# 'The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class'

## The *International Socialist Review* and Class War in the USA 1900-1918

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**Abstract**

The US Marxist journal, the *International Socialist Review* was established in July 1900, appearing monthly until February 1918. To begin with its purpose was primarily educational, introducing its readers to Marxist ideas, applying those ideas to the contemporary United States and keeping readers up to date with developments in other countries. By 1908-09 it had embraced the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and was changing its purpose from one of education to one of agitation. It provided fierce, uncompromising coverage of the class struggles taking place across the United States, class struggles that saw employers opposing unionisation with often-murderous brutality. The ISR supported and urged on all workers in struggle. At the same time it continued to keep its readers informed about international developments, opposing US Imperialism, condemning the First World War and supporting the Russian Revolution. It was finally suppressed by the Woodrow Wilson administration as part of its wartime crackdown on the American left.

**Key words**: Charles Kerr, Mary Marcy, Marxism, IWW, class struggle, *International Socialist Review*

The ferocity with which employers in the United States resisted unionisation was greater than in any other liberal democracy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Working men and women were brutalised and shot down in dispute after dispute. This was very much a reflection of the fact that while formally democratic, the country was in reality

dominated by big business, with the likes of John D. Rockerfeller feeling that they could very much do what they liked, including having people killed for attempting to unionise. What is particularly impressive is that American workers, many of them immigrants, actually fought back, themselves took up arms in the face of their employers' bloody repression. As Robert Ovetz has put it, this was a time when workers 'shot back'. The scale of the repression and the ferocity of the violence is still not really acknowledged in many histories of the American labour movement.[1] What this article attempts is to examine the impact of this experience of repression and resistance on the Marxist journal, the *International Socialist Review* (*ISR*) and at the same time to look at how it reported, indeed celebrated, the workers' struggles including the shooting, when necessary, of police and strikebreakers. From this point of view, the *ISR* can be seen as a remarkable, indeed arguably unique Marxist journal in the English-speaking world in the years before the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The first issue of the monthly *ISR* came out in July 1900, published by Charles Kerr, the socialist publisher who was to play a major role in bringing both the works of Marx and Engels and of many contemporary Marxists to an American audience.[2] It was edited by Algie Simons. The first editorial noted that it was now 'a little over fifty years ago when the economic development of that time caused the vague longings for freedom that had ever pervaded the minds of the workers to take form in what has come to be known as modern or scientific socialism'. These ideas are today 'geographically as universal as the "world market" of modern commercialism'. The editorial goes on to acknowledge that the United States had been slow, indeed, was 'one of the last to be affected'. This was put down to the particular nature of capitalist development in the country: nature's bounty was so generous that it took years for a distinct capitalist class to emerge. Once 'this had been accomplished there was nothing left for those to do who had not shared in this first distribution of the booty but to sell themselves into wage slavery to the owning class'. With the appearance of a proletariat their came class struggle and then 'socialism began to grow and develop'. And now the socialist movement in the USA was advanced enough to require 'a magazine of scientific socialism and the International Socialist Review has been established to fill that need'. The editorial proclaimed three objectives. The first was 'to counteract the sentimental Utopianism that has so long characterised the American movement', the second was to 'endeavour to keep our readers in touch with the socialist movements in other countries' and the third, 'perhaps

most important of all', was 'the interpretation of American social conditions in the light of socialist philosophy by the socialists of this country'.[3] The journal was very much directed towards the membership of the Socialist Party (SP) and was always, even when it later embraced the revolutionary trade unionism of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), to champion Eugene Debs, the leader of the SP left. According to Paul Buhle, in its early years, the *ISR* published 'more theory than all other US Socialist publications combined'.[4]

This first issue of the journal contained an opening article on 'Plutocracy or Democracy?' Here William T. Brown argued that the government of the United States 'is plutocratic and has been so from its inception'. What Americans lived under was 'government of, for and by the interests of private property. In other words, it is a government which has its actual source in wealth, is determined in all its policies by the demands of wealth, and knows no other end than to serve the interests of private profit'. This could, of course, have been written today. The conclusion was that plutocracy could only be overthrown throughout the world and democracy realised by the socialist movement: 'Our choice must be between plutocracy and socialism'.[5] There were also articles on the municipal elections in France and Belgium that looked at how well the socialists had performed, on 'Karl Marx on Money' and an article on 'Trade Unions and Socialism' written by Max Hayes. The second article in this first issue, 'England and International Socialism', was written by Henry Hyndman, the leader of the British Social Democratic Federation. He welcomed the launch of the *ISR* as a journal intended 'to keep up intellectual intercourse between the revolutionary Socialists of the new world and the old'. He proclaimed himself to be 'a revolutionary Social-Democrat and I write as such to the International Socialist Review'. As far as Hyndman was concerned, the advance and progress of capitalism was preparing the way for socialism. The 'trusts and combines and monopolies' of the 'Rockefellers and Vanderbilts and Pierpoint Morgans', by concentrating ownership, were pointing the way to 'the glorious cooperative commonwealth for which we, as Socialists, are consciously making ready'. Indeed, as far as capitalist development was concerned, 'America manifestly leads the way', and it was 'high time that the workers of the United States should understand the tremendous responsibility which thus lies upon their shoulders'. He did, however, warn his American readers against the danger of the Fabian contagion![6] Later issues were to carry contributions by Keir Hardie, Ramsay Macdonald, Victor Grayson, Harry Quelch, Tom Mann and Theodore Rothstein among others.

This first issue also saw the *ISR* report on the progress of the industrial struggle in the United States. This was included as a section of the editorial where the Chicago building workers lockout and the St Louis street car strike were discussed. In Chicago, the police and the courts were cracking down on the locked out workers with the mayor ordering a parade of the police, with their machine guns prominently displayed, past the union headquarters. Violence, the editorial argued, was 'inevitable' in such disputes and equally inevitably worked 'to the disadvantage of the labourers'. The way forward, however, was not solidarity action by other workers, but 'that the scene of the conflict must be changed to the political field', in effect to electoral socialism. The same message was put forward in the discussion of the St Louis strike where boycotts and solidarity action were dismissed as ineffective and instead it was argued that strikers were 'fighting … on ground of their enemies choosing'.[7] Once again the way forward was electoral socialism. What they were advocating, however, was not the gradualist piecemeal compromised reformism that was to become the hall mark of British Labourism, but rather the avowedly Marxist electoralism of the German Social Democrats, winning a parliamentary majority and then legislating the expropriation of the capitalist class, in effect legislating revolution. This was the essence of the *ISR*'s politics regarding the class struggle at this stage of its history, very much the politics of the SP left. At the time the first issue was published, the *ISR* had 800 subscribers, a number that had risen to 3,500 by April the following year, along with more than 3,000 sold over the counter.[8]

Over succeeding months and years the *ISR* carried major articles on the 'Chicago Lockout', 'The Philosophy of Empire', 'The Problem of the Negro', 'The Cooperative Movement in Belgium', 'Socialism and Religion', 'Art and Socialism', 'Municipal Socialism', 'Edward Carpenter and His Message', 'Labour, Capital and China', 'Maxim Gorki, the Portrayer of Unrest', 'Sociological Laws and Historical Fatalism', 'The Negro in the Class Struggle', 'Intellectuals and Working Class Socialism', 'The United States and World Politics', 'The Socialist Party and the Farmer', 'New Movements amongst the Jewish Proletariat', 'Sexual Slavery', 'Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer', 'Socialism and the General Strike in Germany', 'The Revolutionary Movement in Russia', 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', 'Why is there no Socialism in the United States' and much more. It proclaimed itself on its masthead to be 'A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought' and more than lived up to that claim.

It also carried powerful indictments of exploitation in the United States and elsewhere. A good example appeared in the March 1901 issue, 'Civilization in Southern Mills', an article by the union organiser Mother Jones exposing working conditions in the Southern cotton mills. At one mill, 'children of six and seven years of age were dragged out of bed at half-past 4 in the morning when the task-masters whistle blew'. They were all at work by 5:30, beginning a fourteen-hour working day with a half-hour break at 12. As far as she was concerned these children were being effectively worked to death, murdered, 'worked to the limit of existence'. The children are 'half-fed, half-clothed, half-housed' and while they work 'the poodle dogs of their masters are petted and coddled and sleep on pillows of down and the capitalist judges jail the agitators that would dare to help these helpless ones to better their condition'. She described the working conditions she had seen as 'a disgrace to any race or age'. The only way forward was 'a complete overthrow of the capitalistic system' and she vowed to 'work and hope and pray for the coming of that better day'.[9] But how to achieve this 'better day'?

The October 1901 issue carried a ferocious anonymous attack on anarchism, 'Anarchy vs Socialism', responding to the assassination of President McKinley. Here it was stated quite bluntly that 'When the ballot was put in the hands of the workers, when universal suffrage was attained, the need of forcible revolution passed away'.[10] This was the *ISR*'s fixed position at this time, reiterated in issue after issue. And it reported developments abroad with a regular 'Socialism Abroad' section, written first by Ernest Unterman and later by William Bohn, a former member of the De Leonist Socialist Labor Party (SLP), as well as carrying regular in-depth articles on the state of the international Socialist movement in just about every issue, ranging from Germany to Russia, from Japan to Australia. It also had a regular section, compiled by Max Hayes, on developments in the US labour movement, 'The World of Labour'. Hayes, it is worth noticing, had been an organiser for the International Typographical Union and was the editor of a local labour newspaper, the *Cleveland Citizen*. He was always a staunch supporter of working inside the American Federation of Labour (AFL), even after the *ISR* threw itself behind the rival Industrial Workers of the World. The *ISR* also printed fiction, for example, serialising Caroline Pemberton's novel, *The Charity Girl*, from March 1901 through to February 1902.

Even while the *ISR* was successfully establishing itself as an important Marxist educational and theoretical voice on the American Left, there still remained concern at the slow progress the socialist cause was making. The

editorial in the February 1902 issue complained that 'Seldom has a ruling class enjoyed such unimpeded sway as the great capitalist class of America has at the present moment' with the new President, Theodore Roosevelt, having been 'long recognised as one of the most authoritative mouthpieces of concentrated capitalism'. Once again, Simons used the editorial to insist that any idea that the capitalist class would attempt to hold onto power by force was ridiculous and that fears of 'militarism' were exaggerated. At the very same time, he argued that 'the day of forcible revolutions has passed', because the US Army was easily strong enough to put down 'mob action' and 'overawe strikers'. The only way forward was militant electoral socialism or as he put it: 'political revolution – the only movement capitalism really fears'.[11]

## The IWW

It was this lack of progress, particularly the failure to win over the American Federation of Labour to the socialist cause that led the journal to welcome the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in June 1905. Indeed, its editor, Algie Simons, was one of the principal organisers of the founding convention and had been involved in drawing up the manifesto calling for a convention to establish a new trade union movement, a movement organised along industrial rather than craft lines, 'founded on the class struggle', and that would embrace socialist politics. The *ISR* actually published the 'Manifesto of Industrial Unionists' in its February 1905 issue. In his editorial for that issue, Simons wrote: 'It has for some time been evident that the American Federation of Labour was not adjusted to the economic conditions of today, and that it must give way to some organisation more fit to meet and solve present industrial problems'. For this reason, the forthcoming convention to establish 'a new organisation along industrial lines … is without doubt one of the most significant facts in the labour movement of today'. He was still a bit concerned as to whether the present was 'the proper time for such a change to come'.[12]

Once the IWW had been established, the lead article in the August 1905 issue of the *ISR*, 'Industrial Workers of the World', written by Simons himself, celebrated its formation as 'in my opinion … a decisive turning point in American working class history'. He replied to the new organisation's critics who claimed that the AFL was already beginning to organise on industrial lines, asking: where is the evidence? And as for the AFL being won over to socialism, as far as he was concerned the AFL machine

was 'further from Socialism than at any time in its existence', indeed, it had 'declared open war on socialism'.[13] The same issue also carried a short article in support of the IWW by Eugene Debs. As far as he was concerned, the founding convention had been 'as representative a proletarian gathering as ever met in this or any other country'. He was certain that the IWW 'will appeal to the workers of the land and they will rally to its standard in ever increasing numbers until it becomes the dominant power on the economic field in the working class struggle for emancipation'.[14] What Simons believed was that industrial unions would be much more effective vehicles for spreading the socialist message than craft unions, but for him the electoral battleground was still decisive.

In fact, the IWW in its early years was beset by factionalism and barely survived. It had to face of the ferocious hostility of the AFL and of the right wing of the Socialist Party, conflict between the De Leonists and everyone else, along with an attempt to legally lynch the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), in particular, Big Bill Haywood, who spent a year and a half in jail before being finally released at the end of July 1907. The *ISR*, which had campaigned in support of the WFM prisoners, celebrated Haywood's release as 'an epochal event in the history of the working class in the United States'. It prophesised that 'Out of this fight the working class advances to new victories strengthened and prepared for greater battles'.[15] By now, however, Simons was wholly disenchanted with the IWW and was moving to the right, even rejecting the Socialist Party and looking to the formation of the Labour Party in Britain as perhaps showing the way forward for the Left in the United States.[16] At the start of 1908, Kerr fired him (the January editorial was Simons' last contribution) and took over the editorship of the *ISR* himself. Mary Marcy, the author of the four part 'Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer', was to play an increasingly important role in the production of the *ISR*, alongside Kerr.[17] Together, they were determined to effectively re-launch the journal, providing a voice for the growing militancy that was to see the country embroiled in the most ferocious industrial struggles. They re-launched it as 'the Fighting Magazine of the Working Class', as an agitational rather than a theoretical journal, very much the voice of the IWW, but supporting militancy across the board, regardless of union affiliation. Sales increased from around 6,000 a month to over 40,000. The decisive event in this transformation was the Pressed Steel Car Company strike at McKees Rocks in Pennsylvania.

## Giving voice to the class struggle

'As we go to press, workingmen are being shot down at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, to break a strike for living wages by a mass of half-organised labourers'.[18] This one sentence comment in the editorial for the August 1909 *ISR* is the first mention of the historic Pressed Steel Car Company strike. The very next issue led with an eleven page illustrated article, 'The Strikes in Pennsylvania' by Louis Duchez, reporting the strike in detail and how it had spread to the towns of Butler and New Castle. Duchez was a strong supporter of the IWW. He described the confused beginnings of the strike at McKees Rocks in early July 1909, with 5,000 men eventually walking out, most of them non-union, 'nearly all foreigners, principally Germans, Hungarians and Poles'. In Butler, the walkout was against the Standard Steel Car Company, involving 3,000 workers, 'nearly all Poles, Greeks, Hungarians and Russians', once again mostly non-union, while in New Castle workers at the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, 3,300 workers, about half of them unionised, had walked out. The strikes had inevitably been met with repression, described by Duchez, with some justification, as 'the most brutal and bare-faced ever used in the history of labour troubles in the United States'. They were protesting against wage cuts and against the most appalling working conditions, taking on the anti-union bastion that was the US steel industry: 'the men worked until they dropped with over exhaustion' and at the Pressed Steel Car Company's plants, one of which was known locally as 'the slaughter house', one worker was killed on average every day. Such was the level of desperation in McKees Rocks that 'When one was killed more men were waiting at the gate ready to take his place'. Once the workers had walked out, the notorious Bergoff strikebreaking agency was brought in. Local police, company guards, Bergoff gunmen and state mounted police, 'the Cossacks', were deployed to break the strike, with strikers and their families beaten and shot. Duchez wrote of the widespread distrust of the AFL ('And this distrust is well founded'), describing how the IWW was already on the scene. He had himself helped organise and spoke at a meeting in Butler where out of a crowd of 800, some 650 had been signed up in the One Big Union. He went on to observe: 'Political action is at times an effective weapon in fighting the capitalist class, but we should not get away from the fact that the revolutionary movement of the workers is on the industrial field … I miss my guess badly if western Pennsylvania is not going to be the storm centre of the revolution'.[19] This was very much the direction in which the *ISR* was moving.

The following month, the lead article in the *ISR* was Duchez's celebratory 'Victory at McKees Rocks', which reported how the workers had overcome often murderous brutality to achieve victory. As he points out when the strike had begun the workers were unorganised, consisting of no less than sixteen different nationalities, yet they had come together to 'put into operation methods of warfare new in the history of labour wars in the United States'. His article chronicles these methods and celebrates the role of the IWW. A good indication of the *ISR*'s uncompromising militancy at this time is provided by the photograph accompanying the article of strikers' families being evicted from their company housing. It identifies Deputy Sheriff Harry Exler as the man putting a baby buggy on top of a wagon and simply comments 'HE WAS KILLED BY STRIKERS THE DAY FOLLOWING'. Another photograph illustrating the story was of the funeral of Stephen Horvath, a striker who had been killed by the police. One important lesson that Duchez drew from the strike was the need for 'a revolutionary industrial union', that 'the political power of the working class is wrapped up in the economic organisation' and that 'the revolutionary organisation of the workers is on the industrial field'.[20]

As far as Duchez was concerned the strike showed that social revolution was very much on the agenda in the United States with the conservative leadership of the AFL as one of the main obstacles and this view was endorsed from the 'Editor's Chair'. The McKees Rocks strike was celebrated as 'The first great battle of the new Revolution on American soil', the workers had 'beaten the steel trust to a stand-still' and their victory was 'an inspiration … to the whole working class of the world'. This was followed by a wholehearted editorial endorsement of the IWW. It had overcome 'bitter factional disputes' and had made 'a new start'. The *ISR* had watched its progress 'with sympathy tempered by misgivings', concerned about whether or not it was up to 'the tremendous task involved in organising the working class of the United States along modern lines to battle with organised capital'. The struggle in Pennsylvania had shown that it was: 'The events of the last few months have convinced us that the Industrial Workers of the World, as now reorganised, offers the best available rallying point for socialists on the economic field, and it is on that field that the main battle must be fought and won before capitalism will end'. It went on to conclude that 'something more than voting is needed to overthrow capitalism, and revolutionary unionism is the something more'.[21] Even Max Hayes, still and always a staunch champion of working inside the AFL, showed some sympathy for the IWW in his 'The World

of Labour' column. One last point is worth making here regarding the level of violence that employers were prepared to unleash against workers struggling to unionise. The clashes between strikers and police, troopers and company guards that took place on 22 August, 'Bloody Sunday' as it became known, left not only Exler dead, but two armed scabs, one state trooper and eight strikers. This was the worst single incident, but it was far from alone. Indeed, the violence used against the strikers and their families was only restrained when the strikers' secret 'Unknown Committee' made clear that it would take retaliatory action every time a striker was killed and would kill a state trooper or armed strikebreaker in reprisal. It demonstrated both its determination and its ability to put this threat into practice and the forces of repression backed off.

From now on, over succeeding years, right up until its effective suppression by the Wilson administration in 1918, the *ISR* was to be effectively the voice, or rather one of the voices, of the revolutionary IWW. It was very much 'the Fighting Magazine of the Working Class'. In an editorial in the July 1910 issue, Kerr made clear that whereas when it had been launched ten years before, the *ISR* had seen its role as being 'to educate the educators', that 'the principles of socialism could be mastered by a chosen few and handed down to the many', now they recognised that this was a mistake. Instead, he now recognised 'that the industrial workers arrive from their daily experience at a clearer view of the class struggle than any mere theorist can possibly reach'.[22] This was a massive shift that completely changed the character of the journal. As part of this transformation, Bill Haywood, one of the IWW's leaders, joined its executive board.

From now on the *ISR* reported the IWW's Free Speech campaigns, the many strikes and organising campaigns they led and the brutal repression that was meted out to them, repression that ranged from beatings, imprisonment and shootings to judicial lynching (Joe Hill) and straightforward assassination (Frank Little). At the same time, it remained open to other voices and gave its support to workers' militancy everywhere and whatever unions they were members of. Indeed, in the aftermath of the McKees Rocks strike, the IWW once again found itself marking time up until the great strikes at Lawrence in 1912 and Paterson in 1913. There were massive historic struggles elsewhere though. Throughout, the concern of the *ISR* was to give a voice to workers in struggle, to point the way forward and to build the revolutionary movement in the United States during a period of great class conflict, supporting both the IWW and the left wing of the Socialist Party.

## Strikes and class struggle

While the *ISR* embraced revolutionary industrial unionism and the IWW as pointing the way forward to the achievement of socialism in the USA, with the Socialist Party relegated to very much a secondary role, the reality was that massive struggles took place in which the IWW was either not involved at all or only involved on the periphery. The *ISR* reported them regardless. The great shirtwaist workers strike was one of these historic strikes. It began with a number of localised walkouts and lockouts involving members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). At the Triangle Waist Company, when the management discovered that a handful of its workers had joined the union, it locked out all 500 of them and advertised for scab replacements. These local disputes culminated in a general strike in the industry on 24 November 1909.[23] Thousands of women workers, including many who were non-union, walked out. They signed up with the ILGWU. Most of the more than 30,000 strikers (the strike became known as 'the Uprising of the Thirty Thousand') were Russian Jewish immigrants, Yiddish speakers, but they were joined by some 2,000 Italian women. They were overwhelmingly young, many of them teenagers. Many firms gave in almost immediately, accepting the union demands, but for thousands of women it became a hard, bitter protracted dispute that lasted through a cold winter. The recalcitrant employers brought in scabs, hired professional strike-breakers and, of course, had the full support of the police and the courts. By 22 December over 700 pickets had been arrested and many strikers had been the victim of vicious assault by police and strike-breakers. As Philip Foner points out the courts 'countenanced arrests and beatings of strikers, many of them teenagers. Every day, scores of pickets were fined or sentenced to the workhouse. On the other hand, the magistrates discharged entire contingents of thugs arrested for assaulting young strikers, in spite of their criminal records'.[24] Eventually, the union won only a partial victory with many employers refusing to recognise the union or closed shop. One of these employers was the Triangle Waist Company and the consequences for the workers were to be horrendous.

The May 1911 issue of the *ISR* carried a powerful article by Louis Duchez, 'The Murder of the Shirt-Waist Makers', reporting on the fire at the Triangle Waist factory on 25 March 1911.[25] It was, as he writes, 'the bold, brutal and cold-blooded murder of one hundred and twenty-five girls, averaging nineteen years of age, and twenty-one men, here

in New York'. When a fire broke out, many of the workers found the safety doors locked and were trapped. Young women, their clothes on fire, jumped to their deaths from the ninth floor. The article was illustrated by photographs of dead bodies piled up on the sidewalk, bringing home the full horror of the disaster. On the day of the mass funeral, he reported that 'between 150,000 and 200,000 workers' marched through the streets, while 'about 300,000 mourners lined the sidewalks, and … a million wage slaves did not work the day because of the funeral'. This massacre was a direct result of the union not being strong enough to force adequate safety measures on the management. If the New York labour movement had thrown its weight behind the shirtwaist strikers in 1909, if necessary closing the city down to ensure their victory, the dreadful loss of life would have been avoided. There was, Duchez insisted, only one way forward: 'UNIONISM – strong, aggressive MILITANT UNIONISM'.[26] Absolutely predictably, the Triangle bosses were acquitted of any responsibility for the disaster, which was apparently an unfortunate act of God. The verdict was reported in the *ISR* with considerable bitterness under the headline, 'God Did It', sagely observing that the capitalist class had made this God of theirs very much in their own image![27]

## The Philadelphia General Strike

The *ISR* covered the great Philadelphia General Strike of 1910 with two articles by the Philadelphia SP member, Joseph Cohen, in the April and May 1910 issues: 'When The Sleeper Wakes: The Car Strike and the General Strike in Philadelphia', parts one and two. The city-wide general strike was provoked by an attempt by the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company to break the street car or tram workers' union, the Amalgamated Association of Street Car and Electric Railwaymen, an attempt that had the full support of the City authorities. The Company established a company union, derecognising the Amalgamated Association and repudiating all agreements. On 18 January 1910, the workers voted to strike by 5,121 to 233 and after the bosses began sacking union activists, the workers walked out. Scabs and gunmen were imported, courtesy of the Bergoff strikebreaking agency and when the trams took to the streets there were many clashes between pickets and union sympathisers and the scabs and police as they went through working-class districts. There was particularly fierce clash outside the Baldwin Locomotive Works where a tram was wrecked and the police

were pelted with nuts and bolts, washers and scrap from inside the factory. They responded with gunfire, blindly firing some 200 shots into the plant. The *ISR* reproduced a remarkable photograph of the police firing into the works in its April 1910 issue along with one of a burning tram. When the National Guard were sent in to reinforce the police on 24 February, the Central Labour Union (CLU), the US equivalent of a Trades Council, threatened to call a general strike throughout the city. The general strike went ahead from midnight on 4 March with more and more workers coming out every day, until by 9 March 139,000 workers were out. Some 40,000 building workers struck alongside nearly 40,000 textile and clothing workers, 20,000 engineering workers and others. Thousands of non-union workers joined the walk out with the city's unions signing up 20,000 new members. An attempt to call a Pennsylvania-wide strike failed in the face of official AFL opposition.

Inevitably the strike was accompanied by considerable violence. By the end of the dispute some 300 trams had been wrecked and over a dozen workers had been killed in clashes with the police and strike-breakers. Trams were actually run through the streets without stopping anywhere and with armed scabs, Bergoff gunmen, shooting at anyone who came too near. Indeed, so brutal were the so-called forces of 'law and order' that the president of the CLU, John Murphy, publicly warned of retaliatory action. The authorities were, he said, in danger of provoking 'a carnival of riot and bloodshed that would startle the entire country' and they should remember that there were union men who 'can shoot as straight as any trooper'.[28] But the Company held firm and the general strike was called off on 27 March, leaving the streetcar workers to fight on alone. They eventually returned to work in mid-April, having won a partial victory, a pay rise and a no-victimisation agreement, but without union recognition. For Cohen, the failure of the general strike was an indication that voting Socialist at the ballot box might be the way forward rather than trade union struggle. As he observed, many workers who had come out in support of the streetcar workers actually were victimised, but it was still 'the most magnificent performance ever achieved by the labour of the city. Still, he thought a general strike confined to one city was always likely to be largely spectacular', but even so, 'The sleeper has awakened' and while he might have stumbled, 'It cannot be long before he will stand erect and snap his chains'. Louis Duchez, writing in the IWW newspaper, the *Industrial Worker*, on 26 March, insisted that even though the general strike had ended in failure, it had done more to teach 'class consciousness and solidarity than a

whole trainload of literature' and that from now on 'the struggle … will be fiercer than it has ever been before'.[29]

## New York and Chicago

Later that year, in the September issue, Louis Duchez reported on the situation in New York, 'New York City and the Revolution', celebrating 'the spirit of revolt' that he saw everywhere. The rightwing union officials might well be cooperating 'with the capitalists in keeping the mass of the workers in submission', but there were millions of New Yorkers who would, he believed, not stand for capitalism 'much longer'. Even the police, 'always on the alert to club and shoot the workers who show the least spirit of revolt, know that something is coming'. As we have already seen, Duchez was later (May 1911) to report of the Triangle fire for the *ISR*. He was one of the most important regular contributors at this time, but was to die of natural causes soon afterwards on 24 July, aged only twenty-seven. He had worked as a coal miner before joining the US Army, serving in Cuba, but since leaving the military had become, in the words of his *ISR* obituary, 'a splendid proletarian scholar … A man marvellously gifted with intellectual powers lost to the working class'. He was a poet, fluent in French, Italian and Spanish, someone who believed that the role of the Socialist Party was primarily educational and that the IWW was the decisive instrument for working class revolution. He was wholeheartedly committed to advancing the cause of Industrial Unionism as the way forward for the working class, and, according to his obituary, no one had done more to proselytise for the cause.[30]

In January and March 1911, the *ISR* reported on the great revolt of the garment workers in Chicago, 'The Fighting Garment Workers' and 'The Garment Workers Strike Lost', both by the socialist journalist Robert Dvorak. He celebrated what had begun as a small localised dispute involving 'sixteen girls without the vestige of organisation', who walked out in opposition to a wage cut. Soon 'the struggle spread to 41,000 persons and tied up almost 200 shops'. It was, he enthused, 'the greatest and most unique strike ever known'. And the strike, 'was progressing admirably', until the class collaborating leadership of the United Garment Workers, their allies in the Chicago Federation of Labour and on the rightwing of the Socialist Party moved to sell it out. By the time the union leaders called the strike off, two workers had been shot dead by the police, hundreds had been beaten up and 374 had been arrested. Workers returned to work without any concessions, without union recognition and with hundreds

of militants sacked and blacklisted. The union leaders preferred a defeated membership to a militant one. And Dvorak's tremendous account of the struggle was to cost him his job as well, sacked by the Chicago *Daily Socialist* for his opposition to the sell-out.

## The class war heats up

The *ISR* reported extensively on the great IWW led strikes at Lawrence in 1912 and at Paterson in 1913.[31] The Paterson strike broke out on 11 January 1911 when some 2,000 textile workers at the Everett mill walked out in protest against a pay cut, initiating the famous 'Bread and Roses' mass strike. By the end of the month, 25,000 workers were on strike in the face of police brutality and scab violence that left two workers dead and the attempted judicial lynching of two IWW organisers, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, charged with being accessories to murder for encouraging violence. The AFL did its best to come to the assistance of the employers and to sell the strikers out, but was soon seen off to widespread derision. Most famously, the IWW introduced a holiday scheme, sending strikers' children off to stay with the families of sympathisers. The police intervened to prevent this with their customary brutality, an intervention that decisively mobilised working-class opinion, across much of the country, in support of the strikers. Such was the impact of the strike that hundreds of thousands of textile workers were given pay rises in other towns and cities for fear that they would be inspired to take action by the Paterson strikers. After nine weeks, the employers capitulated. Ettor and Giovannitti still had to stand trial, but were acquitted after a fifty-eight-day trial, with the IWW threatening to call a nationwide general strike if they were found guilty.[32]

Less successful was the strike by 25,000 silk workers in Lawrence the following year where the employers held out for six months, starving the workers back to work. Once again, this strike was accompanied by police brutality and scab violence that left five workers dead and over 1,400 strikers and strike sympathisers arrested with many beaten by the police. Once the strike had been defeated, thousands of workers were blacklisted by the employers. It is worth noticing Mary Marcy's editorial on the Paterson defeat. She observed that: 'From now on we predict that it will be more difficult to win class conscious strikes in America, for the employing class is learning to make the battle of one small group of capitalists the business of ALL capitalists'. The Paterson strike had taught the workers the same lesson: 'there are only TWO great nations – the capitalist and working

class – and that the interests of all workers lie in abolishing the Profit System'.[33]

The *ISR* also reported on the great class battles that took place in West Virginia and in Colorado. These particular disputes once again made absolutely clear the readiness of American employers to use lethal force to defeat attempts at unionisation. What events in both West Virginia and Colorado also show is that American workers were themselves prepared to respond to often-murderous attacks by police, company guards, private detectives, armed strike-breakers and the National Guard with lethal force. Only in the United States could a dispute like the Cripple Creek strike in Colorado in 1903-04, an attempt at unionisation by the Western Federation of Miners, end with forty-two killed, 112 wounded, over 1,300 strikers interned without trial for months on end and nearly 800 strikers, many of them brutally beaten in the process, being forcibly deported from the state without any judicial process.[34] And only in America, could a victimised coal miner like Fred Mooney recall how in the fight for unionisation during the Cabin and Paint Creek strike in West Virginia in 1912-13 he had been involved in an attack on a company store: 'after firing several score of shots they retired as quietly as they had come, leaving dead and wounded gunmen behind them. How many they never knew: the undertaker who embalmed the bodies and the trainmen who brought them out said there were thirteen'. He recalled another fight where union men, members of the United Mine Workers, carried out a surprise attack on company gunmen in the town of Mucklow in July 1912: as dawn broke 'hundreds of rifles belched forth pent up revenge'. The company guards replied with machine gun fire, but the union had designated 'several of the best shots … to silence the machine guns if possible … It was estimated that 10,000 shots were fired by both sides. It was never known how many gunmen were killed … but reports from railroad men and undertakers set the number at 15 or 16'.[35] This attack continued over two days. Remember these were not episodes in a guerrilla insurgency or a working class revolution, but episodes in the fight to unionise!

The *ISR* reported extensively on the war in West Virginia. In his account, Edward Kintzer, a leading West Virginia socialist, reported that union men were purchasing guns and ammunition, ready to take on the company guards, 'thugs, assassins, brutes in human guise, traitors, rapists, the lowest form of man', provided by the Baldwin Felts strike-breaking agency. He provided a graphic description of the July attack on Mucklow already mentioned and of how company guards responded by attacking

the tent colony that evicted miners had set up for their families at Holly Grove, driving the 'women and children into the waters of Paint Creek and off into the woods'. Six months later, Ralph Chaplin, another leading IWW member, reported on the continuing battle, warning that the miners were just 'waiting for the leaves to come out' and provide them with cover before taking the company guards on again. He absolutely defended the right of the miners to fight gun in hand, to 'wage open war to the knife', indeed he assumed it. No one, he insisted, could condemn the miners for using 'the self-same weapons which their oppressors are using against them'. Chaplin described another attack on the Holly Grove tent colony in February 1913, which saw company guards machine gunning the camp from the safety of an armoured train, the Bull Moose Special: 'Miners huts were torn to splinters and tents were riddled with bullets'. Soon after, in reprisal, the train was attacked in a 'pitched battle' in which, he reports 'sixteen men were killed, or rather four men and twelve mine guards'. Chaplin's article was followed by a poem, 'When the Leaves Come Out', by an anonymous miner (in fact him), looking forward to a settling of accounts rifle in hand with the company gunmen.[36]

The July 1913 issue of the *ISR* carried two articles, one by Wyatt Thompson and the other by Fred Merrick, both lamenting the betrayal of the West Virginia miners by the leadership of the UMW, 'a disgrace even to the black record of the UMW … who have so often betrayed the West Virginia miners'.[37] The miners 'have been forced to return to work under the old hellish condition of virtual peonage'.[38]

## The Ludlow massacre

What of Colorado? Here John D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was waging war against the UMW with murderous ferocity. But the miners, mostly immigrant workers, fought back, blow for blow, as far as they were able. While the Ludlow massacre of 19 April 1914 is the most notorious episode in this 'war', as early as February 1914, the *ISR* carried a report, 'Nine Sharpshooters', by Mary Marcy celebrating the exploits of nine union snipers, immigrant workers, veterans of the Balkan Wars, who had picked off the company guards manning a machine gun and captured the weapon. On their 'triumphal march homeward', they had run into a convoy of vehicles carrying supplies for the company guards and had captured that as well. She went on to welcome the killing of George Belcher, the Baldwin-Felts boss in Colorado, himself the cold-blooded murderer of union men, shot down by an unknown sniper in

front of fifty company guards and hundreds of troops. This was indeed class war with a vengeance.[39]

On 19 April 1914, company guards and Baldwin-Felts gunmen, who had been incorporated into the National Guard, attacked the UMW tent colony at Ludlow, machine gunning the tents and then looting them and burning them down. The Ludlow colony was one of a dozen the union had established to house miners and their families after they had been evicted from company housing and was home to some 1,300 men, women and children. They had been subjected to harassment from Rockefeller's thugs from the very beginning, including the occasional machine gun attack, but now the camp was completely destroyed. The official figure for the number of people killed in the attack was twenty-two, but the union put the figure at over fifty. Among the dead were twelve children (one shot and eleven asphyxiated) and two women. One of the union leaders in the camp, Louis Tikas, who appealed to the guards to end to the attack, was beaten with rifle butts and summarily executed, shot three times. The *ISR* reported the Ludlow massacre in its June 1914 issue, with its famous drawn cover of a miner with a revolver in one hand, a dead child cradled in his other arm and a dead woman and baby at his feet. It devoted twenty pages of text and photographs to the episode. Leslie Marcy chronicled the attack in his article, 'The Class War in Colorado'. It was, as he put it, 'a private war, with the wealth of the richest man in the world behind the mine guards'. The Baldwin Felts agency had sent 'their most expert man-killers' to Colorado to help crush the union and the massacre was the inevitable result. Vincent St John of the IWW contributed an article on 'The Lessons of Ludlow', once again urging the need for solidarity action and pointing to 'the example of the four train crews who refused to operate carrying soldiers and gunmen into the strike bound camps'. This should be 'our inspiration for the future', the way to win: 'If this lesson be learned, the death of the miners and their wives and children will not have been in vain'. This same issue also carried two articles and one letter on the contemporaneous US invasion of Mexico. The letter, by a US Marine, reported how one shell fired into Vera Cruz, had hit a school and had 'killed over a hundred school kids … Everywhere you looked you would see a dead Spick, and the streets all over blood. Sad sight to look upon'.[40] In her contribution, 'Whose War Is This?', Mary Marcy linked the war in Colorado and the war in Mexico. They were both Rockefeller's wars, one defending his domestic interests, the other defending his extensive Mexican interests. She insisted in her powerful polemic that 'The only war in which we

should engage is the working class war, which will abolish Poverty from the face of the earth!'[41]

The Ludlow massacre was followed by ten days of ferocious fighting across the mining district that left at least seventy dead as hundreds of miners and their sympathisers attacked CFI property, dynamiting mines and company buildings, and shooting guards and scabs. It provoked widespread protests across the country, particularly in Denver, New York, San Francisco and Chicago. As for Rockefeller, he denied there had even been any massacre, defended the open or non-union shop and proclaimed that the CFI was fighting for the freedom of the working class from union tyranny. He had the full support of the US ruling class and of the ruling class press which lied about events at Ludlow completely without shame. The fighting only came to an end when President Woodrow Wilson sent in 1,600 federal troops. By this time perhaps as many as 200 people had been killed. It was, according to one recent history, 'the fiercest, deadliest labor uprising since the Civil War'.[42] Nevertheless despite the courage of the miners, their determined resistance and the rallying of the labour movement and the Left to their cause, the richest man in the world won. The fight was finally called off in December 1914. The attack on the UMW did not end here though. Over 300 union men were indicted for murder with the trials dragging on until 1920. Among the handful finally convicted, one of them, the union official, John Lawson, was convicted for the murder of the one guard killed at Ludlow, even though he had not even been present at the time. He was in charge, so he bore responsibility. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but released soon after when the sentence was quashed. Once again it is worth emphasising the point regarding the willingness of US employers, among them the philanthrocapitalist John D. Rockefeller, to kill men, women and children in order to prevent unionisation. American workers showed that they were fully prepared to use deadly force in response. And the *ISR* wholeheartedly backed them in this, while at the same time always arguing that solidarity, the support of other workers, was the key to victory.

While the *ISR*'s focus was primarily on the ferocity of the US class struggle, it continued to report on developments abroad. Its coverage of the great Dublin Lockout is a good example.[43] The journal gave enthusiastic support to the Mexican Revolution, publishing articles by John Kenneth Turner and others. Charles Kerr was to publish Turner's book, *Barbarous Mexico*, in 1910. It was, as we have seen, completely opposed to the US intervention in Mexico in 1914. And it still carried theoretical discussions and interventions. One interesting example is the article 'Sex

Sterilization' by Eva Trew that appeared in the May 1913 issue. Her discussion of the policy of the 'sterilization of undesirables' that was being advanced by 'science and millionaire philanthropists as a solution for what they believe to be the greatest menace to society, namely the increasing number of defectives, incapables, and paupers' was unreservedly hostile. And yet nine states had passed legislation allowing this and Indiana had already sterilised 800 women. In her article, Trew interestingly pointed out that using the definition provided by Sir Alfred Wills, 'the entire class of the leisure rich' deserved sterilization![44] One last point worth making here is the remarkable light that some of the advertising carried by the *ISR* throws on the United States of the time, most notably the regular full page adverts for Sargol: 'Let Us Make You Fat', a cheap and yet 'guaranteed' way to put on weight so that young working class men and women did not look half-starved![45]

## War and repression

The *ISR* was to fall victim to the repression that the Wilson government unleashed against the American Left once the country entered the First World War. It is worth noticing that this repression was far more severe than was imposed in Britain (excepting Ireland), France or Germany, only exceeded among the major combatants by Tsarist Russia. The *ISR* chronicled the repression, the activities of the international anti-war movement and the continuing class war in US industry. It was to take great heart from the outbreak of Revolution in Russia in February 1917 and from the later Bolshevik October Revolution. Mary Marcy reported on the unfolding repression on the home front in her article, 'A Month of Lawlessness' that appeared in the September 1917 issue of the *ISR*. Here she wrote of the deportation at gunpoint of over 2,000 union men from Bisbee, the assassination of IWW organiser, Frank Little, and the continuing effort at framing Tom Mooney. Early that same month, the Wilson government moved against the IWW, with raids on the union's offices in over thirty cities. The November-December issue carried the names of the IWW members arrested so far, a brief account by Haywood of life 'Inside', a consideration of the indictment against the union and an assessment of the government's motives. The cause of the crackdown was clear: 'the IWW has been singled out for punishment because it seeks to organise all workers as a class; because it will not "sell-out" and could not if it would; and because its ultimate goal is the aim of all socialists – the abolition of working class exploitation'.[46] The January

1918 issue carried Harold Callender's powerful 'The Truth About the IWW' along with a celebration of 'The Russian Bolsheviki Revolution' and Karl Liebknecht's indictment of 'Militarism'. The following month, the lead article was Leon Trotsky's 'The Bolsheviki and World Peace'. This was followed by Eugene Debs on 'The IWW Bogey' where he made absolutely clear that he stood alongside the IWW. He was soon to find out that this was all too true when he was himself indicted for his opposition to the war, tried and sentenced to ten years in prison. There was also Charles Ashleigh's poem, 'Labor in Prison: America 1917', written in his cell, and Leslie Marcy's 'The General Defense Committee of the IWW', reporting on 'the greatest labor trial in the history of these United States'.[47] The February 1918 issue was the last as the *ISR* was suppressed by the Wilson government. As for the IWW, the great Chicago Show Trial that lasted for four months, finally ended on 17 August 1918, with Haywood and fourteen others getting twenty years, another thirty three of the accused getting ten years, thirty five of them getting five years, and twelve getting one year. Many of them had contributed to the *ISR* over the previous years. The repression also embraced the Socialist Party with supporters of both the left and right wing of the organisation imprisoned with, as we have seen, Debs getting ten years, and one of the leaders of the right, Victor Berger, being sentenced to no less than twenty years!

## Conclusion

Without any doubt the *ISR* was one of the most remarkable Socialist publications that has ever appeared anywhere in the English-speaking world. The range and quality of its contributors, its extensive and detailed coverage of the class struggle, its internationalism and, indeed, its courage in advocating the revolutionary cause, all deserve to be remembered, celebrated. It confronted head-on the ruthless brutality of the US capitalist class but in the end, itself, fell victim to the wartime repression that prepared the way for the employers' offensive that was to follow and continue into the 1920s. Only the great working class revolt of the 1930s was to turn the tide, but that is another story.[48]

## Notes

1 Robert Ovetz is a notable exception to this. See his *When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921*, Chicago, 2019.

2 For Kerr and his work as a socialist publisher see Allen Ruff, *'We Called Each Other Comrade': Charles H. Kerr and Company, Radical Publishers*, Urbana, 1997. Chapter 9 is devoted to the *ISR*. As well as Marx and Engels, Kerr in this period also published books by Karl Kautsky, Antonio Labriola, Gustavus Myers, Robert Blatchford, Edward Carpenter, Joseph Dietzgen, Paul Lafargue, James Connolly, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Gustave Hervé and many other socialist writers.
3 'Editorial', *International Socialist Review* (hereafter *ISR*), vol 1, 1 (July 1900): 53-55.
4 Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the USA: From 1870 to the Present Day*, London, 1987, p94
5 William T. Brown, 'Plutocracy or Democracy?', *ISR*, vol 1, 1: 5, 16.
6 H.M. Hyndman, 'England and International Socialism', *ISR*, vol 1, 1: 17-18. In this article, Hyndman discusses the reasons for the weaknesses of the Socialist movement in Britain compared with the rest of Europe, but argues that this is changing. He concludes: 'as I have often said, Socialism in England is like a vessel filled with fluid in a laboratory. It is fluid as we look at it; but give it a rough jog and crystallisation sets in almost immediately. That necessary shock may come at any moment'. Among the crises that might effect this 'rough jog', he mentions 'The awful catastrophe in British India, where we are deliberately starving millions of people to death while drawing 80,000,000 of dollars in gold from the famine-stricken country this very year' (p22). The *ISR* editor, Algie Simons, was a great admirer of Hyndman.
7 'Editorial', *ISR*, vol 1, 1: 60-61, 63.
8 Ruff, *We Called Each Other Comrade*, p91.
9 Mother Jones, 'Civilization in Southern Mills', *ISR*, vol 1, 9 (March 1901): 539-541.
10 Anon, 'Anarchy vs Socialism', *ISR*, vol 2, 4 (October 1901): 46.
11 'Editorial', *ISR*, vol 2, 8 (February 1902): 553, 554.
12 'Editorial', *ISR*, vol 5, 8 (February 1905): 476-479, 496. Much less sympathetic was Max Hayes, a staunch supporter of the AFL, in his 'The World of Labour' column. Hayes was to stand against Samuel Gompers for the presidency of the AFL in 1912. Running as a Socialist, he received just under a third of the votes cast.
13 A.M. Simons, 'Industrial Workers of the World', *ISR*, vol 6, 2 (August 1905): 65, 69-70.
14 Eugene Debs, 'The Industrial Convention', *ISR*, vol 6, 2 (August 1905): 85-86.
15 'Editorial', *ISR*, vol 8, 2 (August 1907): 109, 112.
16 Simons' rightward trajectory saw him support US entry into the First World War, denounce the 'murderous treason' of his former comrades and support vigilantism. After the War, he opposed the early release from prison of

Eugene Debs who was serving ten years for opposing US involvement, went on to embrace scientific management, opposed the New Deal and ended his days as a paid opponent of free medical care, of 'socialized medicine'. See Kent and Gretchen Kreuter, *An American Dissenter: The Life of Algie Martin Simons 1870-1950*, Lexington, 1969.

17 For Mary Marcy see Sally M. Miller 'A Voice of the Party Left: The Intellectual Odyssey of Mary Marcy' in Sally M. Miller (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Early Twentieth Century American Socialism*, New York, 1996; and Frederick C. Griffin (ed.), *The Tongue of Angels: The Mary Marcy Reader*, Selinsgrove, 1988. Marcy was also the author of the best-selling 'Shop Talks on Economics', first serialised in the *ISR* and then published in book form by Charles Kerr in 1911.

18 'Editor's Chair', *ISR*, vol 10, 2 (August 1909): 166.

19 Louis Duchez, 'The Strikes in Pennsylvania', *ISR*, vol 10, 3 (September 1909): 194, 195, 196-197, 202, 203.

20 Louis Duchez, 'Victory at McKees Rocks', *ISR*, vol 10, 4 (October 1909): 291, 299-300.

21 'Editor's Chair', *ISR*, vol 10, 4 (October 1909): 359-360.

22 This issue also carried articles on 'Diamond Mining in South Africa' by Tom Mann, 'The Bakers' Strike vs The Bread Trust' by Carrie Allen, 'The British Labor Party' by Harry Quelch, 'A Letter on Immigration' by Eugene Debs, 'Working Men and Women' by Mary Marcy, 'The Russian Woman and the Suffragette' by Rose Strunsky and 'The Strike of the Seamen at Marseilles' by Giovanni Civale.

23 The best account of the strike remains Meredith Tax's *The Rising of the Women*, New York, 1980, pp205-240.

24 Philip Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, New York, 1982, p135.

25 This issue also carried 'War on War' by Robert Rives LaMonte, 'The General Strike' by William Haywood, 'The Class War in England' by Tom Mann, an article on the imprisonment of Vincent Buccafori, a New York worker jailed for killing 'a brutal foreman' in self-defence by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: 'Shall This Man Serve Ten Years in Sing Sing', and more.

26 For the Triangle Waist factory fire see in particular Leon Stein, *The Triangle Fire*, Ithaca, 2001, Richard A. Greenwald, *The Triangle Fire, the Protocols of Peace and Industrial Democracy in Progressive New York*, Philadelphia, 2005; and David Von Drehle, *Triangle: The Fire That Changed America*, New York, 2003.

27 Phillips Russell, 'God Did It', *ISR*, vol 12, 8 (February 1912): 472-473.

28 Graham Adams, *The Age of Industrial Violence*, New York, 1966, p185.

29 Philip Foner, *The AFL in the Progressive Era*, New York, 1980, pp162-163.

30 Robert Johnstone Wheeler, 'Louis Duchez: A Tribute', *ISR*, vol 12, 4 (October 1911): 231-234.

31 See also the reports written on these and other strikes for the *ISR* by Big Bill Haywood that are reprinted in John Newsinger (ed.), *On the Picket Line with the IWW: The Revolutionary Journalism of Big Bill Haywood*, London, 2016.
32 The evidence given against them by private detectives hired by the employers was compromised by the fact that the meeting they reported on had been conducted in Italian and they could not actually speak or understand the language!
33 M.E.M, 'Editorial: The Paterson Strike', *ISR*, vol 14, 3 (September 1913): 178. This issue also carried articles on the German Socialist, 'August Bebel', on 'The Iron Heel in South Africa', on 'Tom Mann in New York City', on 'The Copper Miners Strike' and on 'Making Socialists Out of Socialists'.
34 Sidney Lens, *Radicalism in America*, New York, 1966, p219.
35 Fred Mooney, *Struggle in the Coal Fields*, Morganstown, 1967, pp26, 34.
36 Looking back in his memoirs, Chaplin was to describe this strike as 'a small scale civil war'. On one occasion on his way to speak at a miners' meeting, he was tailed, clubbed unconscious and dumped from his train. It took him four days walking to get to safety. He was lucky. See Ralph Chaplin, *Wobbly,* Chicago, 1948, p122.
37 Fred Merrick, 'The Betrayal of the West Virginia Red Necks', *ISR*, vol 14, 1 (July 1913): 20.
38 W.H. Thompson, 'How Victory Was Turned Into a "Settlement" in West Virginia', *ISR*, vol 14, 1: 17.
39 As well as Mary Marcy's 'Nine Sharpshooters', the February 1914 issue opened with a tremendous piece on the Calumet disaster with its seventy-two dead men, women and children, miners and their family members, a particularly grim episode in the battle to unionise the Michigan copper mines, 'Calumet' by Leslie Marcy, followed by 'Larkin's Call for Solidarity' by Bill Haywood, 'What it Means to be a Socialist in Japan' by Sen Katayama and 'The Miners War in Colorado' by George Falconer.
40 US Marine, 'More Murdered Children', *ISR*, vol 14, 12 (June 1914): 731.
41 Mary Marcy, 'Whose War Is This?', *ISR*, vol 14, 12 (June 1914).
42 Thomas G Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*, Cambridge MA, 2008, p276.
43 See my '"to Fling Defiance into the Teeth of the Master Class": The International Socialist Review, "Larkinism" and the Dublin Lockout', *Saothar 43* (2018).
44 Eva Trew, 'Sex Sterilization', *ISR*, vol 13, 11 (May 1913): 814-815.
45 For the 'Get Fat Quick' scam see Lauren O'Hagen, 'Sargol: The "Get Fat Quick" Scam', Sociological Studies Research Blog (24 September 2021). As she points out in the USA Sargol made substantial profits until it was closed down 'for quackery' after a three-month trial in 1917. Its British subsidiary continued to trade until 1937.

46 Anon, 'The IWW Boys', *ISR*, vol 18, 5-6 (November-December 1917): 278.
47 Leslie Marcy, 'The General Defense Committee of the IWW', *ISR*, vol 18, 8 (February 1918): 408.
48 See John Newsinger, *Fighting Back: The American Working Class in the 1930s*, London, 2012.