All the People. It is a book that would drive a real workingman to drink, while it would call forth a tol-

erant smile from a trust magnate. Fortunately books like this one are far less common than a few years ago. Class lines are tightening, and sentimentalists are at a discount. They are only dangerous when they succeed in fastening themselves upon the Socialist Party. Where they succeed in doing so, they paralyze it for a while, but only for a while. Even our fool friends are powerless to stop the processes of evolution.

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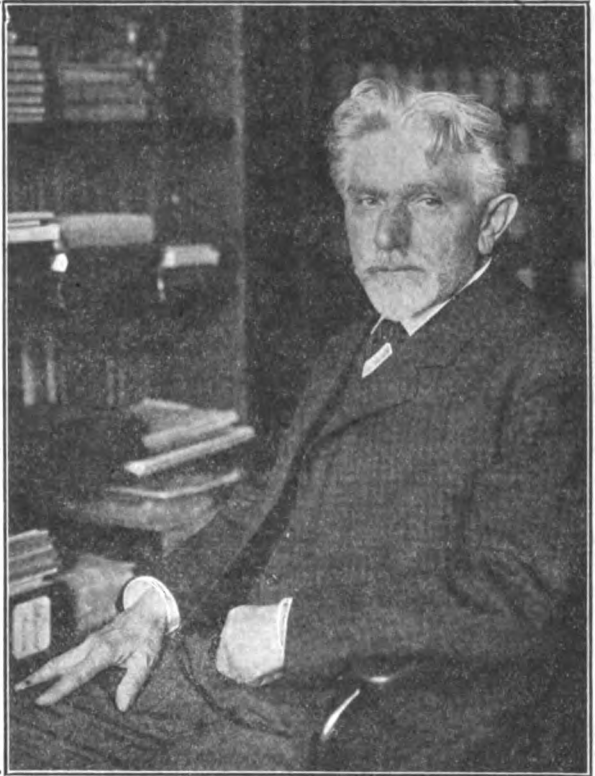
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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN.

**FRANCE.** Another Moyer-Haywood Case. International capitalism is bound to repeat its campaign methods internationally. We had our Moyer-Haywood case two years ago; France is having hers today. It is an old play with a new title. This time it is called the Durand case. France is much wrought up over it.

M. Durand, a union official, was found guilty of killing a scab. The scab, a man named Donge, was killed; there was no doubt of that. Durand was nowhere near when the murder was committed; this, too, was established for certain. Yet Durand was held guilty of the murder. When a labor union man is accused of a crime a completely established alibi is always considered incriminating.

In many highly civilized countries nobody would get much excited about a man's being punished for a crime that wasn't proved against him. Ordinarily they wouldn't in France. But it happened that the penalty adjudged in this case was death. Sentence was pronounced some weeks ago at Rouen. Now the French have sentimental objections to judicial murder. So a tremendous protest was raised against the decapitation of Durand. Once public attention was called to the matter it was seen that there was little or no proof of guilt. Then the Socialist newspapers and one or two members of the Chamber of Deputies began to look into the case. They found that Durand had been condemned on the testimony of one man. This person testified that Durand had presided at a meeting where Donge, the scab, had been condemned to death. But now that the trial is over the witness confesses that all he knows about the whole matter is that he once heard Durand say: "We must have nothing more to do with this man Donge."

The public protest against carrying out the death sentence gathered such volume that the government became alarmed and reduced Durand's punishment to seven years' imprisonment. But the unions are

not satisfied. They demand a complete vindication of their comrade. This, of course, can be secured only by a retrial. This is what the workers are fighting for at present.

**ENGLAND.** The Election. A year ago they had an election in England. The Liberals, Laborites and Irish home-rulers returned to Parliament with a majority pledged to put the House of Lords out of commission as a co-ordinate institution. The year has gone by. The Lords are as obstreperous as ever. For some reason, known only to themselves, the members of the Liberal government gave up their fight and went to the country for a new verdict. Millions of money have been spent. Valuable time has been wasted. The whole country has been put in an uproar. On December 20th the election was concluded. Here is the result: Unionists, 272; Liberals, 271; Laborites, 43; Redmondites, 74; O'Brienites, 10. That is, the Unionists lost one seat; the Liberals lost three, the Laborites gained two, the Redmondites gained three. The majority backing up the government therefore remains almost exactly what it was before the election took place. All the expense and excitement went for nothing. The government has exactly the same commission from the people which it had before the election machinery was put into operation.

Justice sums up the whole matter under the title, "The Victory of Buncombe" The Liberals are the world's champion promise fabricators. And once more their promises have been believed. Thousands of Socialists have believed and voted for Liberal members. This is the main lesson of the election. The British electorate still walks by faith and not by sight.

But while the practical result of the election has been nil, certain features of it have their lesson to teach. The Labor party gained two seats, and in this fact there is some cause for rejoicing. But the campaign carried on by the Laborites has done nothing to allay the suspicions aroused by this party last January. It

was often stated at that time that the Labor party had entered into a coalition with the Liberals. This charge was indignantly denied. Those who have taken the denials in good faith will be pained to learn that whereas one year ago the Labor party put up twenty-five candidates to fight three-cornered contests, at the most recent election they put up only eight. And it is somewhat disconcerting to learn that of these eight not a single one was elected. Only one Labor candidate was elected over a Liberal, and that was in a Scotch constituency where there was no Tory in the field. The other forty-two who were returned have won their places with the consent of the Liberal managers. In some constituencies the Liberals put up no candidates, but merely saw to it that an unobjectionable Laborite made the run against the Unionists. In certain constituencies which have double representation in Parliament, one Liberal and one Laborite were nominated. Each elector, of course, had two votes. The Liberals, naturally, voted for the Laborite, and the Laborites did as much for the Liberal.

It was under these conditions that the Labor party made its gain of two seats. No one would dare claim that this gain represents an increase in working class power. On the other hand, the whole history of the election goes to show that the Labor party is more dependent on the good will of the Liberals than any of us had supposed. Of course, there were individual Labor candidates who made straight Socialist campaigns. Keir Hardie, it should be recorded, fought as hard against the government as the most devoted Socialist could wish. But as to the party as a whole, it stands impeached before the labor movement of the world.

The Social Democratic party lost votes. This is a discouraging fact to face, but it is not by any means the worst thing that could happen. One thing it seems to be teaching our English comrades, and that is the fact that they must work with all their might for electoral reform. The representation in Parliament is not according to population. The rotten borough system of England is still rotten. In one constituency a large Socialist vote

goes for nothing; in another a small Liberal or Tory vote returns a candidate victor. Candidates are still fined a large sum for presuming to run. Worse than all this, the qualified electors are only a small minority of the population. If political action is worth anything at all these conditions must be made the point of Socialist attack. The Social Democrats are more and more waking up to this fact.

**AUSTRALIA.** The Release of Peter Bowling. In October the Australian Labor party secured control of another state government. It elected 46 of the 90 members of the legislative assembly of New South Wales. New South Wales will be remembered as the scene of the Newcastle coal strike of last year, the strike which ended in the jailing of the Union leaders. On Jan. 10, 1910, Peter Bowling, the miners' president, was sentenced to a jail term of two years for "inciting to strike." Ever since then the Labor and Socialist press has kept up an agitation for his release. The recently inaugurated labor government of New South Wales took office Monday morning, Oct. 23. Monday night at 8:30 Peter Bowling was released. He was enthusiastically welcomed to freedom by the Trades Council and Socialists of Sydney.

Perhaps the most significant thing he has said since his release is that hereafter he will not work with either politicians or political bodies in any industrial struggle. He attributes the failure of the coal strike, as well as his own imprisonment, to the "influence" of labor politicians.

**The Labor Party in Power.** It is something to get any proposal out of the realm of mere discussion into the realm of experiment. This is what has happened in Australia. Here at last we have a chance to find out from actual experience whether government by a Labor Party means anything to the working class. The Australian Labor party has finished its first legislative session. It has had its own cabinet and a good majority in both House and Senate. It went into power pledged to certain reforms in taxation and the control of industry. The tax reforms have been got fairly under way. The Land Tax Bill, the object of which is to break up the large landed estates, espe-

cially those owned by absentees, has been passed. It lays a tax of four pence in the pound on estates worth over £5,000 in unimproved value, and adds a penny per pound in the case of absentee owners. Churches and labor unions are excepted.

Legislation looking toward the control of industry presents greater difficulties. It is not to be had for the enacting. The sacred constitution stands in the way. "Go to," say the members of the Labor government, "we will amend this constitution." And this is what they are now about. Two bills have been passed submitting constitutional amendments to popular referendum. One of these, if carried, will confer upon the legislative bodies of the commonwealth full power over "trade, commerce, corporations, industries, monopolies, labor and employment." Under "labor and employment" are specifically mentioned wages and industrial disputes. The second constitutional amendment to be submitted gives the lawmakers authority to nationalize monopolies.

A number of minor legislative enactments have been passed in response to the demands of the working class. The Conciliation and Arbitration Act has been amended, although not as extensively as the unionists desired. Hereafter the unions are to be allowed to use their funds for political purposes. But the amendment making it mandatory on a judge to give unionists the preference in the settlement of all industrial disputes has been defeated; nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the Labor government has done its best to enact a series of working-class laws.

But the working class has a right to demand something more than laws. It is as the administrator of public affairs that a government comes most immediately in contact with the working class and working class problems. And in its administrative capacity it must be acknowledged that the Australian Labor ministry has made a mess of things. At least it has been a complete failure so far as the interests of the working class are concerned.

For one thing, this Labor government treats its own employes abominably. It has not yet consented to grant its postal

clerks a minimum wage of seven shillings. And the linemen on the government telephone lines get only eight shillings.

But the attitude of the government toward the workers involved in industrial disputes is of even greater importance. It affects the working class of the entire nation. The real test of any government so far as the workers are concerned is, Does it favor or oppose the working class in its struggle to rise out of poverty and misery? What is the result of the application of this test to the Labor government of Australia?

In the records of its administration it is difficult to discover anything to distinguish it from the typical bourgeois government. It carries on official strike-breaking, if need be, with all the enthusiasm and efficiency to which we are accustomed in other lands. Take the case of the tramway strike in Adelaide. The Labor party is in power in South Australia, the state in which Adelaide is situated. The Adelaide tramways are owned by the state. The laborers employed on the tracks are members of the United Laborers' Union. They demanded of the contractor who hired them to work for the state an increase in wages. When the request was refused a strike followed. The Labor premier of South Australia sent police to protect the scabs who were employed to break the strike. The strikers were ordered away from the tram lines. All who insisted on remaining in the vicinity of their jobs were arrested and sentenced to jail terms of from one to four months.

It is worth nothing in this connection that Mr. Hughes, the present attorney-general of Australia, was indirectly, if not directly, responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of Peter Bowling.

The Labor party of Australia bears no resemblance to the Labor party of England. It is full of class conscious, determined workers. Its press fights consistently and intelligently for the working class. The party objective, which is Socialism, is never lost sight of. In fact, it may not take many years to turn this party into a real Socialist organization. But the men who now have their grip on the party machinery, the men who have been put into the highest offices of state,

are certainly a bad lot. They are working the working class in masterly style.

**SWITZERLAND.** Socialist Party Congress. The annual congress of the Socialist party of Switzerland met at Basel, November 26-27. The report of the executive committee showed that though there are enough Socialists in the country to send a fairly strong group of representatives to the national parliament, the party organization is comparatively weak. The trouble seems to be that there are a number of Socialist organizations working independently. This matter was brought up for discussion and action. As a result a committee was chosen to draw up a plan for complete reorganization of Socialist forces.

But the most important action taken had to do with the relations between the Socialist party and the labor unions. These relations are at present far from satisfactory. Comrade Grim, of Bern, introduced a long and complicated resolution dealing with the whole matter. In his address supporting his resolution he outlined the development of industry in Switzerland, showing how the capitalist class had gradually gained control of the machinery of government. His conclusions were that the political movement toward revolution would come to naught were it not supported by a strong revolutionary labor movement. The majority of the delegates were strongly of his opinion. A committee was appointed to take up this subject, also. This committee is to consult with representatives of the labor unions, devise a plan for co-operation between the industrial and political movements of the working class, and report its recommendations to the congress to be held next year.

**PORTUGAL.** Workers Demand More Than "Freedom." As the REVIEW goes to press the cable brings news of a great railway strike in Portugal. Practically all the railways of the new republic seem to be tied up. It is reported that representatives of the men have refused an offered raise of twenty-five per cent in wages. Thus far the strike has taken its course with remarkably good order. Evidently the strikers are not bent on embarrassing the government.

Socialists are naturally much interested in this latest development in the Portuguese situation. Apparently the meaning of it is that the workers of Portugal, some of them, at least, realize that they need a better life as well as more liberty. In a perfectly orderly and concerted manner they are, apparently, laying claim to some of the good which is to result from the revolution.

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# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

SOME close observers of economic developments are beginning to wonder whether another religious controversy is likely to be engendered in the trade union movement. We can all remember the A. P. A. fervor that was rampant fifteen or twenty years ago and the trouble it created in the political field especially. The organized labor movement, while not very conspicuous at that time, because it was the period of transition from the K. of L. to the A. F. of L., was nevertheless sorely handicapped in many parts of the country by the religious zealots whose fighting blood was warmed by the struggles between the advocates of Protestantism on the one side and Catholicism on the other.

There was much talk at the time on the one side that every Catholic church was really an arsenal, that carloads of rifles were secretly stored under the altars, and that the faithful were drilling nightly in the basements. Likewise, it was said in all seriousness that the Orangemen and A. P. A.'s were constantly busy in plotting to capture the country and send their opponents into kingdom come by wholesale. Workers by the tens of thousands in industrial institutions eyed each other suspiciously, as though they expected an immediate attack, and when it came to voting they were in each other's hair with a vengeance, with the result, of course, that the politicians, Protestant or Catholic, usually managed to bob out on top of the heap.

The Populist movement was pushing to the front, and the shrewd capitalists and their smooth politicians fully realized that if the common herd could be kept on battling over the question of the safest route to heaven, the aforesaid herd would remain in the old parties to reward their friends and punish their enemies, and thus the reforms for which the middle class were clamoring would be defeated or postponed and enable the captains of industry to carry out their centralization schemes, which have been duly inaugurated on schedule time.

That Mark Hanna, one of the most astute capitalistic politicians that ever lived, successfully used the religious organizations to smash Populism and tighten the stranglehold of big business on its middle capitalist competitors, the trustification and monopolization movement of the past fifteen years fully demonstrates.

Now a new chapter in economic and political history is being written, and Hanna clearly foresaw what was coming. In the only talk I ever had with Uncle Mark—in which he extended a cordial and insistent invitation that I join the Civic Federation to assist in getting something "right now" for labor—he proved to my own satisfaction that he understood a great deal of Socialist philosophy, the progress of the movement abroad and its possibilities here in America. But he thought the best thing to be done at that juncture, "as socialism was a long way off," was to get over the rough spots in the roadway by establishing harmony between capital and labor. "I could secure the nomination for President," said he, "but my ambition is not in that direction. All the efforts of my remaining years will be devoted to securing a better understanding between the men of capital and the men of labor."

By way of parenthesis, I have often wondered whether Sam Gompers copied the phrase, "men of labor," which he uses upon every possible occasion, from Uncle Mark or Hanna borrowed it from him. I am inclined to the view that the modern Warwick invented the term, as he was disposed to accept the Bryanesque confusion in this respect that a man's labor is his capital, and, therefore, the workingmen are in reality small "men of capital" (and the Lord knows that a lot of them feel that when they exploit themselves for the benefit of a boss their wages are capital). The plain old terms of capitalists and laborers ought to answer all purposes without any frills or furbelows.

But to get back to the text. There has been a rapidly growing campaign among

the religious folk during the past few years to get close to the labor movement. In the Protestant wing the Presbyterians took the lead, and at the Norfolk convention, four years ago, Rev. Charles Stelzle, who was formerly a machinist, came along as a fraternal delegate and made an eloquent appeal for co-operation between the church and organized labor. He reappeared at Denver, Toronto and St. Louis and repeated his message. At these conventions Rev. Stelzle made many friends, and he even succeeded in forming a "Temperance Fellowship," which included prominent officers of the Federation and international unions.

Suddenly, at the St. Louis convention, who should appear but a Catholic priest, Rev. Peter Dietz, a Jesuit of Oberlin, Ohio. Father Touehy, who is pushing along the co-operative movement among the organized farmers, was also there. Likewise Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis, delivered a sermon for the benefit of the delegates in his cathedral about "beer mug philosophy," which was wired through the country by the Associated Press as an attack on socialism. The Knights of Columbus held meetings to entertain delegates, and it was freely commented that there were more Celtic names on the list of delegates than ever was known before.

A bunch of Jews from the eastern section of the country sat up and took notice. Likewise there were many non-churchgoers who began to mutter. The unrepresented ones asked each other what it meant, and the Jewish brethren thought it would be a good idea to have a rabbi at the next convention to hold the stage for a spell and explain the Hebrew view of the labor situation. And it must be admitted that the rabbi could dig up a lot of ancient history.

Whether the agnostics and free thought societies will follow suit and join in introducing a grand field day on religious subjects at future A. F. of L. conventions remains to be seen. Certainly, if any one representative is entitled to air his views all others must be accorded the same privilege. The Federation can play no favorites in this respect.

But what is below the surface in this sudden display of friendship for labor on the part of certain sects that have discour-

aged and frowned upon the organization of the workers, not only in America, but in Europe and all other parts of the world? Why these hysterical admonitions and solemn warnings of certain pulpiteers against socialism and radicalism? "Divide and conquer!" has been the shibboleth of the tyrant and his servitors for centuries, and all signs indicate that the world-old scheme is to be given another trial. The famous prediction of Mark Hanna, that the next great political battle would be between Republicanism and socialism, and that in such a contest the Republican party would have the support of the church, is being fulfilled.

By appealing to religious prejudices the church bosses, who have the opportunities to conspire while those who feed them are at work, hope to discredit the radicals and create a division, caring little whether their meddling brings wreck and ruin and having only a single eye to compelling the servant to obey his master.

I don't believe that the scheme will prove successful. In nearly every great revolutionary movement in which the church sided with reaction, and in which the masses had fewer educational opportunities than they possess nowadays, the church has been worsted in the contest, with the result that its temporal power is gone forever, and the leaders in that institution, if they are not completely blinded by their stupidity and unable to judge the future by history, ought to know that their intrigues will recoil upon their own heads.

The religious bonds that bound the peoples of the past have been greatly loosened in recent years. The cry now is, "Why don't the workingmen go to church?" and the answer is plain enough. The present-day pulpiteers, with few honorable exceptions, do not and dare not promulgate the doctrines of the fathers of the church. Their material interests won't permit them. Their dependence upon the capitalistic profit-takers and contributors to build magnificent cathedrals and luxurious homes—when Christ was born in a barn and preached upon the highways—is too rich a prize to be surrendered for the martyrdom of espousing the cause of the poor and oppressed.

No; the smug clergy of today would rather sit in their mansions, supplied with

every modern convenience produced by labor, than to break bread with the spoiled and impoverished working class, whom they delight to lecture and point out the errors of their ways; they rather prefer to bask in the smiles of the usurious scoundrels who rob widows and orphans and pile up billions of wealth than to aid in the world-wide movement of the toiling masses to shake the parasitical capitalists from their backs and force them to perform honest labor for their own support.

Let these clerical bourbons, who never learn or forget anything, proceed with their program, but believe me they will be met at every turn of the road by an awakened working class which will not permit itself to be wooed by any siren song of rewards in a future paradise commensurate with the sufferings endured here below.

Capitalism and its concomitant evils must go, and the churchy gentlemen are getting on mighty dangerous ground when they attempt to interfere in the contest that is now in progress.



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**Private Property and the State.** by Frederick Engels, is one of the most important works in the literature of Socialism. It is full of scientific facts, new to most readers, which are of vital interest to wage-workers and especially to women. Cloth, 217 pages, fifty cents, postpaid, and if this offer is mentioned we will include a three months' subscription to the Review. Address Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago.

"MEXICO, or more properly DIAZ, challenged for barbarity, does not answer convincingly." These words are quoted not from any revolutionist, but from the editorial page of one of the greatest capitalist newspapers, the Chicago Tribune. The "challenge" to which the Tribune refers is

## BARBAROUS MEXICO

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

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# LITERATURE

**Anarchism and Other Essays.** By Emma Goldman. With biographic sketch by Hippolyte Havel. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East 13th street. Cloth, \$1.10.

The author defines Anarchism as follows: "The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary." Her opening essay is a "horrible example" of the metaphysical method of reasoning from unproved assumptions to fantastic conclusions. For example she assumes (page 60): "The A. B. C. student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand a hundredfold." This is a gross exaggeration, such as inexperienced socialist whatever good arguments they may have. The probable truth is that IF waste were eliminated and IF large-scale production (against which Miss Goldman declaims in the same essay) were extended over the whole field of industry, the possible product, apart from new technical improvements, would be five times what is needed. This is on the assumption that hours of labor are not shortened, but the common sense of the average wage-worker would call for their shortening at the earliest possible moment. What Miss Goldman advocates, however, is the abolition of centralized production and a return to the old wasteful methods, for the sake of developing the "free initiative" of the workers.

All through the essay there is an assumption that the tyranny of church and state are at least as fundamental causes of misery as private ownership of the means of production. For her, Marx and Engels have written in vain; her philosophy of life has more in common with that of the theologian, whom she detests, than with that of the Socialists, whom she criticises because they are trying in the most "direct" way to take the guns and clubs away from the capitalists.

The "other essays" are much better than the first, and contain much that is

worth reading. The author's philosophy of life is that of the peasant-proprietors of the eighteenth century, but her sympathies are broad enough to take in the revolutionary wage-workers of all the world. She has made and is making a heroic fight for free speech, and while she says a great many things with which we cannot agree, we cannot but admire the courageous way in which she says them.

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**Whirligigs.** By O. Henry; published by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, L. I., N. Y. Price, \$1.20.

More American than Poe, more American even than Harte, O. Henry swiftly made his way upward in the hearts of a constantly growing audience till he became the most widely read short story writer of his time. This last collection of his stories, the title of which he selected shortly before his death, is not confined to New York but is perhaps more representative of his varied genius than any former volume. Some people say that O. Henry lacked seriousness. But after all is not the humorist he who, possessing the very finest sense of proportion, refuses to make a tragedy of life, knowing that wailings and lamentations add to the sum total of human woe?

O. Henry lived as he wrote, with a smile on his lips when his heart was most tender and sore. It has always been the custom for little souls to regard the humorist with contempt. It is only the little people who live continual tragedies. O. Henry was a man with feelings so fine that he rarely discussed them seriously with any one. The best he gave to his wonderful reading public was always clothed in his tender humor. His utter seriousness and sensitiveness forbade the naked truth. In many ways O. Henry was a great man, and no great man was ever a tragedian to burden the world with his wails. A tragedian always suffers from a highly exaggerated ego and heralds his miseries to the four heavens. Because he towered above most men, O. Henry knew that all men are only men after all and made his own life possible

and other lives happier by dealing in comedy and humor.

One would search for a very long time before finding anywhere a story as full of quiet earnestness, of tender pathos, of noble underlying purpose as "Blind Man's Holiday" in this volume of "Whirligigs."

The well known inimitable style, the cutting wit, the whimsicality, the wonderful control of the element of surprise, the keen characterization and, above all, the infinite love for and understanding of humanity in all its complex moods and phases, all are here in this new volume—the things that will make O. Henry read in company with De Maupassant and Kipling long after other names have been forgotten.

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**Import and Outlook of Socialism.** By Newton Mann. Boston: James H. West Company. Cloth, \$1.62.

A scholarly work, faultless in literary style, by a Unitarian clergyman who believes in human brotherhood and gradual reforms that will establish "Social Justice," which, the author says, is the "supreme watchword" of Socialism. He looks at the revolutionary movement of the working class from the outside; he reproves the wage-workers who wish to keep socialism distinctively a class movement, and evidently thinks the Socialist party would be greatly improved if it had a larger proportion of professional men and property owners in it. We are very glad to see that the union label has been omitted from the book, and that it has been published at a price the average wage-worker will not pay. For any wage-worker getting his first impression of socialism from this book would probably conclude that it was a movement of "high-brows" and that he did not "belong." On the other hand, it will doubtless be read eagerly by clergymen of the more liberal sort, and by club women with essays to write. In such circles the book can do no harm, and it may even allure an occasional student into reading more and learning more.

**Songs of the Army of the Night, and The Mass of Christ.** By Francis Adams. New and revised edition. New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 2 East 29th street. Cloth, \$1.00.

This is a reprint of a book of verse by an Australian poet, notable because unlike most writers of verse the author is himself a part of the great revolutionary movement of the working class and voices its hopes and fears, its loves and hates. If all the poems were as good as a few of them are, it would be a great book. Even as it is, we regret that the price of the little book is too high for it to have a wide circulation among wage-workers. Here are a few stanzas from a poem entitled "In the Sea-Gardens":

Yonder the band is playing  
And the fine young people walk.  
They are envying each other and talking  
Their pretty empty talk.

There in the shade on the outskirts  
Stretched on the grass I see  
A man with a slouch hat smoking,  
That is the man for me!

That is the man of the nation;  
He works and much endures.  
When all the rest is rotten,  
He rises and cuts and cures.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



HEADQUARTERS—KANSAS CITY, MO.

The Socialist Club of Kansas City, Mo., has a right to be proud of its open headquarters at 1400 Grand ave. For years the comrades met once a week in small halls in different parts of the city. But now they have a home of their own where visiting comrades will always find a warm welcome.

We miss the faces of many of the older comrades who in the early days fought the battles of the young organization when it meant something more than paying dues once a month to be known as a Socialist. However, we recognize Comrade Atkins, sitting at the right of the table, as one of the old guard. He writes, "We now carry about \$250.00 worth of books at wholesale, mostly your publication." And after all is said and done, the most valuable work a Socialist organization can accomplish is the circulation of sound, scientific Socialist literature.

**From Florence, Italy.**—Let me congratulate you on the success of the REVIEW, or rather upon the vitality and the true devotion to the working class that have brought about that success.

Haywood has been with me on a visit of a few days this week and will carry to you my greetings. My health is abominable, but my hope for humanity is great. I mean by this

my hope that the workers of the world, the ones who really make the world, will take the world into their own hands, and have no farther use for parasites like myself.—GEORGE D. HERRON.

**Tom Lewis in Jail.** Just as the REVIEW goes to press, word comes over the wire that Tom Lewis has been arrested and thrown into jail. We have to confess that we almost expected this. Almost every week we get stirring letters from Tom or some other comrade, telling us of the splendid work the comrades have been doing in Portland. Lately they have started a campaign for an 8 hour work day. Some members of the I. W. W., many Socialists and members of the A. F. of L. decided it was time to demand an eight hour day. Night after night the crowds of workmen and women have increased at Socialist headquarters until the Portland friends have been compelled to engage Moose Hall, which seats 1,000 people. Before long the crowds that packed their way in numbered 1,200 or 1,300. The working class in Portland is back of Tom Lewis and the local comrades. There is not one of them who has not listened to the Whirlwind Soap-boxer of the Pacific, or some other soap-boxer who knew how to hand out the straight goods. On December 15th, Com-

rade Lewis wrote to us "the workers are commencing to realize that we are peddling the right goods. We are doing fine work in spite of the slump being felt here more every day. We took in 39 new members last Tuesday. There are a lot of people here out of work. Often as many as 40 sleep in our headquarters every night, out of reach of the Bulls. We will soon be starting open air meetings—and then we will want to take 1,000 REVIEWS a month." Under date of Jan. 4th he wrote, "It looks as though there would be a free speech fight on here." We guess the straight talk Tom and the Portland comrades were giving the working class got under the collars of the employers and we have no doubt that they are behind the move for the suppression of free speech in Portland. Hope to have more news on this fight for the March REVIEW.

**The Revolution in Mexico.** An American in Mexico who for obvious reasons can not publish his name writes us as follows:

"Received your note asking for information about the fighting, and really, beyond a few bits of local color, cannot tell anything much about it. We are not in a country of free press. "El Norte" licks the revolution-adios with tremendous slaughter every day. The betting in Chihuahua favors the capture of the city within a week in which case there will be hell to pay and lots of fun for us and not quite so much for some others. We know so much. The hospital and barracks in town are insufficient to care for the wounded, the last outfit being placed in the brewery. The *insurrectos* have massacred two trainloads of troops, and another outfit which left Montezuma has never been heard from. The cemetery is lined with trenches, not graves. Madera is shut off the line, they have blown up bridges and track and cut the telegraph wires that way. Navarro is surrounded by *insurrectos* who are concentrating their forces. The only thing of which we are certain is that there is one hell of a fight going on near Mal Paso and Pedernales. The *insurrectos* cornered Navarro in a mountain pass, and shot his outfit nearly to pieces, wiping out two regiments. Then reinforcements for the federals arrived from Sonora and occupied the passes with the rebels between two fires. The *insurrectos* promptly performed that trick known as adding 18 and 5, and when the government troops advanced to attack they found nothing. The rebels fortified another position nearby and mined the place with concealed wires. Then a feint brought on an attack in which they allowed themselves to be dislodged and promptly touched off their mines, eliminating 6,000 government soldiers from further consideration. That is our last news. The federals are mostly convicts and have no love for their cause, many are fighting in government uniforms on the insurrection side. The federals must stay massed for fear of mutiny and desertion, and when they separate, the train scrap shows what happens. A train load of 4,000 troops left Chihuahua two weeks ago. (Engineer and fireman got \$1,000 each for the

trip but both were shot. Also soldiers were beaten on to the train with sword backs and cowed by officers' revolvers.) They had a machine gun mounted on a flat car ahead of the engine. The *revoltosos* used brains and stopped them in a cut where they could not use the guns and shot all but four.

"General Navarro sent two hundred cavalry to help. The cavalry never got there—caught in a canon and exterminated. Then while the *insurrectos* felt like it, they turned on Navarro and killed a great number of his men. They are expert marksmen and pick off the officers, Navarro and his officers going in uniform of private soldiers. After all this roughhouse the rebels courteously permitted the captured train to come back to Chihuahua with the wounded.

At present nobody knows what is going on. There were a couple of fights in Chihuahua and nobody can find out what about or whether between *rurales* and *insurrectos* or simply rioting. The whole outfit of peons, etc., by far the majority, are *Maderistas* at heart, and there are spies of both sides everywhere.

"We *Gringos* simply stay out of what is none of our affair. We hope it is settled soon because it is hurting business. Otherwise we watch this scrap with rather warm interest. discount rumors 90 per cent until proven, and keep our opinion as to the right or wrong to ourselves. One thing is sure—if the *insurrectos* take this state they will have to fight all Mexico, in which game they stand as much chance as a snowball in hell. There are gallant fighters on both sides and it is pitiable, as in our own civil war, for men of one blood to fly at each others' throats and waste lives that the Republic could use. Both sides are right as they see it and the war is simply fratricidal. These people are all right and much misjudged in the States. They are pitifully poor, but kind-hearted and well-intentioned."

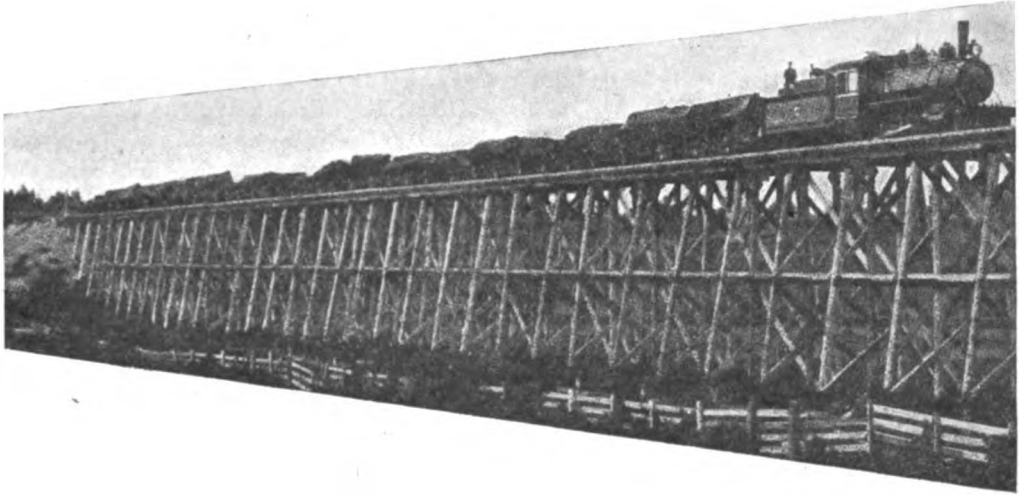
**In the California Redwood District.**—Here in Humboldt County, California, we are in the heart of the redwood district. Eureka is the county seat of Humboldt, and at its feet are the waters of the Pacific.

The Socialist Party here elected a police judge, but we have no chance in Korb, Samoa or Scotia. In Scotia there are 2,000 on the pay roll and only 100 votes.

Three corporations pretty nearly own the county. Each one literally carries Korb, Samoa or Scotia in its respective pocket. The Pacific Lumber Co. owns large sawmills in Scotia, many logging camps; they own the streets, the company store, barber shop, bank, reading room, three hotels, two churches and two company preachers, who probably think the Company is their God.

Humboldt County is a good apple country, and the company boarding houses serve apple sauce morning, noon and night. Everything is saturated with the Company.





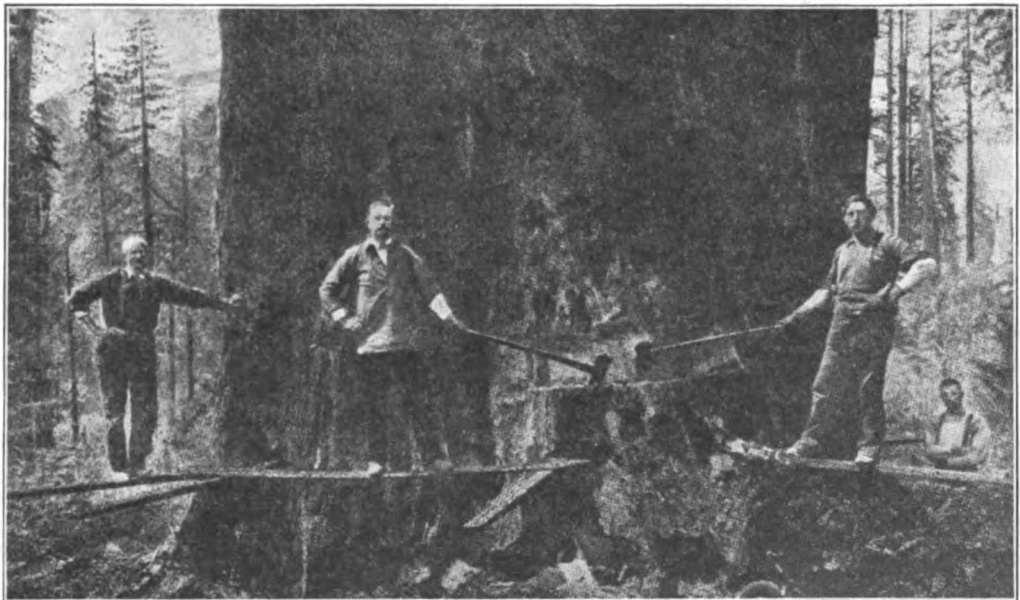
A LONG TRAIN.

Just now there are five hundred empty houses in Eureka and the Company is flooding the country with American hobos and "foreign" workingmen. The old residents are leaving. A new railroad is to be built and thousands of tramping workingmen will be shipped in here.

But there is Hope, for the I. W. W. is here doing things. Branching out from Spo-

kane and Duluth, it is spreading all over this country and growing like mushrooms.

The boys like the International Socialist Review. They are a fine bunch of revolutionists. At our last meeting we decided to order 20 copies each month and to take up Mrs. Marcy's Study Course. All Hail to the Review!—From John P., Eureka, Cal.



CUTTERS AT WORK.

# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

**What We Did in 1910.**—Our book sales and receipts from the REVIEW during 1910 amounted to \$48,249.42 during 1910 as compared with \$32,908.74 during 1909, a gain of nearly fifty per cent. And this ratio does not fully represent the increase in the quantity of Socialist literature circulated, since most of it has been put out at lower prices than previously, so that the quantity of our output has at least doubled within a year. Our sales as a whole have been made at prices that barely covered the cost of printing and the necessary running expenses, including wages, postage, advertising, rent, interest, insurance and taxes. The slight excess of receipts over expenditures has been charged up to depreciation. We have, however, during 1910, increased our capital stock from \$31,290 to \$35,750, and have reduced our indebtedness by a corresponding amount. Our total debt is now less than the average receipts for two months, and if we were making profits it would be a simple thing to wipe it out from our ordinary receipts during 1911. But as we believe we can accomplish more for the working class movement by selling literature at cost, and as even a small debt is a hindrance and a danger, we want to raise the amount from the sale of stock this year.

**Socialist Partners Wanted.**—The publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is now owned by 2,200 Socialist Party Locals and party members, most of whom hold just one share each. About 1,400 shares of \$10.00 each are still unsold. The sale of these would clear off every dollar of debt and would give us enough working capital to double our output of literature again during 1911.

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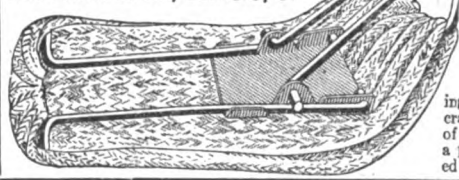
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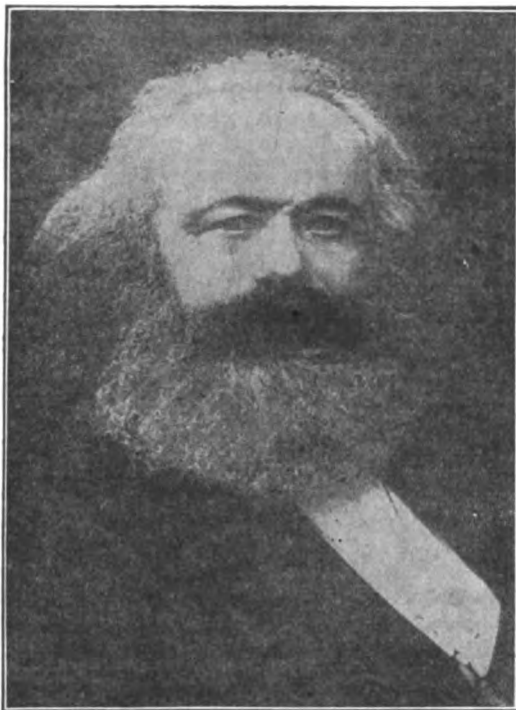
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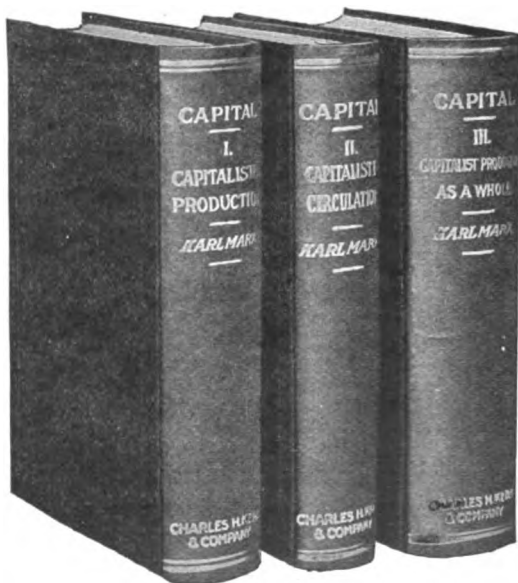
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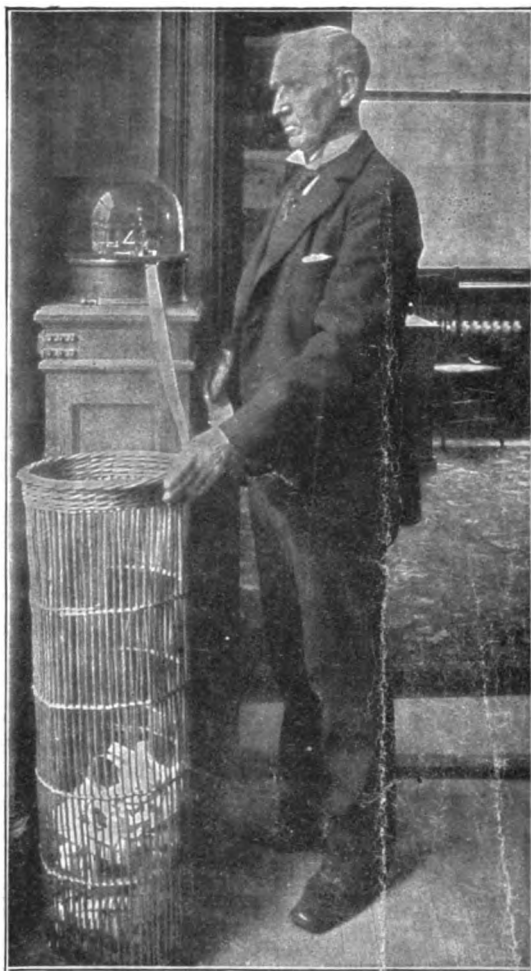
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