



Labor Culture



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A BURNING SHAME

If the life of the seaman (about which we have had to complain so often is bad, worse yet is the life of the marine—the man who has to slave away on a collier of the war fleet for a pretty 35 dollars a month. What kind of a wage is that on which to rear a family? And yet Roosevelt and his ilk—men for whom the colliers are kept in trim—would have workmen raise big families.

Booths that they fine a man ten dollars or more for the merest trifle, as if they were soldiers. Sometimes they make them don uniforms. Nor is that all. FAVORITISM, DISCRIMINATION AND GRAFT ARE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. In order to get a job on a collier a fellow has to pay a certain amount, and whoever later balks at keeping up this giving of presents is fired. So the 35 dollars salary is reduced to almost nothing, since a beer business is carried on AND THE MEN ARE ENCOURAGED TO GAMBLE. The firemen aboard the colliers are just as bad off or worse than they were on the merchant ships before the Union did away with the shipping masters.

THESE ABUSES MUST BE ROOTED OUT OF THE COLLIERIES THE SAME AS THEY WERE FROM THE MERCHANT MARINE. It's disgraceful indeed that aboard the ships of the government—the professed enemy to gambling houses, drinkeries and graft—gambling is permitted, and water is purposely dealt out stingily so that money may be made out of the beer business. This is an unbearable abuse. It must be stopped. Let the engineers, the captains, yes, the Secretary of the Navy himself understand that unless they do something towards eradicating this stinging shame, the Marine Firemen's Union will do whatever lies in its power to blot it out. We'll fight the matter out with the government just the same as we've done with the shipping companies, if we're obliged to do so.

We trust, however, that there will be no necessity for so doing, since the only ones to reap profit from this wretched business are one or two soulless brutes who, not content with this own envied wages, go out of their way to squeeze all they can out of the poor devils that necessity has put under their whip; and their conscience is so hardened to the habit that it doesn't cause them any remorse.

It's sad, sad indeed to have to work hard and get but a little pay for it. It's no joke to have to slave away one's life in a ship before the red furnaces below the water line without being able to enjoy at all the pleasures and delights of the world. It makes one's heart ache to think that a fellow hasn't a chance to rear a family in today's society, where the only real affection is to be found in a pony. And it makes one's heart bleed to think that, after having reared a family, one must be kept forever severed from it, depriving one of the ability to attend

properly to its needs and share its joys, whenever there are any. But what they do to the poor fireman aboard the colliers does not only make one sad; it makes one angry. The way those grafters are allowed to fleece him is a stinging, burning shame.

If the engineers, the captains, and the Navy Secretary don't see fit to call a halt on such an atomizable exploitation and shame, they won't be able to find enough workers to man the engine department. The unfortunate firemen on the colliers have been treated with altogether too little respect, and they aren't willing to stand for any more of such ill treatment; and really it's hard to understand how they have put up with it for as long as they have.

We well know that the Secretary of the Navy hasn't done anything, for perhaps he doesn't even know what is taking place aboard the colliers. BUT THE CAPTAINS CANNOT PRETEND IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS. AND HOW IS IT THAT THESE WELL-EDUCATED MEN, THESE GENTLEMEN WHO ARE SO ZEALOUS TO HAVE JUSTICE DONE THEM BY THE MEN, WHO MAKE A PRETENCE OF BEING SO STRICT—HOW IS IT, WE ASK, THAT THEY ALLOW SUCH FLAGRANT INJUSTICE TO BE CARRIED ON IN DEFIANCE OF THEIR VERY OWN ORDINANCES AND CODES? Does their rigid discipline permit the dining room to be turned into a gambling den? Does it permit fresh water being denied a fellow who's thirsty in order that beer may be sold him instead? Does it allow the engineers to give a man a job or take it away from him without rhyme or reason, and to accept gifts from him under threats to bounce him if he doesn't fork over a retainer? Doesn't it state what kind and quality of food shall be supplied the crew? Does it sanction the use of gruff, insulting language towards the men? Are fines and punishments to be imposed without a man being given a trial? Does it mean that to be a fireman aboard a navy ship one must forfeit his right to citizenship?

Firemen are men and as such are entitled to be respected due them on account of the hard task they perform. It's a downright shame the way the firemen aboard the colliers are treated; and if those who have it in their power to remedy matters won't, don't let them be whimpering around later of they can't find a fireman to go aboard a collier. For rather than colliers, they are floating jails of the worst type. Yes, worse than jails! For at least in the latter graft is not a regular thing, nor is gambling, nor are fines imposed on one for some little slip, nor is vulgar language the custom. Without any exaggeration at all it may be said that criminals receive better treatment in jails than do the firemen on the colliers.

And this, we repeat, is a burning shame.

The British Transport Workers Awake

There is much of inspiration to American Transport Workers in the attitude assumed by their brethren in Britain. The strike now in progress in London may be ended before this issue of LABOR CULTURE reaches the reader; or it may not. Whether it does or not, the fact will remain that, through the lips of Ben Tillet, the men who compose our sister Transport Workers Federation have given expression to the one great idea that will animate them and their brethren here and abroad in the future.

Tillet is reported in the cable dispatches as having told the men at the great demonstration at Trafalgar Square on Sunday last some pregnant truths. He reminded them that the workers were the backbone, brains and energy of the nation, and they intended to extract their own value unless morrow. Animate by the spirit which the employers granted their demands. So led Ben Tillet to give expression to his idea, there must surely come about a radical readjustment of the relations of capital and labor during the present generation, as I believe.

This latter declaration represents the greatest advance yet made in the spirit of revolt represented by that strike. It gives tongue to the true spirit for the first time in the history of the labor movement here or elsewhere. The men and women who do manual labor, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled alike, have been content to play the role of drudges and camp scullions in the great drama of industrial life, during all the generations that are gone. The thought of their having any ownership or interest in the products of their own toil has been treated and is being treated today by the employing interests as a grim joke.

The time has come when this view of their relationship toward the productive energies of their time must come to an end. That time may not be today or to-morrow, but it is not far off. Animate by the spirit which the employers granted their demands. So led Ben Tillet to give expression to his idea, there must surely come about a radical readjustment of the relations of capital and labor during the present generation, as I believe.

The toilers of the United States have not yet risen to the heights which this view of Ben Tillet represents. All they appear to want is what is euphemously called a

living—a chance to work in order to keep their nakedness covered, their stomachs from a state of emptiness and a roof of some kind owned by somebody else above their heads. These conditions realized, they have been, and, indeed, they are yet, content to believe that they are getting the living the world owes them.

It is upon this basis that the working people of the world have been allowed to live by their masters. It is upon this basis that the government of the world has been conducted; so far as they are concerned. With the production and protection of property the energies of all governments claiming superior civilization, they have been denied the ownership of any of the property. With agents of government all around them, the only government representatives that they have to do with are the soldier, the policeman and the sheriff.

What does your city workingman know about the courts or the judges outside the police courts, and except the still courts when it is sought to deprive him of what he regards as his rights, either by injunction process or otherwise? Nothing.

What has any administrative public official, from the President down, got to do with him? He may enter the outer office of the Governor of his state, if he lives in the state capital. He may look in at the door of the office of the Mayor of his city. He may marvel at the vast accumulation of public records and at the regiment of clerks and officials that are maintained in the office of the state, city or county treasurer, or in the office of his local register of deeds. What of it? He has nothing to do with any of them. They have nothing to do with him. He has no property and never will have as the affairs of life are conducted; and hence, except for the part he plays in the production of the property with reference to which these offices and officials are maintained, he might as well not be on earth. They exist only because he works, and yet they have no knowledge and no occasion for knowledge that such a being as he lived. He may read in his penny paper about the construction of public streets and roads. What has he got to do with the street or roads? Just this: he is allowed to walk on the side paths, providing he is not acting a picket for some body of his brethren on strike. As for the roads or streets, they might as well not be. He has no vehicle in which to ride on them, unless he is fortunate enough to have sometime had enough money to buy a bicycle, which will be found usually to be of second-hand variety.

This is the stamp of the slave, of the bridge and of the rouabout placed upon him indelibly! Thus he is made at every turn to realize that he is a citizen by sufferance, and that the jail, the poorhouse and the hospital are the only havens of rest which society allows him to occupy.

There is a saloon provided for him on every street corner where he may forget himself and lose his money, and this sends him on his way to jail and poorhouse.

He may spend the little money that is paid him for his work in buying clothes and food and shelter for himself and his children, while still in process of being

robbed by the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker who in turn are held by the trusts. This he can do until he gets too old to work or is robbed longer. Then the poor-house is presented to him as the reward of his industry and his folly.

He sits and falls, or falls to keep a sharp look out as he crosses the street and finds himself beneath the wheels of an automobile or a streetcar. Then let him think his stars that there is the city hospital to which he may be hauled—the hospital which is indeed the only public institution that for him, has even the shadow of humanitarianism attached to it.

Thoughts such as these it is which must long have occupied the mind of Ben Tillet and other like him before the declaration was made by him at Trafalgar Square that the workers would no longer consent to be mere slaves and drudges.

And how are these transport workers of the Thames to avoid escape being longer made slaves and drudges? Such have they and their fathers and mothers been for generations untold. How is it that they and their children are not destined to continue such? These men think they have found the answer in the ability they have shown to stand by each other shoulder to shoulder in their demands. I only believe that they have thereby put themselves in the way of finding the answer.

They may win this strike or they may lose it; but, win or lose, they are stronger and wiser men. Mark what another of their leaders—the one with the silly name—Douglas has told them! It is well worthy of note by any man reading these lines. He said that if starvation, forced them to resume work they would go back together and strike again together when opportunity offered.

If starvation compelled them to resume work! Mark that! Starvation the fear of starvation, the twin weapons and the only weapons still left in the arsenal of industrial despotism! Surely these men are beginning to understand the real situation.

There is a grand awakening in England's metropolises, and it is an awakening that will surely in time bring even the poor, half starved serfs of the American ports to their senses. The man who doubts it need only inform himself what has been going on in the port of Baltimore during the past seven weeks, where thousands of poor foreign-born men and women have bared their breasts before the onslaught of starvation and public and private despotism, and have continued to fight on even with their women and children crying all around them for a crumb of bread.

The great movement inaugurated on these shores by the National Transport Federation may continue long to be handicapped by want of money resources. It may be held back for a long time to come by the coward tactics of some of those who ought to be fighting in its front ranks. It may make but slow progress for the time in arousing the men for whom it battles, as the leaders of its sister federations have aroused the rank and file of their people, of even more hopeless lives, along the banks of the Thames. But it cannot fail. It has sown the seed, and time will prove that the seed has not been cast on barren soil.

ON LAND AND SEA

Comrade Mark Jackson was in town this week from Baltimore. He attended last Monday night's meeting of the Transport Workers' Federation and gave us some further details about the Baltimore Longshoremen's strike. He said there had been 195 pages of testimony relating to the strikers' deeds and demands taken by the courts and that "THE TESTIMONY WAS 100 IN FAVOR OF THE MEN THAT EVEN THE NEWSPAPERS SUBSIDIZED AS THEY ARE, CAME OUT IN FAVOR OF THE MEN AND SAID THEY DESERVED THE INCREASE OF WAGES."

He referred to the glorious work of the Transport Workers of Great Britain and to their magnificent organization. He said there ought to be such a body of men united along solidarity lines on this side. "Here I see the very germ of it. The National Transport Workers' Federation is the very factor that, because of necessity itself, must grow and blossom into the most powerful organization in this coun-

try. Baltimore has been a sleepy, unorganized city. It has awakened to unexpected militancy. And it's up to you boys to help us fight."

Secretary James Vidal, of the Marine Firemen's Union, returned on Wednesday from his trip along the Atlantic Coast and Mexican Gulf. He reports unusual enthusiasm at Norfolk, Baltimore and Mobile. The delegate at New Orleans wishes to have some one appointed in his place who can speak both Spanish and English.

BROOKLYN LONGSHOREMEN! Your rotten conditions and a plan for bettering them will be discussed at a meeting to be held TOMORROW, SUNDAY, at 3 P. M. by the NATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION at 43rd St. and 2nd Ave. BROOKLYN. Several languages will be spoken. Don't fail to attend.

LAND

There is no reason in nature or natural law why a set of words on parchment should convey the dominion of land.

—Blackstone.

In no age so much as the present has man awakened to the need of a "little land and a living." This is because the laboring man is more and more being cut out of his right of inheritance to the land. When the Visigoths invaded Europe, when the men of Spain entered Mexico, when the Portuguese settled in Brazil, and when the English came to America, men took land. Only one English colonist has the glorious reputation of having "paid" for the land he took; and after him a State has been named.

Today the laborer struggles along on a pittance a week, staving off marriage as long as he can, in order to gather from his savings enough money to "buy" a piece of the land that has already been fenced off and appropriated by the government or by those most in its confidence. They do not question the right of man to hold "property" in land. They have not been taught to distinguish between owning something which is the result of labor and owning something which is the result of nature.

Henry George points out the injustice of private property in land in "Progress and Poverty." He says:

"A house and the lot on which it stands are alike property, as being the subject of ownership, and are alike classed by the lawyers as real estate. Yet in nature and relations they differ widely. The one is produced by human labor, and belongs to the class in political economy styled 'wealth.' The other is a part of nature, and belongs to the class in political economy styled 'land.'"

"This right of ownership that springs from labor excludes the possibility of any other right of ownership. There can rightfully be no exclusive possession and enjoyment of anything but the production of labor, and the recognition of private property in land is wrong."

Well, what had Proudhon, the great French economist and member of the National Assembly, to say? Why, he came out boldly and said "Property is robbery!" And he wrote a whole book ("What's Property?") in support of his contention. In a short article it would be entirely futile to attempt to give the arguments that Proudhon presented, or even their gist. However, I shall attempt but one:

He claims that there are some fifteen ways of stealing, among which are included fraudulent bankruptcy, embezzlement, breach of trust, usury, rent-taking, and dividends. "In theft such as the laws forbid, force and fraud are employed alone and openly; in authorized theft they are disguised under a produced utility, which they use as a device for plundering their victim. The direct use of violence and force was early and unanimously rejected; no nation has yet reached the point of delivering itself from theft when united with talent, labor, and possession." Here property is considered theft, "the exploitation of the weak by the strong," "the suicide of society."

Tolstoy also points out the injustice of property; he shows that it means the dominion of possessors over the non-possessors; that it makes the poor dependent on the rich; and that it allows the laborer to be exploited by those to whom the land belongs. "The products of human labor pass more and more out of the hands of laboring masses into the hands of the un-laboring."

Governments have always been lavish in their "grants" of land to grafters. To the people themselves the governments of the globe have been rather stingy and close-fisted.

"As a sample," says Bolton Hall in "Free America," "of the manner in which Amer-

ica has been disposed of, take the grants to railways. To the Northern Pacific Railway 42 million acres were given; to the Union Pacific 16 million. And the list might be continued until a total was reached of over 200 million acres given to railroads alone." Is there any wonder why stocks in railroad bonds pay big dividends? Is there any wonder why there's no land left for those who need it to live on?

In "Free America" is also pointed out that 54% of the families in the United States pay rent. What does this mean according to Proudhon's logic?

Yet the ignorant clerk will contend that the man who has worked and "saved up a fortune" and bought up some land is entitled to it, no matter whether he paid 12 1/2c an acre for it (as was done in Texas) or \$500 the square rod. But we must realize that most land nowadays is inherited when it changes hands at all, for most of it has been copied.

I know one man who inherited a million and in one year lost it along with three quarters of another million, by gambling on the price of a commodity, which went down when he expected it to go up. Yet this rattle brained gambler has been allowed to continue in business here in the city of New York pledging the people's property for his indebtedness until he can, through profits, commissions, and more successful gambling pay back to his creditors the amount due them. Meantime the people have been legally deprived of their rights to occupy what is theirs. Let me state the details a little more plainly. When this beggar millionaire found himself three quarters of a million in debt, he was at a loss to know how to keep the confidence of creditors or insure them against loss. He insured his life in twenty-five companies for a stupendous sum nearing \$100,000, and he turned this insurance over to his creditors. But that was not half the amount needed. His wife holding a parchment to some nine hundred acres of land, he got her to transfer the papers to him and get his name inserted where hers was. This land was appraised to be worth \$450,000 which made up the required amount, and he turned the mortgages over to his creditors.

Now, let me draw a comparison. The owner of an automobile leaves it in charge of his chauffeur while he goes out of town. The chauffeur stores the machine with a boarding house woman. Her husband loses several thousand dollars at cards. He has her tag the automobile with his name instead of her own, and then insures his creditors with a mortgage taken out on it. The owner of the automobile comes back to town and finds he cannot use his own machine because it has been mortgaged by the husband of the woman in whose charge it was left by his chauffeur. Can you grasp the plight of the proprietor? And can you grasp the plight of the owners of land?

Wherever men congregate land goes up in value and wages go down; men become plentiful and land becomes scarce. This gives land the dominion over men, when in reality man's life and welfare depends upon his mastery of natural resources. By the aid of land and what grows on it man can support himself in peace and comfort. He always has. But where land is corralled and held in idleness or made to enrich the few at the expense of the many, men become more and more the slaves of land owners. And it behooves them to strike a blow for their freedom.

In one country at least they are awakened to the situation and are striking for the free distribution of land right now. That is Mexico. And the American capitalists who own land down there are trying to call upon race prejudice to pit the American wage-slave against the Mexican peon. Read the item about the San Luis Potosi Plan printed in a recent issue of LABOR CULTURE, and join in with the Mexican in his cry for "LAND AND LIBERTY."

What is the significance of the present cost of militarism for the world annually? No human mind can discern or take in the vast meaning of the blood-and-profit-lust politics that holds and damns the world today.

8,000,000,000—Eight Billion Dollars!

Industrialism and Hero Worship

By M. H. WOOLMAN.

Industrialism has forced its way to the front through its recent victories on this as well as on other sides of the pond. It is now the leading topic of the day. Its tactics and aims are up for discussion. So are its advocates. That's the worst of it. The big dailies and monthlies, tearing that direct action may come into vogue now that strikes are getting to be popular, are doing their best to venge the public mind from methods to men.

The anthracite coal miners had hardly demanded better conditions when there appeared in the subsidized press long biographies and beautiful photographs of John P. White. The railroad engineers had no more than put in their claims for a more decent state of affairs than the same thing was done with a certain stone, who was said to be able to bring distress upon ten million people simply by the crooking of his little finger. Oh, what!

And now we find in "Current Literature," a monthly edited by supposed radicals, an article and a photo, of Tom Mann, who is termed "The Messiah of Syndicalism." He is also lauded to Alexander, Marat, and Frederick the Great, and is said to be the "supreme strategist of the trade-union."

Hereafter we give our readers a bite at this halderdash:

"Not until the gifted but restless Tom Mann assumed control of the policy of British trade-unionism did the world of capitalism realize, according to press comment abroad, the potency of military methods as applied to the strike. The work of Tom Mann seems to comprise no more than the application to industrialism, in behalf of the toiler, something of the tactics and strategy which was for Frederick the Great his renown as the supreme captain of the world. Tom Mann is in spirit a soldier—a Hannibal or an Alexander whose forces are recruited from the ranks of organized labor. His talents are those of the leader of men in the military sense. He can not persuade with his tongue or charm with his magnetism or overwhelm with his spiritual vision. Tom has none of these qualities, nor does he set much store by them. He is the materialist of the proletariat class who looks upon the industrial sphere as a theatre of war."

"The working classes of the world are to him soldiers in a great army of toil. He acts as if he were commander of one of the battalions. His nights and his days are given to the work of capturing the British trade-union for syndicalism. The great weapon is the strike. The men must drill after their proletarian fashion, not with muskets, but with a view of united action. He would have them frugal in their mode of life, content with short rations, ready to obey the word of command when the order to strike is given. The aim of all this is the swift reduction of the capitalist class to terms. There must be no isolated action. When one union goes on strike, all laborers must quit work. It is the great class war, knowing no quarter on either side, no conciliation."

"So we find mixed in with exciting sentences about Tom Mann little bits of truth about the modern tactics used in the labor movement."

A similar article by Carl Hovey appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine recently. This mixture of biography and criticism carries the title "Haywood and Haywoodism." On the whole it is as fair an account of the life of Haywood and the methods used by the Industrial Workers of the World as could be expected from a magazine catering to the whims of those on the other side of the fence. "But it must be remembered," these same Hoveys will tell us, "that it's very difficult to get the public's attention unless you present things to them in the concrete and gloriously." Hence, it's not movements that must be talked about, but men; it's not the bad condition of affairs and the proposed remedies, but the men who propose any remedies that we must be constantly discussing. Here, noble at this a while.

"Big Bill Haywood, prophet of Industrial Unionism, leader of all poor devils, sincere and passionate lover of the mis-handled under dog in our present society—and cynical hater of our government, courts, soldiery, and conventional religion—a strong, simple, ruthless, magnetic individual of one idea has seized his chance. Haywood is a direct actionist. "HAYWOOD'S own definition is that direct action is 'just to stop work; to lay down your tools.' The scheme is this: you stop work for a while until the bosses offer you more money, shorter hours, etc.; then work for another period until you feel strong enough to strike again, gain another increase; and so on, striking and gaining, until the bosses have no more to give, the plant and the profits, are yours. Haywood has been called a John Brown. The difference between him and John Brown is material. For Haywood's plan shows strange possibilities of at least partial success; the Lawrence strike was a mind-arresting victory for Haywood and his direct actionist belief."

"HAYWOOD'S personality is, of course, totally misconceived by those who, armed with a sense of their own well being and social good behavior, see in his bold, defiant frankness—his most admirable quality—only the shameless utterances of

a lawless character, or conclude that there is nothing more than innate senselessness, a personal grudge, an incorrigible trouble-making disposition, to account for his career. They are for handing him over to the police, quite simply, nothing said. The inciting-to-riot charge is always at hand.

"It might be done. If it were done it would mean that society is frightened and had established martial law, surely a most unideal thing. An obviously better way is to treat Haywood and his ideas and his following as if they were real, which they undoubtedly are; to seek to understand them and meet the upward surge of radicalism with the knowledge of what it really is."

"Haywood is a mass leader of demonstrated ability, and Haywoodism is a mass movement, little intellectualized, with a vague and transcendently ideal scheme as its ultimate goal. Its methods are those of Syndicalism. As Mr. Harde points out in his discussion of Syndicalism in this number of "The Metropolitan," the Syndicalist counts his victories "as if conservatism coun't and wouldn't fight. The direct actionist's general strike campaign does not allow for any resourcefulness, or use of capital. But outside of any reasoning which may be offered regarding the subject, stands the pitiable and tragic reality of a sincere human struggle for personal betterment. In this struggle Haywood cannot help being a leader."

"The discussion of Syndicalism by James Keir Hardie, M. P., in the same number of the Metropolitan Magazine cannot help but be biased against the topic the Member of Parliament undertakes to discuss for the very reason that straight-but-and-out Syndicalism, like Industrialism, has no use for parliamentarians. However, it will repay one to read what Hardie has to say. After referring to the success of the English coal strike, the cause of the article, he goes on in this fashion:

"One further effect of the great strike will be, I fear, to give an impetus to the Syndicalist movement. Prior to the strike Syndicalism was quite unknown, and all but unheard of among the working classes. But, for reasons of their own, the reactionary press saw fit to assume that the strike was the outcome of Syndicalist teaching and that it would be conducted on Syndicalist lines. Even the grave and stolid Times devoted many columns of type, embellished by severe headlines, to this subject, and thus it was brought prominently to the notice of millions who would otherwise have remained in complacent ignorance of even the word Syndicalism."

"Syndicalism in itself commands the serious attention of all who are seeking a solution of the social and industrial problem. It had its origin in France not yet a quarter of a century ago. It is based upon the assumption that the working class is at war with society and with the state which upholds the existing order, and that just as in warfare all law is suspended, and everything which can inflict an injury upon the enemy is justified, so in the war against society the same rules apply."

"Its founders and advocates lay great stress on the need for developing the individuality of the worker, and by a method of guerrilla warfare strengthening both his class consciousness and his power to strike the enemy effectively. Sabotage, that is, the destruction of the property of the enemy, is part of its methods. It frankly aims at making the peaceful conduct of industry impossible to the capitalist, who would thus be forced to let go his hold upon the mines, the mills, the railways, etc., whereupon the workers would step in and themselves take possession."

"The attitude of the Syndicalist toward the state is frankly that of the Anarchist. The state to him represents the enemy and is organized by the exploiters for the express purpose of holding the exploited in subjection. The state, therefore, is not merely taboo; it is the enemy. The workers in each industry are encouraged to carry on an active warfare until they gain the ownership and control of the capital invested therein. When all industries have been so transferred and transformed into Guilds, they are then to federate together and create the Industrial State from which the exploiter and the oppressor will have been completely eliminated. Such in brief is the theory of Syndicalism."

An Explanation

An explanation is due those who wish to know why LABOR CULTURE came out a few times without the union label. LABOR CULTURE made no change in printing shop and has always used the label because the paper was gotten out by union pressure. But the shop put in a new press on which they had to make application for the use of the label, and until the Union granted the label, no work printed on this press could carry the label. That's the reason why we were obliged to go to press without the label on several occasions, in spite of the fact that our workmen were Union men. The label was granted in time to bring it out on the issue last past and will continue from now on to appear.

QUACK SCIENTISTS

"Capitalists control production and consumption. They are the ones who lend things values," say the pseudo-scientists. And from such misstatements as these is deduced the so-called "iron law" of Lassalle, which would have the workers understand that their efforts to better their conditions within the capitalist regime are futile. "In one way or another the capitalists will reimburse themselves for whatever loss is occasioned them by your strikes."

This theory—apparently so scientific—has confused the public mind to such a way that not only have a large number of the struggling proletarians left the economic field of action and gone and got mixed up in politics, but some of them have even gone so far as to set themselves against direct action in its attempt to better the workingman's conditions inside the capitalist regime.

Yet facts themselves prove the theory to be neither scientific nor true but testotally wrong. In recent years we have witnessed a general rise in prices of commodities side by side with a general lowering of wages. Everywhere we hear the same plaintive outcry: "WHILE PRICES ARE GOING UP, WAGES ARE GOING DOWN." Is not the revival of strikes and popular agitation of consumers directly traceable in large measure to this persistent wage-decrease-and-price-increase?

Besides that, the mental and physical degradation of people has ever been and still is in direct relation with the maximum and minimum of wages. The lower wages are the worse off and the more ignorant are the people; the higher wages are the better off and the more educated.

Further yet, it is almost a general rule that commodities are cheapest where wages are highest: in the big centers as compared with outlying districts. And the difference becomes even more pronounced when we compare one nation with another. Where salaries are high and hours short, conditions though bad, are much better than where wages are small and working hours are long.

These facts are all so palpably evident that it is superfluous to call attention to the stupidity of those who would have us believe otherwise.

If we really want to solve a problem, we must take into consideration all of its factors, not merely any single one of them. The capitalist is the multiplier. His capital is the multiplier. He wants to increase it as much as possible—to get the highest possible percent on it. But there are other counteracting factors which must not be overlooked. These displace the matter with him. And he succeeds in getting

only what the greater or less power of the rest of the factors will permit. Thus his profits are dependent not upon his wishes, but upon a series of circumstances, many of which are impossible to foreknow, forecast or rely upon. But amongst them stand out clearly competition amongst the manufacturers themselves, the drawbacks and duties set up by the government, the special conditions of the country—such as natural resources, ease of transportation, etc., etc., the industrial or commercial enterprise of the capitalist himself, that is his intelligence and activity; and also the ATTITUDE OF THE WORKMEN THEMSELVES, whether it is passive or aggressive, depending upon their development of class-consciousness.

Capital, therefore, is just as liable to render its possessor 1 per cent revenue as 1000 per cent revenue. And this 1 per cent or 1000 per cent can be squeezed out of the manual prowess of the man exclusively, or it may be largely due to the modernized methods of production, commerce and administration used in the business.

In view of all that has been said, we for our part, resting upon facts, deny the existence of such an "iron law" preventing the workers from bettering their condition within the capitalist regime itself. On the contrary, being borne out by tests and proofs, we maintain that workingmen have been, are and will be in better or worse condition inside this very capitalist regime, according as they show themselves to be powerful or weak in their resistance to the conditions which capitalists would have them endure.

HENCE THE LOGICAL, THE SCIENTIFIC THING TO DO IS TO URGE MEN ON TO ACTION INSTEAD OF FORTIFYING THEIR INACTIVITY AND RELIANCE UPON THE VOTE. WE MUST SPUR THEM TO STUDY, TO ORGANIZE, TO APPROPRIATE AND USE EVERY AVAILABLE MEANS TO CHECK AND OVERCOME THE POWER OF CAPITALISTS. This with the aim, not only of constantly improving their social state, but also with the firm resolve of freeing themselves completely from all overseeing, from all superintendence, both moral and financial since, however, much they may alleviate their condition, as long as they remain dependent upon the will of other men for their moral and financial welfare, they will be (vexed over and exploited just the same). They will be respected, perhaps, but still wage-slaves. They will be well nourished maybe, but still unintellectual and not their own property, nor by any means men and women in full control of their potent faculties.

NOW IS THE TIME

—By Ferdinand Haba.—
We are living in the age of making demands, not of going begging. And it's about time that our demands should be made good, for we well deserve to reap some benefit from our arduous organization work. At the sound of the call, "On Guard!" let us all reply with a will: "We're ready." All of us being firmly united and working conscientiously, we can pass up these offered offerings and pass some palatable improvements.

Let's be shrewd and take advantage of the most propitious moment to present our more than just demands; and then let's make them good. Let's not be carried away by appearances nor take too hasty a step. When we call a halt on the exercises put forth by our muscles, let the muscles of all respond—not those of a few only. We must stand together, united: "One and indivisible, now and forever." We who are asking for a bit more bread ordinance governing them, so that they may not lose courage no farther.

I'm one of those who've suffered the abuses perpetrated aboard the little squadron of colliers. I've served as a soldier in the army and as a marine in the navy. I've had to knuckle down before the officers and submit to a rigid

discipline. But nowhere else have I seen men so roughly treated nor so abused as in the engine department aboard the colliers. Who, there they wheedle a man out of half his wages or the hint ten dollars for the least little irregularity in his conduct; they won't give a sick man a pass port to the hospital, but force a fellow to seek care and treatment in one of those uncomfortable boarding houses, so popular among the Spanish element.

It's about time for us to know whether the workmen aboard colliers are our fellow-laborers or soldiers. And if it is claimed that they are soldiers, we must see to it that they be read before signing on the ordinance governing them, so that they may realize what they are up against.

Pepper food and plenty of it must be furnished the Stokers, and 4 1/2 lbs. of steam is wanted, cold water must not be lacking; nor is any beer business to be carried on.

Comrades atop the colliers, the hour is about to strike, for us to find out whether we are subject to the regulations aboard merchant ships or to those of battleships. Be prepared to demand your rights as men, and be on the alert lest the opportunity to do so should escape.

Tortures of Firemen Aboard Ship

The following paragraphs are addressed in particular to those not yet familiar with the life of the sea toiler as it is today. In them will be found a simple relation of the life led by that modern product, the Stoker, aboard one of those gigantic steel structures, which laden with an enormous quantity of merchandise and carrying thousands of passengers from one end of the earth to the other, he makes his way across vast expanses of water.

There is, perhaps, no other task quite so hard nor so poorly paid as that of the stoker aboard a modern steamer. Indeed, I am almost sure that, were stokers mindful of the hardships and sufferings they have to endure while on ship, they would think twice, after gaining shore, before going out again to sea.

Of course, as a general rule aboard ship, the Stokers work for but four hours and rest eight hours out of the twenty-four. But, who can withstand such work as this must do? Down in the very bottom of the ship with exceedingly hot firebricks in front of them and behind them, they must strive to feed the voracious mouths of the four or five furnaces so as to keep a good heat under the boilers all the time. And

for the whole of the four hours they cannot rest a single moment or, let go of the heavy iron used in attending the furnaces. In order to grasp the difficulties and magnitude of the task, one ought to watch the Stokers work at the beginning of their shift, when they clean out the furnaces so as to get a higher steam pressure demanded by the Engineer in charge.

No doubt you have never seen these sturdy men fall down and roll over the coal in front of the firebricks, overgrown with cramps in the stomach, legs and arms or yet in the throat, when breathing is stopped and the victims soon die. Indeed were I to recount the sufferings one by one the list would fill entire columns.

Many a time have I seen a Stoker become apoplectic and fall down in heap on the iron floor, from where he was lifted up by two or three of his fellows and carried to an upper deck, or some other place where he could get a sniff of fresh air. It often happens that such efforts to get pure air into the sufferer's lungs are made too late to save his life. In that case the body, wrapped in sheetings and weighted, is dropped into the sea the next day. I've seen this done many and many a time.

On more than one occasion I, myself, have been found hanging over the long heavy bar used for stirring up the fire and was dragged away by a comrade quick enough to save me. In such a position death would have resulted in a very short time.

Sufferings like those outlined above, however, are not the only ones that come to the Fireman on ship. He must perform the heavy task of stoking the fires, under the despot rule of bosses and is frequently compelled to work on an empty stomach, as often the scraps he's given to eat are so filthy that even a dog would refuse them.

When the strong men have performed their tasks and are permitted to rest, they must go to the farthest look aloft ship where the planks they are supposed to sleep on are placed, and the men often leave them to resume their shift more tired than when they left off working before.

There is no rest for the Fireman, should the ship have a light load, in order to save fuel, the Engineer will not let the grate be cleaned and thus the task is quite as difficult as if the engine were under full load.

As can be seen, the lot of Stokers could not be worse. WE THEREFORE DESIRE TO EMANCIPATE OURSELVES AND BECOME FREE MEN. PUTTING AN END TO THE ABUSES THAT BEFALL US NOT ONLY ABOARD SHIP BUT ALSO ON SHORE. BY OUR OWN EFFORTS WE PURPOSE TO STOP THIS EXPLOITATION AND THIS MISERY. WE SYMPATHIZE WITH EVERY WAGE-SLAVE OF THE SEA, AND WELCOME ALL UNDER THE BANNER OF THE NATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION OF AMERICA. We're tired of being exploited. We must prepare ourselves to fight without distinction as to race or nationality, since our country is the world. Nor should we inquire into the religious opinion held by any member, for WE ARE ALL IN THIS SIMPLE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE HERE AND NOW. We are going to rely upon our individual efforts for the triumph of our cause. We must form a collective mass capable of withstanding our enemies' every attack.

We're most certain that only through our own individual strength and will can we become free and independent men, saving the respect of our fellowmen and employers who are now but our exploiters and enemies. And once we decide to stake all on the issue, this syndicalist revolutionary program will certainly carry all of us sea-tollers in victory. We have nothing to lose but our chains, and in this way we shall be setting an example to workers everywhere and thus help to usher in the final emancipation of humanity.

When we see our fellowmen suffering and our ship, we won't forget to recognize the same right for others that we claim for ourselves, and will ever be ready to stand side by side with them when circumstances require it in order to demand from capitalism the restoration of the land and the food of labor. In this united manner we shall bring about a free and equal society among men.

J. MARTINEZ DE LA GRANA
(a)

Violence Vs. Violence
The New York daily press prints the following letter signed by three labor agitators:

The Anarchists of America have for years been propagating in a peaceful manner their ideas for the regeneration of humanity. On numerous occasions the authorities of various cities have subjected them to persecution and suppressed their rights of free speech. Nevertheless, in spite of all the violence toward them, the Anarchists did not reply in kind. On the contrary, they constantly emphasized the peaceful methods of their propaganda. But violence begets violence. Terror from above breeds terror below.

The authorities in different parts of the country have recently inaugurated a regime of terrorist oppression against every opponent of existing conditions. Peaceful assemblies have been summarily suppressed, and the right of free speech abrogated by force of physical violence. The scene of the most brutal persecution is at present San Diego, Cal. Every vestige of free speech has been entirely suppressed there, and inoffensive men and women subjected to treatment recalling the pogroms of Russia. Irresponsible bands of Black Hundreds, known as Vigilantes, are carrying on a reign of terror WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND APPARENTLY WITH THE FINANCIAL AID OF THE "RESPECTABLE AND LAW-ABIDING" ELEMENT OF THE CITY.

If the public sentiment of the country and the passive attitude of the press continue to encourage these outrages, we feel that the Anarchists and other social rebels will be forced, as a matter of self-defense, to answer violence with violence.

Not because they wish it, but because driven by utmost necessity.

Alexander Berkman, Hippolyte Havel, H. Kelly.

Friday the 17th, comrade José Venturini, a chapman on the "Calvin Austin," was working in the boiler of that ship when someone turned the steam, thereby scalding him so badly that he died of his injuries, three days afterwards. The Local Boiler Inspectors have got the cause in hand and will be ready to make a report soon.

National Transport Workers' Federation of America

HEADQUARTERS: 4 South Street, New York City, N. Y. Meets every Monday, 8 p. m. AFFILIATED, EMPLOYERS' UNION:

Machine Engineers, Oilers and Water-tenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf. Headquarters: 229 West Street, N. York. Tel. 1198. Franklin. Meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m.

Branches: New York, N. Y., 24 South St. Baltimore, Md., 802-804 B. Broadway. Boston, Mass., 234 Commercial St. Norfolk, Va., 104 S. Commerce St. Newport News, Va., 2214 Washington Ave. Norfolk, Va., 85 Union St. New Orleans, La., 535 St. Ann St. Philadelphia, Pa., 252 South Second St.

Atlantic Coast Seaman's Union Headquarters: 51 South St., N. York. Tel. 4744. Broad. Meets every Tuesday, 9:30 a. m.

Branches: New York, N. Y., 400 West St. Boston, Mass., 254 Commercial St. Philadelphia, Pa., 206 Moravian St. Baltimore, Md., 802-804 South Broadway. Norfolk, Va., 231 Water St. Mobile, Ala., 104 South Commerce St. New Orleans, La., 535 St. Ann St. Portland, Me., 377 A. Fore St.

Marine Cooks and Stewards' Association of the Atlantic & Gulf. Headquarters: 4 South St., New York. Tel. 1379. Broad. Meets every Wednesday, 10 a. m.

Branches: New York, N. Y., 400 West St. Boston, Mass., 258 Commercial St. Philadelphia, Pa., 138 South Second St. New Orleans, La., 111 Deatur St. Baltimore, Md., 802-804 South Broadway. Norfolk, Va., 231 Water St. Newport News, Va., 2214 Washington Ave. Mobile, Ala., 104 South Commerce St.

Harbor Boatmen's Union of New York and vicinity Headquarters: 214 West Street. National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland. America's Headquarters: 3 State St., New York, N. Y.

BALTIMORE LOCALS
Local No. 1, General Longshoremen and Coal Handlers, 804 South Broadway. Local No. 2, Locust Point, General Longshoremen, Neckers' Hall. Local No. 3, Port Covington, Coal Handlers.

Local No. 4, Curtis Bay, Coal Handlers. Local No. 5, Copper Workers, White Eagle Hall.

International Longshoremen's Association Walter B. Holt, Vice-president and general organizer, 99 Watts Street. Local 224, Coastwise Longshoremen, Cummings' Hall, southwest corner Greenwich and 13th Streets. Every Thursday at 8 p. m.

Local 237, Foremen of Saw Trimmers, 305 East 117th Street. Second Monday of month, 8 p. m.

Local 248, Saw Trimmers, Savoy Hall, 107th Street and First Avenue, First and Third Saturdays, 8 p. m.

Local 243, Brotherhood of Ship Riggers, Marathon Hall, southwest corner 10th and Hudson Streets. Every Saturday, 8 p. m.

Local 291, Longshoremen, Chelsea Hall, northwest corner Eighth Avenue and 18th Street. First and third Tuesdays and second and fourth Thursdays, 8 p. m.

Local 279, Steamship Coal Handlers, Cummings' Hall, southwest corner Greenwich and West 11th Streets. Tuesday, 8 p. m. Local 373, Reek and Material Handlers, Murphy's Hall, 40th Street and Eighth Av. First and third Fridays.

Brooklyn Locals: Local 289, Longshoremen, 155 Degraw St. Local 298, Longshoremen, 146 Columbia Street. Local 237, Longshoremen, 78 President St. Local 246, Longshoremen, 79 Hamilton Av. Local 326, Coal Handlers, 159 Sackett St.

Hoboken (New Jersey) Locals: Local 504, Longshoremen, 152 Adams St. Second and fourth Sundays, 9 a. m. Local 505, Longshoremen, 110 Grand St. Second and fourth Sundays, 9 a. m.

Local 311, Longshoremen, 614 Second St. Second and fourth Sundays, 8 p. m. Local 321, Bureau Boatmen, 316 River St. First Sunday, 2 p. m.

Jersey City (New Jersey) Local Local 316, Reek and Coal Handlers, Seventh and Henderson Streets. First Sunday, 2 p. m.

South Amboy (New Jersey) Local Local 425, 40 Augusta Street.

International Union of Steam Engineers. Local 379, Shamton's Hall, Atlantic Av. and Court Street, Brooklyn, Ren. A. Post, business Agent, 415 Cornelia St., Brooklyn.

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Más de una vez hemos descrito la triste condición del fogonero marítimo. Trabajo duro, avatares, inseguridad y efectuando en condiciones penosas...

añado, algún amor, y más triste todavía, al bien uno a consolarlo, el tener que estar casi siempre lejos de casa...

La Civilización Norteamericana

Hoyos ya dado cuenta en anteriores números de las atrocidades que se cometen en los campos de concentración de San Diego...

Plan que, después de torturado, pudiera ir a decir al pueblo americano de qué modo los ciudadanos de San Diego recibían a los que profesaban una idea...

El cadáver del noble luchador que recogió por los W. W. de Los Angeles, y el último día, una imponente procesión...

Después de haber sufrido dolor horas de tortura, el cadáver fue llevado a un lugar apartado del desierto y cubierto con paja...

En algunos lugares podían leerse las siguientes inscripciones: "Nuestro silencio es nuestra bandera..."

Éran las diez de la noche... cuando desperté en la rotura de las vidrieras del cuarto donde dormía...

No hay diferentes razas, sólo una, impercedera: la Humana

¿Cuál es el instinto que atestigüe la diferencia de razas? La ciencia no es. Los verdaderos intelectuales empinados no lo corroboran...

Es que la atribuyen a su inferioridad física, naturalmente se dice. Pues te equivocas profundamente, porque el examen antropológico del esqueleto de un negro y un blanco...

JUSTICIA

¡Justicia, para ellos, para los desheredados de fortuna, para aquellos que por llevar un mendrugo de pan a sus hijos...

Trabaja, mientras cuatro burgueses, empujan la sangre del padre hecho oro, en poner a sus hijos y hereditarios...

Entre los muertos revolucionarios hallados en un cementerio, quedó el cuerpo del niño y valeroso compañero Germán López...

Regeneración continúa en busca de libertad, lo que se recibe para los que, en defensa de la procedencia justa...

Y hay todavía quien se sorprende que los negros estén en el blanco! En un momento, el negro es blanco...

JUSTICIA

¡Justicia, para ellos, para los desheredados de fortuna, para aquellos que por llevar un mendrugo de pan a sus hijos...

Trabaja, mientras cuatro burgueses, empujan la sangre del padre hecho oro, en poner a sus hijos y hereditarios...

La Revolucion en México

Las últimas noticias de la prensa norteamericana hablan de paz. Suponen a Zapata y a Orozco en tratativas con el Congreso mexicano para pactar la paz...

Entre los muertos revolucionarios hallados en un cementerio, quedó el cuerpo del niño y valeroso compañero Germán López...

Los compañeros Juan Espinosa y Espiridión Herrera, pertenecientes a la guerrilla libertaria que opera en el cerros de Chihuahua, fueron confinados para obtener provisiones para la guerrilla...

Regeneración continúa en busca de libertad, lo que se recibe para los que, en defensa de la procedencia justa...

SENALES DE LOS TIEMPOS

Hace un momento, pasando en la acera, gritaba desahogado un muchacho de diez a doce años...

Regeneración continúa en busca de libertad, lo que se recibe para los que, en defensa de la procedencia justa...

APLAZAMIENTO

Mañana aplazado para Agosto 6 Septiembre en vista del proceso que no sigue...

Regeneración continúa en busca de libertad, lo que se recibe para los que, en defensa de la procedencia justa...

PAGINAS AGENAS

El Asno y su Dueño

Camaba un pobre burro bajo el peso de su amo. La carga era demasiado pesada...

El Arabe y el Italiano

Por qué habéis venido a nuestro país? Por qué habéis venido a nuestro país? ¿Qué mal os hemos hecho?

DE LOS TABAQUEROS DESDE CHICAGO

A LOS COMPAÑEROS DE CYRILLA

Compañeros: Os pido que pongáis atención a estas renglones que, aunque faltos de retórica, son la voz de la verdad del sentir...

Para el atentado preparado a la junta del Partido Liberal Mexicano. Todavía así, el nombre firmado a nosotros una nueva protesta ante Taffi por nuestros compañeros de los Angeles en estos últimos días.

Don nuestros deseos que cuando estas cosas sean la luz haya recobrado la salud al hijo compañero. CORAZON LEAL. Bayama, P. R., Mayo 1912.

De los Trabajadores del Mar



Si desaparecieran los productores todos, entonces se temblaría la sociedad por que tendrían que dedicarse a producir los que son el sustento de nuestra vida.

Esta es la Ocasión

Estamos en la época de reclamar, no de mendigar. Es hora que nuestros reclamos cobren realidad, que bien oir la voz de ¡Alerta! contestemos todos con el ¡Alerta! estando unidos y obrando conscientemente...

Las Clases de Inglés

Desde dos semanas se cambiaron las horas de las clases por razón del mucho ruido que arrojan los destructores y para facilitar a los embarcados el modo de estudiar el idioma del país.

DESDE VERACRUZ

Redactor de CULTURA OBRERA. ¡Salud! De todas cosas que me tal vez no pueda favorecer con alguna que otra correspondencia de este país para tu periódico...

plandeante y soberbio se agalgnan riente y satisfecho. Rojas colgaduras adornaban sus balcones y en uno de ellos, en el central, la bandera de púrpura flameando en el aire tibio y acericado.

Compañeros de la Cyrilla, no estoy en mi profundo sentir con las líneas de mi correspondencia que me habéis enviado...

Desde Puerto Rico

Están los explotadores del cultivo de la caña de azúcar que no les llega la camisa al cuerpo. Si pasa el bill de los aduaneros libera una buena recaudación de esos malditos...

UN HASTIADO

Nota. Entiendo que para decir la verdad no necesita el lector de mi nombre propio. Si algún día la mentira o el engaño...

PRO- LABOR CULTURE

Table listing names and amounts for 'PRO- LABOR CULTURE' including Marine Firemen's Union, Juan Malvido, B. Oliveros, etc.

PARA CULTURA OBRERA

La diversidad de las leyes dadas a unos de estas de las que a otros se dieron, no tuvo más objeto que desvirtuar entre ellos, en beneficio de los que venían disfrutando de la suprema autoridad...

DESDE TAMPA

En ningún tiempo de la existencia humana, se ha difundido más la propaganda, por los que trabajan y sufren el poder brutal y despiadado de las instituciones sociales...

NECROLOGIA

Escrita para ser leída en el sepelio del compañero José Ventura Ventines. Compañeros: En este acto solemne, en el cual venimos a manifestar el sentimiento profundo que nos causa la pérdida de un amigo...

PRO-BRAZO Y CEREBRO

Table listing names and amounts for 'PRO-BRAZO Y CEREBRO' including Remigio Milla, Juan Freire, Anarquieta Acerina, etc.

ABORRANDO SELLOS Y TIEMPO

BUENOS AIRES.-E. F. Recibimos los sellos, pero nos las alegrías. SANTIAGO DE CUBA.-J. M. Recibimos los dos pesos. No hemos dejado de mandar el periódico nunca.