





TWO FRIENDS OF LABOR

A "FRIEND OF LABOR" THE FRIEND OF LABOR

He Says So Himself.

Just Finding It Out for Himself.



The Reverend Henry Ward Hoover. THE SETTLEMENT SPIRIT AND IDEA.

At the approach of a great crisis in the history of our country more than fifty years ago, James Russell Lowell expressed the best moral sentiment of the American people when he wrote: "He is true to God whose true to man wherever wrong is done."

To the humblest and the weakest teach the alms-giving man. That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves, most basic. Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all their race.

The same moral sentiment was expressed by President Roosevelt when he defined Americanism as a matter of the spirit within a man's soul, and when he says that "true Americanism shows by their actions that they know no difference between Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, native born and foreign born, provided only the man, whatever his color, who ever his birthplace, strives to live so as to do his full duty by his neighbor."

When to these sentiments you add the command for husbands to be given by Him who spoke as never man spoke, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself," you have the true spirit for which the intelligent settlement worker stands.

any social system that sets him aside, or abridges his opportunity for active employment, at the same time demanding the labor of his wife and of his children to support the family, must be considered morally indefensible and economically wasteful. The man's hours of labor should not be such as to exhaust his vitality and make him prey of disease, but should leave him a surplus of strength for the pursuit of rational enjoyment and for self-education. For the labor, there should be sufficient return, for him to maintain self-respecting American family. The wife should be a companion for her husband, the mother of his children and the keeper of his home. She, too, should have relief from excessive work and should find opportunity for enjoyment and self-education. The interests of the children will be advanced by prolonging the years of their childhood and enlarging the opportunities for their education. For women and children to enter the ranks of wage-earners, competing with men for employment, unless they are driven by absolute need, is wasteful of life's opportunities and destructive of the family's highest interests. If women must work, then they should be paid the same wages as men.

In relation to the government, the settlement worker believes that the government of these United States is the most humane expression of the laws of human welfare that has ever yet seen, and that the moral sentiment which lies as the foundation of all laws, is true and sound in the hearts of the American citizens. While it may be possible that, in the years yet to come, in our government have been able for a time to violate the precepts of the law and to contravene its spirit, yet it is only for a season, for the court of moral judgment in the American people is always in session, and this republic shall never cease to possess the power to carry out its sentence of condemnation upon offenders of whatever rank or position.

Upon its practice, the settlement worker believes that time, place and opportunity should be provided for all laws, in true and sound in the hearts of the American citizens. While it may be possible that, in the years yet to come, in our government have been able for a time to violate the precepts of the law and to contravene its spirit, yet it is only for a season, for the court of moral judgment in the American people is always in session, and this republic shall never cease to possess the power to carry out its sentence of condemnation upon offenders of whatever rank or position.

Henry Ward Hoover, Secretary, Toledo Settlement Association.

THIS DRAWING

and some others published in "The Socialist" are made by Acme students. G. H. Lockwood, the well known Socialist speaker and cartoonist, is the author and has prepared a series of three courses in Cartooning, Cartoon and Comic Drawing, Newspaper, Magazine and Book Illustrating, and Commercial Design and Lettering.



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The One and Only Friend of Labor—Himself. Getting Ready to Tackle Things.

THE WORKING MAN REPLIES TO THE PREACHER.

The Reverend Mr. Hoover is conducting meetings in Toledo advertised as "In the Interests of Labor." He claims to be a "Social Settlement" worker and visits the Labor Union meeting the members to attend his meetings. He represents himself as a "Friend of Labor."

The Socialist therefore issued him to state its columns the principles he stands for as a "Friend of Labor." Whatever is to the interest of labor interests the Socialist. Wherever the working class can be helped there you will find this paper. If the Reverend Mr. Hoover has anything to offer to assist labor, we shall welcome it. He has stated his own case in the adjoining column.

Believing that the working man is his own best and only friend, we shall proceed to show what a real enemy of labor this Reverend Gentleman is and what a rope of sand he and his kind offer to save us with.

The Same Old Story. Read over what he says. Can you find anything at all in it, fellow workmen? Anything for you to profit by? Let us see. The Reverend Gentleman makes four points, boiled down. First, Be good. Second, Any system that destroys the family is bad. Third, The U. S. government is all right. Fourth, Be good.

Socialism and the Family. The second point of the family is as unsubstantial as Noah's ark. He should read Engels' "Origin of the Family" before he writes again.

But Socialists applied the sentiment that this capitalist system which makes the family impossible, is only fit to pass away. Socialists are ignorant of the fact that the only way to destroy the home is to destroy the family.

In the city of Toledo just now the public and the police are attacked with one of those periodic spasms of virtue so familiar to every city dweller. The streets are swept clean of bad women. The "wine rooms" are ordered closed, for fear, as the Chief of Detectives says, "that in a few years the women in Toledo who would be fit for an honest man to make his wife, would be so few and far between that it would hardly be safe for the honest man to marry." As if, Mr. Chief Detective, your "Honest Men" were not already few and far between.

Honest men and women, that is, virtuous men and women, are becoming scarcer—why? Because Capital has made the reward of labor so inadequate and uncertain that a decent home and a natural family can not be maintained. Where the home is still maintained, children are usually absent and the wife often becomes a disoriented drudge. The kept women, the street walker, the parlor house, the seduction of the "wine room" the prevalent promiscuity which all physicians know, are the natural and inevitable result of the rule of capital which wrings from labor all but the barest living.

We assure the Reverend Gentleman that so long as wage labor and capital continue, home and the family will become more and more an Impossible Dream. SOCIALISM WILL RE-ESTABLISH THE FAMILY AND THE HOME.

How About the Government? The Reverend Gentleman believes our government and our laws are the best the world has ever seen.

One question is the United States government for the workers or for those who own the "society's" in Colorado in the "New States"? Has Russia ever done anything approaching the indignities heaped upon the workmen of Colorado in the last two years? Did Mr. Roosevelt interfere with the military rule of Gen. Peabody in Colorado? Had the mine owners in Colorado been banished, "expelled," and their property confiscated? Our interests are identical. We are all brothers.

That is what governments are for in the U. S. and Russia, to protect the rights of capital against the rights of labor. Labor naturally does not think with the Reverends, that these governments are the best possible!

"Be Good and You'll be Rewarded in Heaven!" That is the eternal slogan of capital, labor, "Be Good!" "Serve us, obey your masters!"

What else could capital ask than this Reverend Gentleman's advice to the workers. Be Good! Submit! Kiss the hand that smites you! Turn the other cheek! Vote our ticket! Don't organize a political party of the workers! Our interests are identical! We are all brothers! Let us love one another! Let us not criticize one another! Let us be cheerful and contented with our lot! Let us thank the Lord it is as well with us as it is with my pray! Let us pray! Amen!

That is Mr. Rockefeller's advice to the workmen! He is a devout Baptist. He has given millions to the churches. Why not? Do not the preachers for ever tell us to be good and submissive to the Rockefeller, big and little!

Mr. Rockefeller would still afford to support Social Settlement preachers to organize capitalist "Friends of Labor" and to fool such workers as do not know any better into believing their interests are identical with their masters' interests.

The worst enemy of the workingman today is the man who urges you to "Be Good" for it really means, Be Bad. Be your own worst enemy. Love your capitalist exploiter. Destroy your own home and deprive your own children of their chance in life—out of love for the capitalist class!

John Martin, before a desk near the desk before him. Any amount Jim Preston named, he would gladly fill in. Preston say the movement was a hard one. He would not be pushed. "No," he said, "I don't think it is." "It was Martin who pushed you, wasn't it?" "I was Martin who pushed you, wasn't it?" "I was Martin who pushed you, wasn't it?" "I was Martin who pushed you, wasn't it?"

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THE FOSSIL

A STORY OF THE TIMES

By Richard Barker Shelton.

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his true condition, and called a "fossil" by the boys! Martin felt a lump rise in his throat, and would not have been so watched to die slowly toward the ceiling. "Everybody's Magazine."

To kill one a murder, but to kill thousands, that's a crime. You call it anyway? "Carriage seats do die rich. Perhaps the least of them would not be so long as they live. No blow holes in Andy."

You may stand for "mandatory" declaration alone, but unless you support your press you can get nothing out of the working class, may they ever be right—and they generally are. It is hard to see our begging committees kicking around the state capital, who they want to throw away their vote?"

Roosevelt used the big stick on the president of the latter carriers, and reappointed the grater, Morton, to his old cabinet position. "Delightful."

You may have observed that the striking engineers recently defeated the "big stick" of the state capital, who they want to throw away their vote?"

It is at hard to see our begging committees kicking around the state capital, who they want to throw away their vote?"

"A campaign of education" that consists in a liberal distribution of bores and scraps of news, and a reeducation, but we have the assurance of democrats and capitalists to maintain brotherly affection."

Capital and labor may be brothers but that ugly looking misanthrope calculated to maintain brotherly affection."

When the "billionaire" proletarian rises and shakes his chains, he will find that the only way to get out of this is to have a good thing, and the second is not it is still a "good thing," but not for you.

A CARD. Toledo, Ohio, March 27, 1905. Editor of The Socialist. In answer to your request to write a brief article stating the point of view of the work of the Socialist Party, I desire to state to you this brief statement upon the subject. The Settlement Spirit is a general consideration of the subject. This contribution represents my own view of the subject and indicates the general plan which I have followed during the past four years. Respectfully and sincerely yours, HENRY WARD HOOVER.

AS IT WAS IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS.

An old French writer gives us a picture of a workman's cottage in the days of his home workshop. After telling of the good brown bread, the milk and the honey, the wine, and the open fire on the hearth, he says the home "flock, clothed with its wool, now the women and now the children; my aunt spun it, and spun also the hemp which made our under-dress; the children of our neighbors came to beat it with us in the evening by lamplight. (Our own walnut trees giving us the milk and, by the beside, while we heard the pot boiling with sweet chestnuts in it, our grandmothers would cast a glance and the axes and the iron of the workshop of the eighteenth century, and these children, working with the wool, were the child laborers. Compare with this picture the prison-like factory of today, with great chimneys, and huge volumes of smoke blackening the sky, the walls trembling with the ceaseless, regular throbs of great and intricate machines, the mere of shafting, pulleys, cogs, the hummed artificial air, the odor of oil and perspiration, the yelling of one wheel to another, the deafening din, the steam making its way through the air, the strain and look of the working children, rushing from one machine to another, from lever to roll, back and forth, hour after hour for ten or twelve hours, day after day, from year's end to year's end. To this and to a thousand other like factories gather in from the fields and streets, tens of thousands of children, strong and happy, or weak, underfed, and miserable. Step from their play one day, and put them out to labor for a month or two, and you will have a present-day picture of child labor. One thing is essential to a realization of the evil, the child must do something which is neither of educational value nor fitted to develop him, but on the contrary, much more likely to dwarf and brutalize him. A vagrant whom I once knew had for five years—from the day he was eleven until the day he was sixteen—made two movements of his hands each second, or 2,000,000 mechanical movements each year, and was at the time I knew him, the owner of five broken-down, decrepit, and almost blind horses, but he still remembered this period of slavery sufficiently well to tell me that he had "paid up" for all the sins he had ever committed "by those five years of hell." But there is yet one thing which must be added to the picture. Give the child a tenement for a home in the filthy and moldy streets of an ordinary factory town with open spaces covered with tin cans, bottles, old shoes, garbage, and other waste, the gutters running sewers, and the air foul with the odor of the factory smoke, and the practical details. This is the dark picture, but hardly so dark as the reality, and if one were to describe "back of the yards" in Chicago, or certain mill towns or mining districts, the picture would be even darker than the one given.

Price List of Socialist Party Supplies Furnished by the National Committee.

Postage or Express Prepaid. Cash Must Accompany All Orders.

Table with columns for item names and prices. Items include: FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS (Applications for Local or Branch Charter, etc.), FOR LOCALS OR BRANCHES (Application for Membership Cards, etc.), FOR PROPAGANDA AND PARTY MEMBERS (Socialist Methods, National Platform, etc.).

Every party member, new or old, should have a set of these leaflets. Every applicant should read "Socialist Methods," and the National Platform and Constitution before joining the Party. Organization means something more than names on a paper. If you want a genuinely democratic movement, you must be interested in the practical details. This will be necessary under Socialism. Begin now. Individuals, Locals and Branches will do well to order in stock and distribute liberally. Remit by check or express money order, payable and addressed to: J. NARLON BARNES, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.



A PERSONAL LETTER FROM HERMON F. TITUS.

Address to Comrades in the State of Washington and Elsewhere—A Funny Story Which Is True.

Toledo, Ohio, May 4th, 1905. To the members of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington...

Yet this very strictness of By-Laws and this conscientious observance of their spirit, after an unwitting and unavoidable violation of a part of their letter, was made the basis of about half the "charges" presented against me and Pike St. Branch.

They could not be had. No one knew where they were, though at least 150 surplus ballots had been printed and were afterwards found, when the voting was all over.

I lived in Seattle for 13 years and was identified with the Socialist Party for the last five years. Since August, 1900, I was the editor of "The Socialist"...

That "FRAUDULENT BALLOT." The words "Fraudulent Ballot" sound fine. But ask a regular ballot for yourselves how absolutely without foundation they are in this instance.

Under these circumstances what was a comrade who wanted to change his vote to do? The only way was to write out his statement and send it in. This is considered a trouble and in order to make it easier and to get all the votes possible against the proposed new By-Laws...

I have no hesitation in saying that the object of these "charges" was to prevent the comrades in Pike St. Branch from going in advance "Charges" would sound big, even if they amounted to nothing in themselves.

THE EXACT CIRCUMSTANCES. A Referendum was being voted on by Local Seattle to introduce new By-Laws. The chief object aimed at was to do away with the Branch system of organization in Seattle, and go back to one central body.

And that is all. That is all anybody claims I did. I plead guilty. I should do it again under the same circumstances. I believe it to have been, not only no offense, but my duty under the circumstances, to provide comrades deprived of regular ballots by somebody's intention or blunder, with an opportunity to express their will on a Referendum vote.

"The Socialist" has always exposed schemers and fought every middle class tendency in the Party.

NO DECEPTION PRACTICED. Before closing, I wish to point out some considerations on the taking of Referendums, which constitute so large a part of Socialist procedure.

First. A motion must come from the audience, not from the chairman. In a Referendum, a committee or a secretary occupies the position of chairman only.

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Second. The chairman should be impartial, seeking only to give the audience an opportunity to express its will. That is the sole duty of all votes, to find out the deliberate will of the assembly.

Third. The motion should be clearly stated, so that every voter can understand what he is to vote on. So a Referendum should be stated in such unmistakable language that no voter can misunderstand it.

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Fourth. Full discussion should be allowed to both sides. In a Referendum this can only be accomplished by slow process, as in the party press or by circulars.

Fifth. Every one entitled to vote should have his chance to vote and no technicality should deprive him. If he is dumb, he can express his will by lifting his hand.

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Sixth. The vote should be counted as cast. To insure this, the same conditions should prevail, as far as practicable, as in the count of a public assembly.

Seventh. Just as the tellers to count the votes in an assembly, a chairman names one from both sides, so in a Referendum count, representatives of both sides should take part in the counting.

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Don't Fail to Vote Before January 14, HERMAN, J. A. MCKORLE, HERMON F. TITUS, Committee of Pike Street Branch.

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pared that a voter could most easily misunderstand. The little form which I sent out to be used in place of the missing regular ballots had nothing misleading about it. It stated exactly what it was for.

Three things were stated: First. It was a vote on a Referendum of Local Seattle. Second. It was a vote on the proposed new By-Laws abolishing Branches. Third. It was used because the voter could not get a regular ballot.

Is there anything "Fraudulent" about that? Was it not all open and above board and aimed to allow the voter to express his will on the pending Referendum?

I submit I am astonished that my enemies have shown so little sense as to follow the issue that I raised, and to say the worst they can find against me. They must have counted on the comrades at large having no sense at all.

Or it is possible that they count on your not voting because they do not think you understand the case well enough to vote. They will hustle together all the votes of Central Branch in Seattle. My personal enemies will have some other place to state. They can be counting on your indifference and failure to vote, possibly your disgust at having what appears a State quarter there upon you for decision.

I hope that you will disappoint them and vote. You will have sent you a copy of the original ballot, my slip of a ballot, the "charges" and the copy of the City Central Committee's exonerating what I did. This is quite a mass of stuff to go through. But this letter may help you to see what it all means and enable you to vote intelligently.

For the sake of the comrades in other states, I am publishing the original named, except the original ballot which I have no copy of, and which is not important anyhow.

REFERENDUMS IN GENERAL. Before closing, I wish to point out some considerations on the taking of Referendums, which constitute so large a part of Socialist procedure.

First. A motion must come from the audience, not from the chairman. In a Referendum, a committee or a secretary occupies the position of chairman only.

Second. The chairman should be impartial, seeking only to give the audience an opportunity to express its will. That is the sole duty of all votes, to find out the deliberate will of the assembly.

Third. The motion should be clearly stated, so that every voter can understand what he is to vote on. So a Referendum should be stated in such unmistakable language that no voter can misunderstand it.

Fourth. Full discussion should be allowed to both sides. In a Referendum this can only be accomplished by slow process, as in the party press or by circulars.

Fifth. Every one entitled to vote should have his chance to vote and no technicality should deprive him. If he is dumb, he can express his will by lifting his hand.

Sixth. The vote should be counted as cast. To insure this, the same conditions should prevail, as far as practicable, as in the count of a public assembly.

Seventh. Just as the tellers to count the votes in an assembly, a chairman names one from both sides, so in a Referendum count, representatives of both sides should take part in the counting.

Democracy has a safeguard in the Referendum only provided it is conducted in a fair manner. Otherwise, it is a farce and may become an instrument to defeat Democracy.

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or about January 10th, had a referendum ballot printed and circulated in direct violation of Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the Constitution of the City Central Committee which reads: Sec. 1. "The affairs of the Local shall be managed by the City Central Committee."

Whereas Comrade Titus did not print on said ballot, "Referendum Local Seattle Socialist Party," thereby violating the authority of the City Central Committee by the membership of the party and in direct violation of the Constitution of the City Central Committee, and whereas the statements contained in said Referendum were one-sided and misleading, directed to lead to the confusion of the expression of the voters among the organization, and to the control of a strike and breaking it.

Whereas, two weeks prior to the final count of Referendum submitted by the City Central Committee, returnable Jan. 15th, 1905, a part of the votes on the above referendum was broken off from the ballot and taken to other places in the state. They may be counting on your indifference and failure to vote, possibly your disgust at having what appears a State quarter there upon you for decision.

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which reads as follows: "Referendum ballots shall be taken through Branch Secretaries and the ballots signed and sealed by the City Central Committee with returns." Fifth. In regard to last charge of alleged violation of Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the Constitution of the City Central Committee, we find that there is nothing in the National, State, Local or Branch constitutions which prohibit the printing and withdrawing signed ballots before they are counted. The instructions of the state ballots simply prohibit the counting of the ballots after they have been returned to the City Central Committee, Feb. 8, 1905.

Secretary C. P. PRENTICE, Seattle, Wash., March 12, 1905.

CAREER OF FARLEY, PROFESSIONAL STRIKE BREAKER. His experience on these two strikes set him to thinking. Detective and employment agencies then furnished workmen, each agency (half a dozen) sending out a man to take care of controlling its own men, the company exercising general management of the situation. With all these heads the result was chaos.

Mr. Farley saw his grand chance. An expert strike-breaker, he had an experience of more than an army of experienced workmen whom he could throw into the positions vacated by the strikers—such a general could do anything he wanted to do. He saw his career. He decided to specialize on street-car strikes, and he determined to establish his new business from the bottom up. He got a detective work for four dollars a day and became a conductor on the Atlantic Avenue line in Brooklyn at a dollar and sixty cents a day.

He established a detective agency from the bottom up. He got a detective work for four dollars a day and became a conductor on the Atlantic Avenue line in Brooklyn at a dollar and sixty cents a day. That was his first business. He got a detective work for four dollars a day and became a conductor on the Atlantic Avenue line in Brooklyn at a dollar and sixty cents a day.

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some \$3, and some \$3.50, and some of his best men were standing for the strikers. He has thirty or forty steady employed—large annual salaries. The difference between five dollars a day per man and what he pays his men represents the profit. Mr. Farley's daily profit on New York strike, three quarters of them at \$2.50 a day. His income for handling that brief strike was equal to the annual salary of President Roosevelt. Besides his earnings from the active management of strikes, he receives annual fees from several companies as retainers to manage their strikes in case they have any. He has no idea of the money he has managed the employers have been in the right. "I've turned down more than one case offered me because I thought the men's demands were just."

He has no special like for employers. The disagreements between the two give him his business opportunity. Strike-breaking is purely business.

It was a desire for an intimate view of the rank and file of the strike-breakers, and the circumstances under which they worked, that led me on the New York strike. I went to join the line that stood waiting before the building where Farley's men were being enlisted. There were perhaps a hundred of us in line. I passed it several times on later days—it was new men and new standing for the strikers in the dingy little street, a group of us were admitted into the hiring headquarters—a large warehouse. One by one we were taken into a little room for examination—and presently my turn came. "You are a street-car man?" demanded the examiner.

"Yes." "Where?" "I had had no idea of the character of the examination, but the answer came of its own accord: "Chicago." "On what line?" "Lincoln avenue." "Motorman or conductor?" "Conductor" was a safer reply, so I gave it.

"How long?" "Six months." "This ain't no afternoon tea. You know what you're gettin' in for?" I knew, but I gave me a push that sent me among the accepted men. "All right. I'll pay you \$2.50 a day."

That was the examination. I was approved as one to be trusted with the responsibility of standing for the strikers. The cars must be needed badly; the cars must be kept running. As for the "going" is the rule of rules in breaking a street-car strike.

We were strange bed-fellows—made bed-fellows, as I afterward learned, chiefly by the misery of unemployment. There was a sprinkling of the upper grade of hobos; a large number of "old-timers"—devil-may-care young fellows, whose ideal of life seemed to be a week of the Bowers; a considerable proportion of workmen with the strained look of the man long out of a job; a few fellows who appeared to be that their last employment had been as clerks or bookkeepers. For two or three hours we begged pipes of tobacco and cigarettes from each other, recollecting the days, saying what we'd do to the striker the next day (if he had a soul), told of dark nights when we had started in Saturday night with a week's pay and finished Sunday morning begging for coffee, and stood on the street for hours, our heads shrinking, clean-shirted aloofness. Presently formed in double line, marched to the nearest elevated station, guards at our side, and an hour later were picking up the coffee and the drizzling darkness across the elevated tracks, the man behind me, "fetch me some tools." But before the "tools" arrived the platters were moving along the lines. Reversion to the original state of affairs, and every primary fingers reached out for a little of the corned beef. I helped myself with my pocket-knife, which I shared with my two neighbors. Presently a case knife was allotted me with which I cut down the first of the common plate, transferred meat, cabbage and potatoes to my mouth, and stirred



NOTICE

If the Secretary of a Socialist Local receives this paper as a sample copy he will know that it is intended for the local and he should show it to the

no mistake and by trying to justify it, he has simply shown that there are persons who are willing to be led by the Socialist movement - Socialist Review, West Hoboken, N. J.

HOT OFF THE BAT.

The farther away the little capitalist gets from being a big capitalist the more hideous and greedy to him does the world become.

It is as easy for the average Socialist to tell why he is a Socialist as it is for the average man to tell why he is a Democrat or Republican.

Usually it's the "best citizen" that commits the worst hold-up.

It is not a far from killing beasts for sport to killing men for sport.

Workingmen should not condemn a capitalist for voting for his own interests after they have elected him.

Among the good things which Sam Gompers claims, the trades unions have developed.

The workmen of Chicago are doubtless highly excited over the opportunity they will have to invest in the gilt-edged certificates which are being offered.

Rockefeller doesn't have to commit a crime to get a million dollars in case money aways as well as talk.

Teddy can take a longer vacation from the task of busting the trusts than the workers can who are being bled.

Some Socialists are greatly surprised when they discover a traitor among them, after they have done their best to get rid of him.

The Socialist prize contest is intended to encourage the art of literary expression on the part of Socialists.

It may be noticed that the capitalist papers are not citing workingmen's names in their attacks on Dr. Oiler's work.

None of the municipal ownership advocates have told us how the world would be run if they had their way.

It's the same capitalists who don't want the union to run their business that are satisfied to have the union run the government.

The middle class are more interested in having the working class divided than in having the working class free from slavery.

If the workers do not practice thrift and economy where do the bank defaulters get the millions from?

Why do the capitalist papers extol Frugality in the workers and praise liberality on the part of the shirkers?

The papers that talk so loudly about the earth of the right capitalist are late to print all the scandals they can ferret out about the home.

It will not be difficult for the people to obtain possession of the means of production if they only have the will.

The capitalists who benefit by it should never be thinking that the present system is the best.

Does not incarceration in a modern cell make a man a better citizen for Dr. Oiler's chloroform theory?

If an air trust could be formed, some clumps with wires still attached to their windpipes, would still attract the eye.

When those Milwaukee judges have occasion to issue an injunction against the Socialists...

Conspicuous

FROM THE AUTHOR OF "THE RECORDING ANGEL"

Dear Comrade: From the beginning of this Berger matter I have refrained from communicating with you...

It is a matter of fact that I have not seen you since the day you were elected to the Executive Committee...

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FROM NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS

National Secretary Barnes reports that the following have been nominated to the National Committee for Secretary to the International Socialist Movement...

E. B. Aull, Lewiston, Idaho; E. V. Dyer, Toronto, Ont.; Wm. Muller, New York City, N. Y.; Morris Hillquit, New York, N. Y.; Frederick Kraus, Chicago, Ill.; Wm. Mulholland, Toronto, Ont.; Walter Thos. Mills, Chicago, Ill.; Thos. J. Morgan, Chicago, Ill.; A. Simons, Chicago, Ill.; John Spargo, Yonkers, N. Y.; W. E. Trautman, Cincinnati, Ohio; Ernest Unwin, Chicago, Ill.; Wm. W. W. White, New York, N. Y.

Comrades Simons and Trautman have been elected to the National Committee. Nominations close May 1st.

Acceptances will be received at the home office, 125 Madison St., New York City, N. Y.

Robert Sattler, National German Organizer, reports good meetings in the New York district.

Comrades Swing, Fenutson, Hackl and Gustaf were present at the meeting in Toronto, Ontario, on May 7, 1915.

The regular joint session of the Executive Committee will be held on Sunday, May 7, 2:30 p. m.

Local Executive Committee met Sunday, April 30, and transacted the usual routine business.

Comrades Swing, Fenutson, Hackl and Gustaf were present at the meeting in Toronto, Ontario, on May 7, 1915.

The motion of the executive committee to withhold the referendum changing the date of the state convention was carried, 15 to 1.

Comrade Devine's motion regarding speakers carried, 10 to 5.

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EDWARD GARDNER

State Secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States. Arrived in Toronto, Ontario, in 1878 and came to the United States with his mother and brothers in 1891.

He joined the Socialist Party in December, 1903. He was chosen state secretary pro tem. to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of W. G. Critchlow and was made permanent secretary by referendum in 1904.

He is a poor man that's known only for the amount of money he has.

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TORONTO

This is the largest city in the Dominion, and the workers there are laying claim to the title.

An ideal arrangement exists with respect to their member of the school board.

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GENERAL

Local Baltimore, Md., passed resolutions recommending the appointment by the National Executive Committee of a sub-committee to investigate the charges against Victor L. Berger.

For the National Committee to adopt the Towner motion or even to vote upon it at the present juncture is highly objectionable.

Comrade Moore has started work as state secretary of the Socialist Party in California.

The membership of Local Philadelphia is about 600 and rapidly increasing.

James F. Carey is meeting with great success in his agitation tour of the State of Massachusetts.

August Delabar, who was candidate for mayor of New York on the Socialist Labor Party ticket in 1909, died in St. Louis on April 18.

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Published Weekly, by Mally and Titus, 400 Meredith Building, Corner Michigan Street and Jefferson Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

United States and Canada.—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 30c; single copies, 5c. To Foreign Countries.—One year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00; three months, 50c; single copies, 5c. Weekly Bundles.—For one year—5 copies per week, \$1.25; 10 copies per week, \$2.50; 20 copies per week, \$5.00; 30 copies per week, \$7.50. Special Bundles.—10 to 50 copies, 3 cents apiece; 50 to 100 copies, 2 cents apiece; 100 to 200 copies, 1 1/2 cents apiece; 200 to 500 copies, 1 cent apiece.

All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Toledo, Ohio. All business communications should be addressed to "THE SOCIALIST," Toledo, Ohio.

Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed. Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday.

HERMON F. TITUS, Editor. WILLIAM MALLY, Manager.

Entered at Toledo Post Office as second class mail matter, March 17, 1905.



INSIDE STORY OF GREAT STRIKE

Continued from Page One.

strike was therefore not called by the leaders, as has been claimed, but was ordered by referendum of the trades unionists themselves.

Before the strike was called, however, in accordance with the referendum, the Central Federation committee called upon Montgomery, Ward & Co. and again attempted to secure an adjustment. Several conferences were held, but with no result. A strike was therefore called against Montgomery, Ward & Co.

Before going further the relations between the teamsters and wholesale houses must be understood. Very few of the firms, like Marshall Field & Co., J. V. Farwell and others, own their own teams. Their hauling is done by teams owned by contractors and the wage agreements are made between these contractors and the teamsters. The contractors are therefore middlemen between the shipping houses and the teamsters. A strike therefore operated thuswise. When a teamster would be ordered from the barns by the contractors to take goods from any of the wholesale houses, Montgomery, Ward & Co., the teamster would refuse, he would then be discharged by the contractors and the other teamsters in the barnyard then be called out. Thus the teaming contractors became involved. Gradually as Montgomery, Ward & Co. attempted to deliver more and more goods more and more contractors were drawn into the struggle. Every time the teamsters were called to deliver goods from a wholesale house to Montgomery, Ward the teamsters would refuse, so that the wholesale houses, one by one, were declared "strike bound" and they also became involved. There are now 3,500 of the teamsters on strike out of a total number in the city of 37,000.

The "Employers' Teaming Company" is an organization formed for the contractors. It is chartered under the laws of West Virginia so as to bring its business within the interstate statutes. The fact is this company does not contain an employing contractor on its board of directors. The company was organized in the office of Levy Mayer, attorney for the contractors, by Mayer himself and six of his clerks, but it is financed by the contractors. Under this company Farley operates and the breakers are being brought into the city in hordes from the slums and levees of St. Louis and other cities.

The express companies became involved in the struggle because they insisted upon delivering goods from Montgomery Ward and the teamsters refused to work. They are all out. It was to protect the express companies that Judge Grosscup issued his injunction invoking the Federal government on their behalf.

It is not likely that any more teamsters, or other workers, will be called upon by the Central Federation to take part in the struggle. The officers claim to have the situation well in hand and they are not desirous of going off the main source of supply for these on strike. At present the teamsters are receiving their regular wages of \$14 to \$18 a week, tickets receiving \$3 a day. The Joint Teamsters' Council representing 35,000 men, last night voted an assessment of \$1 a week as long as the strike lasts, and the other unions are steadily contributing. The garment workers are being supported by their own organization and by contributions from other sources.

Nothing would suit the contractors represented in the employers' Teaming Company better than a general strike for this would serve two purposes, namely, the calling out of the federal troops and the removal of the financial source of supply of the strikers. To accomplish a general strike the contractors are attempting to involve the large transportation companies, representing thousands of teams, but so far this effort has not succeeded.

There have been rumors and reports of "grat" in connection with this strike, as with all others, but they have been circulated by the press and employed sympathizers for the purpose of discrediting the strike leaders. I am assured by President Dold a groundless. Mr. Mayor Dunne hinted that somebody had told him there was grat. Dold called for the proof and although the charges and challenges for proof have been repeated no proofs have yet been produced. And even if there was grat, is it likely the strike could have been prevented or hastened, when the strikers themselves, as I have shown, decided the question of a strike by referendum upon the straight propositions above reported?

There is one significant thing about this strike which should be noted: It is actually a test of industrial unionism, for all the unions affiliated with the Central Federation are supporting the strikers, and what is more important, there is developing out of the present situation a movement to unite all the central bodies of organized labor in Chicago, representing all thousands—the transportation workers, the building and clothing trades, etc.—into one central organization. Each central trade body will be represented by delegates and to this central body will be referred all questions of either an external or inter-trade character. Thus out of their own necessities and desires the unions are compelled to adapt themselves to the changing character of the warfare which industrial development entails. It is not expected that this last movement toward industrial organization will be met with favor by the Gompers' followers in the trades unions but they will be forced to accept the new situation or go down before it.

Today Chicago is vibrating with excitement. No one can attempt to predict what the next few hours will bring forth. Policemen are becoming plentiful, and crowds spring up at a moment's notice at the slightest signal of a disturbance. All sorts of rumors are afloat and conjectures are rife as to whether the federal troops or state militia will be called out. Undoubtedly the street is with the strikers.

Early this morning I watched some of the imported strike-breakers going to work. They emerged from what was once a warehouse on Lake street to the corner of which a squad of policemen waited for them. The first batch to go out consisted of eight men, and eight policemen accompanied them. Then about thirty more went in another direction with about the same number of policemen surrounding them. They were a sorry looking lot, mostly negroes. The whites looked like degenerates. They had all been huddled up together and their clothes were as dirty as themselves. The policemen looked ashamed of their jobs. I am told a number gave up their positions on the force rather than being drafted for the dirty work. One cannot blame them. Even the strikers standing near me ran off yelping after gazing upon the strike-breakers.

This strike is significant inasmuch as it shows that the class consciousness of labor has developed to where it feels its oneness with every member of its vast army, it betokens a recognition of the fact that the working class must act as a class against the class which oppresses and seeks to crush it.

No wonder that the term "sympathy strike" has untold terrors for the capitalist class. No wonder that the capitalist class will empty its treasury and call to its aid the army of hired hands, the class of scabs and strike-bait that spark of solidarity which holds within it so much that is ominous for

FAIRY STORIES FROM REAL LIFE

By Ryan Walker.

Labor thinks he can fighten us and imagines he will amount to something, my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.



but if you notice, this little wand will fill up any old landscape with soldiers, deputies, police and scabs in short order who will obey my every command and become human machines.

the capitalist class and so much that is prophetic of the future of the working class itself.

No wonder that in the heat of the moment Bernard Wygant, general agent of the Wells-Fargo Express Co. declared the real sentiments of his class when he said:

"There must be a certain number of people killed before this thing ends and the sooner they are killed the better."

Welcome the day when the workers' solidarity will encircle the globe and be concentrated at the one point where Wygant and his class can be defeated—at the ballot box!

WILLIAM MALLY.

CAREER OF FARLEY. PROFESSIONAL STRIKE BREAKER

Continued from Page Three.

—my coffee. The coffee was without milk, and had a strange mineral taste—due, as I afterwards learned, to the liberal presence of saltpetre.

After dinner (on later days the meals were better) we sought places to sleep. I found an empty cot between a lathe and a drill, and was about to take off my clothes when one of the men shouted: "First man up's best dressed!" My fellow-strike-breakers looked none too honest

and I decided to profit by the hint—sleep dressed and continue to wear my own clothes. Before I could lie down, a man, grimy and with whiskey-veined face, came to the cot and searched under the blanket for something he had forgotten. I discovered he had just vacated the bed in which I proposed sleeping. And then I discovered that all the cots had at least two occupants a day, and that a man was extremely unlikely to have the same cot twice.

I was considering the advisability of remaining up all night when something I saw decided me—two little brown spots moving along the white

wood of the cot-rail. I shrank away precipitately. A man on his elbow in another cot saw the cause of my retreat and laughed. "That ain't nothin', brother," he shouted over. "In a week your bed'll be an automobile!"

The work of a strike-breaker is hard; but much harder, to the novice, is just being a strike-breaker. We were all targets for scorn and hatred—I especially, for the reason that, compared with others, I was conspicuously well dressed. I had jeans, grimaces and shaking fists from all sides; from men and boys in the street; from women and children; some hardly more than babies, leaning out of upper tenement windows; from girls in the windows of downtown shops. It is an uncomfortable sensation, that of being spat upon. But I did not blame them.

Early in the morning two well-dressed men boarded my car, empty at the time, and as soon as the train left the station signalled by winks and nods for me to come in. I went in to them. They were union men

"I know you need the coin or you wouldn't be doing this," said one in a conciliatory tone. "If you'll quit your job and come over to our hall we'll show you a good time, give you all this, and pay your fare to the town you come from." Their purpose, as he told me, was to draw off Farley's strike-breakers and so to tie up traffic on all the struck roads. I evaded their persuasion and turned them upon another gateman, a cheap "sport." "Go old yidoul—not much!" he cried. "You'd get downstairs ain't kick me linin' out!" But a few stations ahead I saw them leave the train with whom

Three more times during the morning I was offered money to quit work. In the afternoon the strikers were wearing a different manner. Groups of union men stood constantly about on the platform of the cars. They offered me no physical violence; they were under Pacific orders from their chiefs. But I suffered all manner of verbal violence. When one striker

stopped, another began; frequently there was a cross-fire from two or three. There was a scowling stone-faced, sun-stained, putrifying scab, and a thousand other varieties of scab that are unprintable. If a man believes the English language is weak in terms of hate and loathing, five minutes as a strike-breaker in the company of a group of strikers will cure his illusion. The object of the strikers was to make me so ashamed of myself and so uncomfortable that I would desert from Farley's army. They succeeded in making me uncomfortable; upon the question I had already determined and at One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street I left my car and was walking away when the starter caught my arm. "Take the car back again, and we'll get this train right out," he said. "I won't do it. I've had no sleep for thirty-six hours, and have been on duty for twenty." "Some of the boys have been workin' for twenty-four hours all right," he roared. "Come on. You're good for another trip." I shook off his hand and started away. As I went down the station stairway I wondered if there were strikers below who would recognize me and "kick me linin' out." But there were none.

The strike-breaker is often regarded as a hero, fighting upon principle against unionism. There may be such strike-breakers, but during my study of them, which lasted throughout the strike, I failed to find one. There was practically no strong anti-union feeling among the strike-breakers—even among Farley's regulars. "We've after the coin"—that was the common principle that made them strike-breakers, though their reasons for being after it varied greatly among the three classes into which they can roughly be divided:

First—There was a small percentage of experienced street-car men, who had served under Farley before, and who had no desire for permanent jobs. They did not wish the union harm, but the strike gave them a chance to make "big pay" and see a bit of the world—and there they were.

Second—A great number of men were driven to enlist by the lash of want. Through their incompetence, or through a shortage of work, they were out of employment; some had had no regular employment for months, some none for years. Men from all the large cities told the same story of "no work": "There's no place like New York for starving!" "Since the class closed their wallets men for every job in St. Louis!" "You can't stand two minutes on a Philadelphia street without some man asking you to help him out!" "If there's any property in Chicago, we ain't seen it. Why clean it was a choice between strike-breaking and empty pockets and empty stomachs."

The majority of men in this class were very much ashamed of what they were doing. They regarded it as a breaking as low work; they felt that they had sunk in undertaking it even temporarily. Each decent-looking man I spoke to said practically the same: "You'd never catch me doing this dirty work I was set up against, it good and hard," and almost invariably they justified themselves with "If I wasn't doing this somebody else would." The word "scab" hurled at them was a stinging humiliation.

There were a few college students in this class, after money to help pay their college bills. I met one theological student: "A week of this life and I'll be cured of the ministry," he told me. Also there were many ex-union street-car men who had lost their jobs in strikes, perhaps years before, and who because of their strike-records had been unable to get a position in street railway work. They saw their only chance to get back into that trade was to take a job during the strike when no references were asked.

Third—There was a very considerable proportion of the strike-breakers, who ranged from a moderate moral shabbiness down to a saloon-wagon blackguardly ruffian. The motive and character of a large part of these are summarized in the remark of one young fellow, made at dinner and explained by his neighbors: "I want to pull out just one week's pay. That's all Lord! What a — of a time!"

Another man, a motorman in my crowd, before starting on his first trip, said with an oath, "I don't take no train out till I get a bottle of whiskey." And he went down to a saloon and got a bottle of whiskey. Many of the men from the West proclaimed that they were "bad men" and had notches on their guns.

The policemen who guarded the buildings in which Farley's men were lodged and fed, lumped the strike-breakers off as a "bum bunch"; and several of my fellow strike-breakers, men in the second class, made substantially the same characterization of their new companions. But this, of course, was undiscriminating damnation. A number of the more respectable looking of Farley's regulars with whom I talked concerning the quality of the strike-breakers, stated that about 90 per cent of the men—one said sixty per cent—were a "bum bunch." Their own estimate of the number in the third class was not so large as this. However, I estimated that two-thirds of the men engaged in breaking the strike were either undependable, incompetent or of a character entirely unfit for employment involving the safety of human life.