

DECEMBER, 1916

Vol. 6

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

PRICE TEN CENTS



Eugene V. Debs Says:

"The People's College is the beginning of a world-wide revolution in education.

"The People's College was founded by the working class, is financed by the working class, and controlled by the rank and file of the working class, to the minutest particular. Each member of the College Union — which controls the College — has equal voice with every other in directing the policy and in managing the affairs of the institution. It is fundamentally democratic, and marks the awakening of the masses to the necessity of establishing their own colleges and universities, and educating themselves, with the one supreme object of getting at the truth in all things, knowing that the truth alone can make them free, and fulfill their destiny."

EUGENE V. DEBS IS CHANCELLOR OF THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE UNION.

Listen to Debs' Advice!

Build your own university; educate your own teachers; control your own public schools.

In active management and direction of The People's College, associated with Debs, are: George R. Kirkpatrick, Fred D. Warren, Kate Richards O'Hare, Frank P. Walsh, Charles P. Steinmetz, George Allan England, Charles Edward Russell, John M. Work, and Arthur LeSueur.

It is the one College owned and controlled by the working class, organized for service and *not* for profit.

Do you belong to this Union for education? If not, why not? Will you not work with these men and women for the upbuilding of this great College of the people?

Write for a free copy of The People's College News, and let us tell you of the work we are doing.

Are You Satisfied with Your Own Education?

What are you doing to better yourself, and fit yourself to help in the fight for your class? Wouldn't an education be of tremendous value to you? The work you ought to be doing requires trained men and women. Have you had the training? If you haven't, why don't you get it? Here's your own College ready to help you get an education.

Stop wishing you could do this or that. Wishing never got anyone anything. Get busy and prepare yourself. Here's your chance. Let us tell you how. No matter how little you earn, no matter what your present position or your previous lack of opportunity, the People's College can help you.

Clip the coupon below, and mail it to us today.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Fort Scott, Kansas.

Please send me free copy of the People's College News, and send me full particulars concerning the Course in:

- Law
- Public Speaking
- Plain English
- Advanced English
- Commercial Law

- Shorthand and Typewriting
- Bookkeeping
- Penmanship
- Arithmetic
- American History

Course edited and conducted by
A. M. Simons.

Name..... Address.....

Finish This Story For Yourself—

The girl got \$6 a week and was lonely. "Piggy"—you can imagine his kind—was waiting down stairs. He knew where champagne and music could be had. But that night she didn't go. That was Lord Kitchener's doing. But another night.

O. HENRY 12 VOLUMES

tells about it in this story, with that full knowledge of women, with that frank facing of sex, and that clean mind that has endeared him to the men and women of the land. From the few who snapped up the first edition at \$125 a set before it was off the press, to the 120,000 who have eagerly sought the beautiful volumes offered you here—from the professional man who sits among his books to the man on the street and to the woman in every walk of life—the whole nation bows to O. Henry and hails him with love and pride as our greatest writer of stories.

This is but one of the 274 stories, in 12 big volumes, you get for 37½ cents a week, if you send the coupon

To Those Who Are Quick KIPLING 6 VOLUMES GIVEN AWAY

Never was there an offer like this. Not only do you get your 274 O. Henry stories in 12 volumes at less than others paid for 1 volume of the first edition, but you get Kipling's best 179 short stories and poems and his long novel—without paying a cent. You get 18 volumes, packed with love and hate and laughter—a big shelf full of handsome books.

Send the Coupon and you will understand why O. Henry is hailed as "The American Kipling."

From East to West; from North to South; by all the peoples of the world, O. Henry has been eagerly seized upon as their own. The millionaire and the man who stoically wonders where the next mouthful is coming from, the budding debutante, and the wayward sister, all feel in common the kindly touch of the human heart in O. Henry's stories. One and all have felt that at last here was the chance to see the hearts of every kind of person, to get a world of pleasure, and a library of the best and most worthy literature obtainable.

Send the Coupon and you will understand as never before why other nations are going wild over him.

Why memorials to him are being prepared; why universities are planning tablets to his memory; why text books of English literature are including his stories; why colleges are discussing his place in literature; why theatrical firms are vying for rights to dramatize his stories; why newspapers all over the country are continually offering big sums for the right to reprint his stories.

Send the Coupon With-out Money

We will ship the complete sets

so that you can look them over in your home and then decide whether or not you wish to buy. If you are not delighted with O. Henry and the free Kipling notify us and we will take the sets back as cheerfully as we sent them. How could any proposition be more fair?

The Cloth Binding

If you prefer the set of O. Henry in cloth binding change price \$19.50 to \$15.00, and change monthly payments from \$1.50 to \$1.00. There is so small a difference, however between the price of the cloth and the beautiful half leather that we strongly urge our customers to buy the half leather.

FOLD HERE, TEAR OUT, SIGN AND MAIL

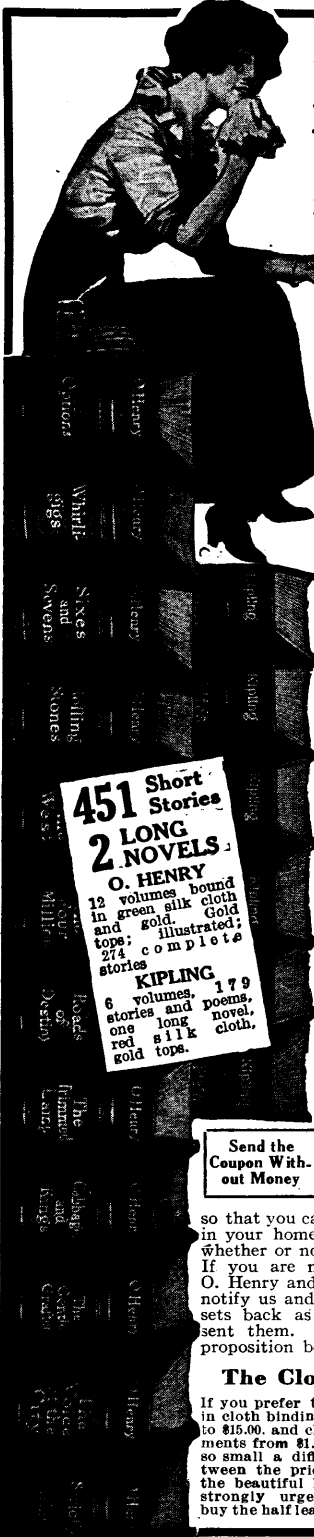
INSPECTION COUPON 12 16

THE RIVERSIDE PUBLISHING CO.
543-549 Marquette Bldg., Chicago, Illinois
Please ship me on approval the works of O. Henry 12 volumes, ½ leather binding, gold tops. Also the 6 volumes set of Kipling bound in silk cloth. If I keep the books I will pay you \$1.00 as first payment within 10 days after books are received and \$1.50 per month until your special price of \$19.50 for the O. Henry set only is paid, and it is agreed I am to retain the Kipling set without charge. If not satisfactory I will notify you within 10 days and return both sets to you as soon as you give me shipping instructions as offered readers of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Name

Address

Occupation



451 Short Stories
2 LONG NOVELS
O. HENRY
12 volumes bound in green silk cloth and gold tops; illustrated; 274 complete stories
KIPLING
6 volumes, 179 stories and poems, one long novel, red silk cloth, gold tops.

Finish This Story For Yourself—

The girl got \$6 a week and was lonely. "Piggy"—you can imagine his kind—was waiting down stairs. He knew where champagne and music could be had. But that night she didn't go. That was Lord Kitchener's doing. But another night.

O. HENRY 12 VOLUMES

tells about it in this story, with that full knowledge of women, with that frank facing of sex, and that clean mind that has endeared him to the men and women of the land. From the few who snapped up the first edition at \$125 a set before it was off the press, to the 120,000 who have eagerly sought the beautiful volumes offered you here—from the professional man who sits among his books to the man on the street and to the woman in every walk of life—the whole nation bows to O. Henry and hails him with love and pride as our greatest writer of stories.

This is but one of the 274 stories, in 12 big volumes, you get for 37½ cents a week, if you send the coupon

To Those Who Are Quick KIPLING 6 VOLUMES GIVEN AWAY

Never was there an offer like this. Not only do you get your 274 O. Henry stories in 12 volumes at less than others paid for 1 volume of the first edition, but you get Kipling's best 179 short stories and poems and his long novel—without paying a cent. You get 18 volumes, packed with love and hate and laughter—a big shelf full of handsome books.

Send the Coupon and you will understand why O. Henry is hailed as "The American Kipling."

Send the Coupon and you will understand as never before why other nations are going wild over him.

From East to West; from North to South; by all the peoples of the world, O. Henry has been eagerly seized upon as their own. The millionaire and the man who stoically wonders where the next mouthful is coming from, the budding debutante, and the wayward sister, all feel in common the kindly touch of the human heart in O. Henry's stories. One and all have felt that at last here was the chance to see the hearts of every kind of person, to get a world of pleasure, and a library of the best and most worthy literature obtainable.

Why memorials to him are being prepared; why universities are planning tablets to his memory; why text books of English literature are including his stories; why colleges are discussing his place in literature; why theatrical firms are vying for rights to dramatize his stories; why newspapers all over the country are continually offering big sums for the right to reprint his stories.

Send the Coupon Without Money

We will ship the complete sets

FOLD HERE, TEAR OUT, SIGN AND MAIL

INSPECTION COUPON 12 16 THE RIVERSIDE PUBLISHING CO.

543-549 Marquette Bldg., Chicago, Illinois
Please ship me on approval the works of O. Henry 12 volumes, ½ leather binding, gold tops. Also the 6 volumes set of Kipling bound in silk cloth. If I keep the books I will pay you \$1.00 as first payment within 10 days after books are received and \$1.50 per month until your special price of \$19.50 for the O. Henry set only is paid, and it is agreed I am to retain the Kipling set without charge. If not satisfactory I will notify you within 10 days and return both sets to you as soon as you give me shipping instructions as offered readers of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Name.....
Address.....
Occupation.....

so that you can look them over in your home and then decide whether or not you wish to buy. If you are not delighted with O. Henry and the free Kipling notify us and we will take the sets back as cheerfully as we sent them. How could any proposition be more fair?

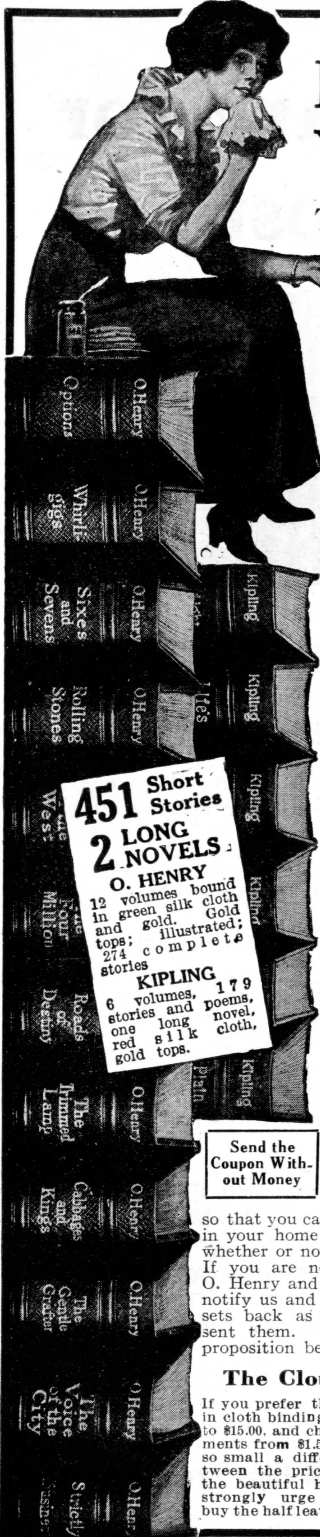
The Cloth Binding

If you prefer the set of O. Henry in cloth binding change price \$19.50 to \$15.00, and change monthly payments from \$1.50 to \$1.00. There is so small a difference however between the price of the cloth and the beautiful half leather that we strongly urge our customers to buy the half leather.

451 Short Stories
2 LONG NOVELS

O. HENRY
12 volumes bound in green silk cloth and gold tops; illustrated; 274 complete stories

KIPLING
6 volumes, 179 stories and poems, one long novel, red silk cloth, gold tops.



O. Henry
Whit-
O. Henry
Sixes
O. Henry
Rolling
O. Henry
West
O. Henry
Roads
O. Henry
The
O. Henry
Cabbages
O. Henry
The
O. Henry
The
O. Henry
Sue-
O. Henry

A Socialist Library for Less Than Cost



Our co-operative publishing house owns the plates and copyrights of nearly all the really important books on Socialism in the English language, including translations of the Socialist classics from the German, French and Italian. We have from the start circulated them thru our co-operative stockholders at prices covering merely the actual cost. This cost has now been greatly increased by the sudden rise in the price of book paper, but we are fortunate in having on hand a thousand sets of a thirty-volume library, cloth bound, including the following titles:

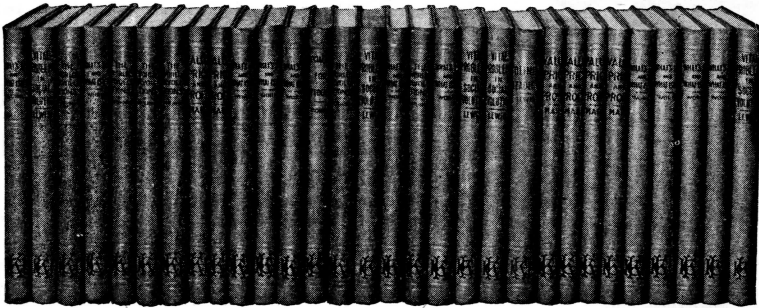
Communist Manifesto and No Compromise,
Marx, Engels and Liebknecht.
Class Struggles in America, Simons.
Doing Us Good and Plenty, Russell.
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte, Marx.
End of the World, Meyer.
Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History,
Kautsky.
Evolution of Man, Boelsche.
Evolution of Property, Lafargue.
Evolution, Social and Organic, Lewis.
Feuerbach, Frederick Engels.
Germes of Mind in Plants, France.
High Cost of Living, Kautsky.
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.
Life and Death, Teichmann.
Memoirs of Karl Marx, Liebknecht.

Marx Versus Tolstoy, Lewis and Darrow.
Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis.
Positive School of Criminology, Ferri.
Puritanism, Clarence Meily.
Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Marx.
Russian Bastille, Pollock.
Science and Revolution, Untermann.
Science and Superstition, Lewis.
Social and Philosophical Studies, Lafargue.
Social Revolution, Kautsky.
Socialism, Positive and Negative, LaMonte.
Socialism for Students, Cohen.
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.
Ten Blind Leaders, Lewis.
World's Revolutions, Untermann.

We want a thousand new co-operative stockholders. To get them at once we make this offer, an offer that we could not make if the books had to be manufactured on the basis of the present cost of paper: For \$5.00 cash, and your written promise to pay \$1.00 a month for ten months, we will send these thirty books at once by express prepaid, and on completion of the monthly payments will issue to you a fully-paid certificate for a share of stock, which will entitle you to discounts on our other books. For further particulars see October REVIEW, or ask for free booklet. Don't delay; this is the LAST CHANCE to get a library on these easy terms.

Address: CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago

A Socialist Library for Less Than Cost



Our co-operative publishing house owns the plates and copyrights of nearly all the really important books on Socialism in the English language, including translations of the Socialist classics from the German, French and Italian. We have from the start circulated them thru our co-operative stockholders at prices covering merely the actual cost. This cost has now been greatly increased by the sudden rise in the price of book paper, but we are fortunate in having on hand a thousand sets of a thirty-volume library, cloth bound, including the following titles:

Communist Manifesto and No Compromise,
Marx, Engels and Liebknecht.
Class Struggles in America, Simons.
Doing Us Good and Plenty, Russell.
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte, Marx.
End of the World, Meyer.
Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History,
Kautsky.
Evolution of Man, Boelsche.
Evolution of Property, Lafargue.
Evolution, Social and Organic, Lewis.
Feuerbach, Frederick Engels.
Germens of Mind in Plants, France.
High Cost of Living, Kautsky.
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche.
Life and Death, Teichmann.
Memoirs of Karl Marx, Liebknecht.

Marx Versus Tolstoy, Lewis and Darrow.
Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis.
Positive School of Criminology, Ferri.
Puritanism, Clarence Meily.
Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Marx.
Russian Bastille, Pollock.
Science and Revolution, Untermann.
Science and Superstition, Lewis.
Social and Philosophical Studies, Lafargue.
Social Revolution, Kautsky.
Socialism, Positive and Negative, LaMonte.
Socialism for Students, Cohen.
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.
Ten Blind Leaders, Lewis.
World's Revolutions, Untermann.

We want a thousand new co-operative stockholders. To get them at once we make this offer, an offer that we could not make if the books had to be manufactured on the basis of the present cost of paper: For \$5.00 cash, and your written promise to pay \$1.00 a month for ten months, we will send these thirty books at once by express prepaid, and on completion of the monthly payments will issue to you a fully-paid certificate for a share of stock, which will entitle you to discounts on our other books. For further particulars see October REVIEW, or ask for free booklet. Don't delay; this is the LAST CHANCE to get a library on these easy terms.

Address: CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago



Terra-cotta cylinder containing Cyrus' own story of the "Fall of Babylon"

The Writing on the Wall

It was at the famous feast of Belshazzar, King of Babylon, that the prophet Daniel read the awful dictum—"Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin." That night Cyrus and his army captured the city, but not until thousands of years later was unearthed the inscribed cylinder that told the **real** story of the "Fall of Babylon." This curious account, which is very different from the popular version, is but one of many thousand "original documents" described in

The Library of Original Sources

now for the first time available to the general public. This remarkable Library has previously been sold by subscription, but by purchasing the *entire unsold edition* from the publishers we secured it at an *absolutely unheard of reduction*. Therefore we are able to offer a few sets to International Socialist Review readers at

AN EXTRAORDINARY BARGAIN

FREE BOOK — thousands have written for our interesting **FREE** book of sample pages and list of curious "original records." Mail the coupon *now* and this book will be sent to you.

Send us the attached coupon **AT ONCE**, and we will tell you how to get the library on **EASY MONTHLY PAYMENTS**, and mail you **FREE** a book of rare documents. Remember there are only a limited number of sets, so act quickly! Mail the coupon **NOW**. You assume no obligation. No salesman will call. The book is **FREE**.

THIS MARVELOUS WORK is revolutionizing modern thought. It's turning upside down old notions and ideas. It gives the authoritative, rock-bottom sources of our knowledge on **ALL SUBJECTS OF HUMAN INTEREST** from the earliest civilization down to today—the inside facts which the average person has never even heard of.

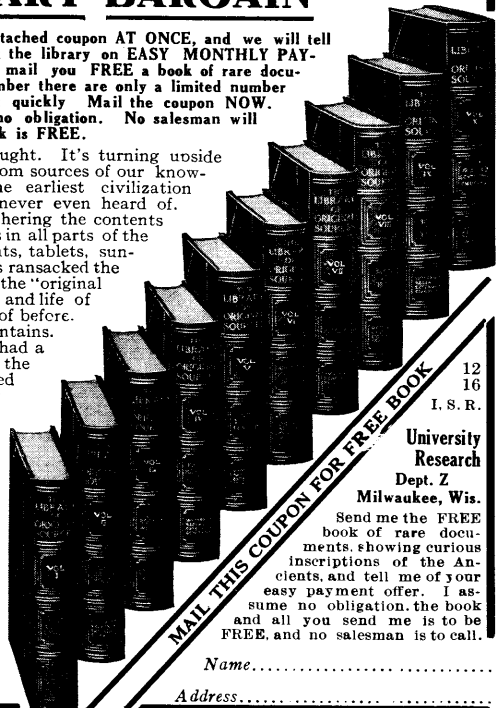
OVER 100 RESEARCH SPECIALISTS spent ten years gathering the contents of this great work. Ancient and remote and forgotten civilizations in all parts of the globe were uncovered, and age-buried hieroglyphics on monuments, tablets, sun-baked bricks and palimpsests yielded their secrets; untiring workers ransacked the hidden literature of every age, ancient, mediæval and modern, to find the "original documents" that shaped the civilizations and influenced the thought and life of the world. Nothing like it has ever been attempted or thought of before. You'll be amazed at the wealth of information this unique library contains.

DO YOU KNOW that the old Egyptians 5,000 years B. C. had a Bible? Do you know the Assyrian literature gives the story of the Creation? Do you know that books and newspapers were printed in Asia thousands of years before printing was invented by Gutenberg? Did **YOU** ever read Columbus' *personal* log of his great voyage? Do you know that there occurred in Mediæval England the first great Socialist protest? Do you know by what unique process Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood? Do you know who Machiavelli was or what world famous treatise he wrote?

YOU'LL FIND THEM ALL—and thousands of others equally as curious and important—in The Library of Original Sources. Every document is in the exact words of the original, translated; every contribution is from the actual eye-witness or person who took part; every idea is in the words of the thinker, investigator, discoverer or inventor.

JACK LONDON SAYS:—"It is a whole library in itself. I certainly never could spare these books from my shelves."
Victor L. Berger, U. S. Congressman, Fred Warren, Ed. Appeal to Reason, A. M. Simons, Ed. Coming Nation, Seymour Stedman, Chicago Lawyer, and many others are equally as enthusiastic.

10 sumptuous, massive volumes, bound in rich, black, imported sheepskin; full-page illustrations, pure silk headbands, printed in large, clear type on hand-made paper, gold tops—a triumph of the bookmaker's art.



MAIL THIS COUPON FOR FREE BOOK

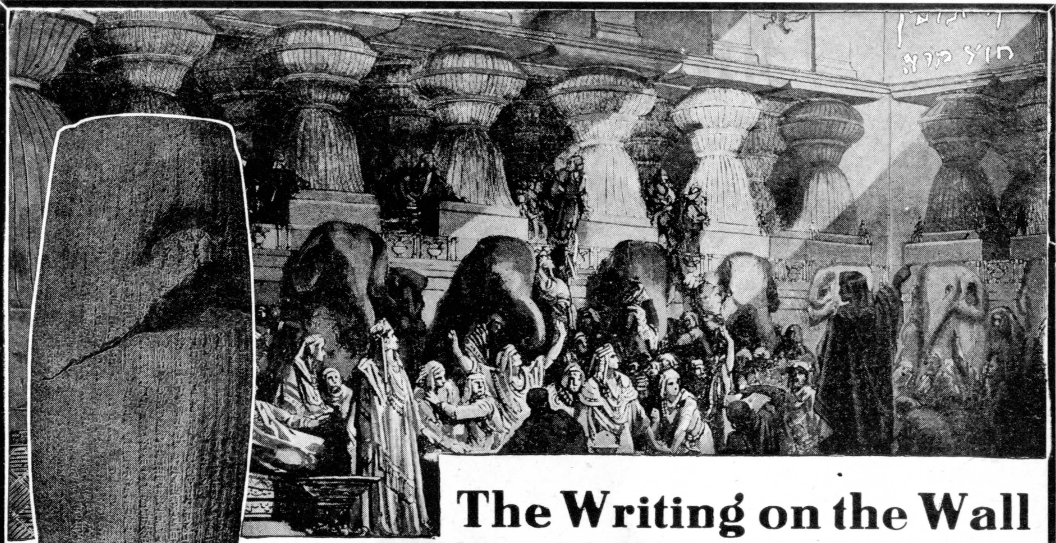
12
16
I. S. R.

University
Research
Dept. Z
Milwaukee, Wis.

Send me the **FREE** book of rare documents, showing curious inscriptions of the Ancients, and tell me of your easy payment offer. I assume no obligation, the book and all you send me is to be **FREE**, and no salesman is to call.

Name.....

Address.....



Terra-cotta cylinder containing Cyrus' own story of the "Fall of Babylon"

The Writing on the Wall

It was at the famous feast of Belshazzar, King of Babylon, that the prophet Daniel read the awful dictum—"Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin." That night Cyrus and his army captured the city, but not until thousands of years later was unearthed the inscribed cylinder that told the **real** story of the "Fall of Babylon." This curious account, which is very different from the popular version, is but one of many thousand "original documents" described in

The Library of Original Sources

now for the first time available to the general public. This remarkable Library has previously been sold by subscription, but by purchasing the *entire unsold edition* from the publishers we secured it at an *absolutely unheard of reduction*. Therefore we are able to offer a few sets to International Socialist Review readers at

AN EXTRAORDINARY BARGAIN

FREE BOOK — thousands have written for our interesting **FREE** book of sample pages and list of curious "original records." Mail the coupon *now* and this book will be sent to you.

Send us the attached coupon **AT ONCE**, and we will tell you how to get the library on **EASY MONTHLY PAYMENTS**, and mail you **FREE** a book of rare documents. Remember there are only a limited number of sets, so act quickly. Mail the coupon **NOW**. You assume no obligation. No salesman will call. **The book is FREE.**

THIS MARVELOUS WORK is revolutionizing modern thought. It's turning upside down old notions and ideas. It gives the authoritative, rock-bottom sources of our knowledge on **ALL SUBJECTS OF HUMAN INTEREST** from the earliest civilization down to today—the inside facts which the average person has never even heard of.

OVER 100 RESEARCH SPECIALISTS spent ten years gathering the contents of this great work. Ancient and remote and forgotten civilizations in all parts of the globe were uncovered, and age-buried hieroglyphics on monuments, tablets, sun-baked bricks and palimpsests yielded their secrets; untiring workers ransacked the hidden literature of every age, ancient, mediæval and modern, to find the "original documents" that shaped the civilizations and influenced the thought and life of the world. Nothing like it has ever been attempted or thought of before. You'll be amazed at the wealth of information this unique library contains.

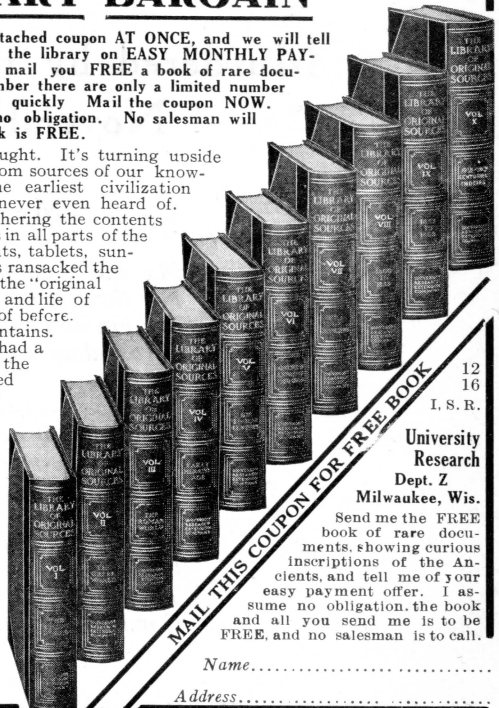
DO YOU KNOW that the old Egyptians 5,000 years B. C. had a Bible? Do you know the Assyrian literature gives the story of the Creation? Do you know that books and newspapers were printed in Asia thousands of years before printing was invented by Gutenberg? Did **YOU** ever read Columbus' *personal log* of his great voyage? Do you know that there occurred in Mediæval England the first great Socialist protest? Do you know by what unique process Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood? Do you know who Machiavelli was or what world famous treatise he wrote?

YOU'LL FIND THEM ALL — and thousands of others equally as curious and important — in The Library of Original Sources. Every document is in the exact words of the original, translated; every contribution is from the actual eye-witness or person who took part; every idea is in the words of the thinker, investigator, discoverer or inventor.

JACK LONDON SAYS: — "It is a whole library in itself. I certainly never could spare these books from my shelves."

Victor L. Berger, U. S. Congressman, Fred Warren, Ed. Appeal to Reason, A. M. Simons, Ed. Coming Nation, Seymour Stedman, Chicago Lawyer, and many others are equally as enthusiastic.

10 sumptuous, massive volumes, bound in rich, black, imported sheepskin; full-page illustrations, pure silk headbands, printed in large, clear type on hand-made paper, gold tops — a triumph of the bookmaker's art.



12
16
I. S. R.

University
Research
Dept. Z
Milwaukee, Wis.

Send me the **FREE** book of rare documents, showing curious inscriptions of the Ancients, and tell me of your easy payment offer. I assume no obligation, the book and all you send me is to be **FREE**, and no salesman is to call.

Name.....
Address.....

In Memoriam



Joe Hill

**Murdered by the Capitalist Class
November 19, 1915**

My Last Will

*My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide,
My kin don't need to fuss or moan—
"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."*

*My body? Ah! If I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.*

*Perhaps some fading flower then,
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will,
Good luck to all of you,*

—JOE HILL.

"Don't waste any time in mourning—organize."

In Memoriam



Joe Hill

Murdered by the Capitalist Class
November 19, 1915

My Last Will

*My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide,
My kin don't need to fuss or moan—
"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."*

*My body? Ah! If I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.*

*Perhaps some fading flower then,
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will,
Good luck to all of you,*

—JOE HILL.

"Don't waste any time in mourning—organize."

December

1916

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XVII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 6

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Cover—Mining on the Mesaba	<i>Photograph</i>	
In Memoriam of Joe Hill		326
Frontispiece—Shenango Mine—Mesaba Range		328
The Mesaba Iron Range (Illustrated)	<i>Harrison George</i>	329
Sweetness—And the Dark	<i>Harris Merton Lyon</i>	333
Children of Hawaii—Poem	<i>Estelle Baker</i>	337
Nine Short Ones	<i>Militant</i>	338
The Voyage of the Verona (Illustrated)	<i>Walker C. Smith</i>	341
The International of the Deed	<i>Friedrich Adler</i>	346
Automatic Bread Making (Illustrated)		349
The General Strike	<i>Henry L. Slobodin</i>	353
The Swiss Militia System	<i>William E. Bohn</i>	356
Who Owns the United States?	<i>R. F. Pettigrew</i>	357
Will Labor Stand for Another Haymarket? (Illustrated)	<i>Theodora Pollok</i>	360
From German Socialists		363
The Left Wing	<i>S. J. Rutgers</i>	365

DEPARTMENTS

Editorial—Mass Action

International Notes

News and Views

Publishers' Department

Published Monthly, \$1.00 a year; Canada, \$1.20; other countries, \$1.50
Bundle Rate, 10 for 60 cts.; 20 for \$1.00; 100 for \$5.00

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under
Act of March 3, 1879.



SHENANGO MINE, MESABA IRON RANGE—THE DEEPEST OPEN PIT MINE IN THE WORLD



SHENANGO MINE, MESABA IRON RANGE—THE DEEPEST OPEN PIT MINE IN THE WORLD

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

DECEMBER, 1916

No. 6

The Mesaba Iron Range

By HARRISON GEORGE

IN THE Chippewa tongue, "Mesaba" means "giant"; the red man having the right slant at things; as when he punctured the dignity of the early French missionaries by terming them "the men waving a stick." The Mesaba Iron Range and everything connected with it is truly giant.

In the dim past some great glacier, grinding its way southward met with a mountain range, smoking and shaking with volcanic fires, and formed thus a low range of hills surmounting the high plateau that lies between the western horn of Lake Superior and the Canadian line.

Here in the forests dwelt the Indian in comparative contentment until came the white man "waving a stick" in one hand and a "piece of paper," called a treaty, in the other—and the happiness of the red man was gone forever.

Yet over a century had gone ere the organized brigandage of the white man, embodied in the Weyerhauser Lumber Company, entered the country in true second-story style and tore out the forests. Then in 1890 it was discovered that the Mesaba Range contained the greatest iron ore deposits known, and a second set of merry highbinders rushed in to burrow under the stumps for concealed treasures.

The first lot didn't make out very well. After finding the ore bodies the next question was transportation. A part of them banded together and built a railroad to the lake. To do so they needed money and they borrowed it from Rockefeller and mortgaged the whole works, mines and all, to John D. But they found that individual capital was too small to

purchase the massive machinery for each mine and conduct a cut-throat competition at the same time. They were not convinced of this however, until John D. foreclosed and took away both mines and railroad.

In the meantime there were two other groups of mine holders grabbing things. H. W. Oliver, a millionaire friend of Carnegie, had gone in and bought to the limit of his resources. Also a third group, a job lot of speculators, had seized onto a respectable share of the known ore bodies and were sitting tight to see what would happen. They found out very soon.

While the "Laird of Skibo" went fishing on Loch Rannoch and his Pinkertons were emptying rifles into the hearts of the Homestead strikers in July, 1892, H. C. Frick, the big guy in the Carnegie Steel Company, was scheming with Oliver to corner the iron deposits of the Mesaba Range. In opposition to the express wish of Carnegie, who in this instance, as in others, demonstrated how brainy he was not, Frick forced a fortune onto Carnegie in the shape of a half interest of Oliver's present and future holdings **without costing Carnegie a red cent.** In exchange for a loan of half a million to be used in development work, which loan was, of course, secured by mortgage and repaid with interest, Oliver made a present to the Carnegie Steel Company of a half interest in all his holdings in iron mines.

This done, Frick, Oliver, et. al., turned to John D., who being busy at that time with a few plans of his own for putting rival refineries on the blink, was not par-

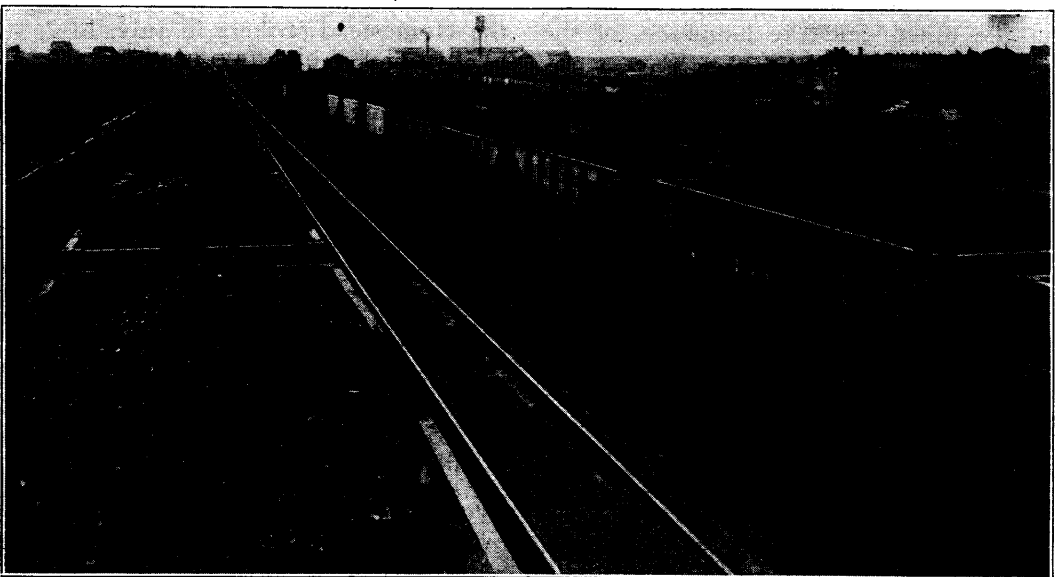
ticularly anxious about monkeying with iron mines. They contracted with Rockefeller and secured leases on all the mines Rocky had foreclosed on, upon a basis of 25 cents per ton royalty, with the provision that in exchange for this extremely low royalty the Carnegie people were to mine and ship over John D.'s roads and in John D.'s boats not less than 1,200,000 tons of ore yearly for fifty years.

This done, that third group of "independents," who had been sitting tight to see what would happen, hearing the news of the Carnegie-Rockefeller combine, and evidently appreciating the kindly intentions of these commercial Apaches, fell over one another to sell at any old price they could get to the Carnegie-Frick-Oliver crew, who thus gobbled control over the Mesaba Iron Range. It is worthy of note that at this time some members of the Minnesota Legislature are accused of having an itching palm—and having it scratched with some of Carnegie's iron dollars, in exchange for a leasehold of state lands for the small royalty of 25 cents per ton, when private holders were and are getting from 50 cents to \$1.00 per ton royalty.

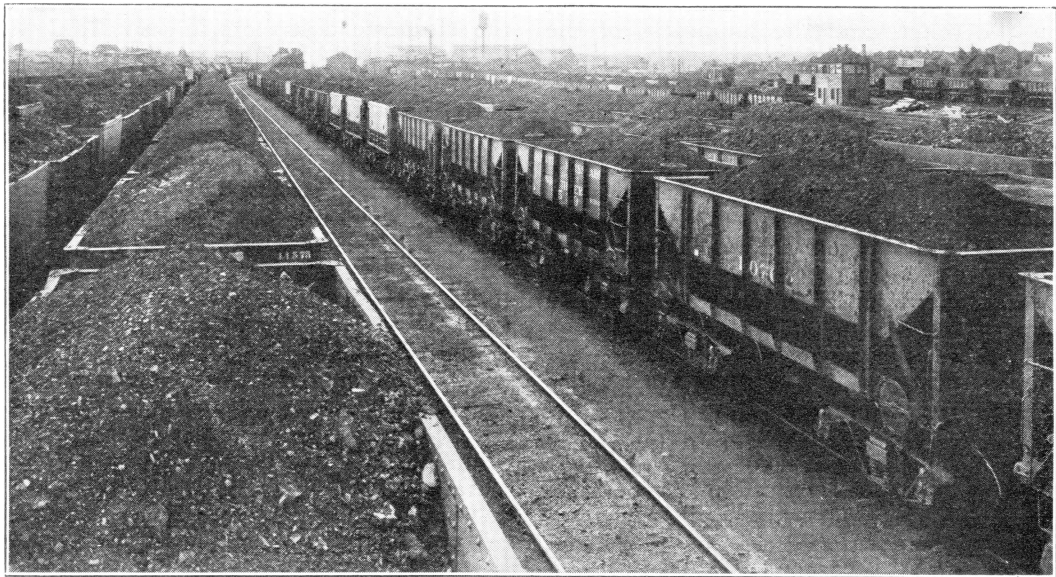
Today the Indian word, "Mesaba," can be rightly applied to everything connected with the Range. Carnegie and Morgan combined, forming the United

States Steel Corporation, a giant organization. Massive machinery was brought in and today the face of the earth bears frightful and gigantic scars. The open pit mining, which requires stripping off the surface to the ore-bed; the milling process, which leaves immense chasms from which the ore has been taken out through chutes leading to an underground railroad; all the impedimenta of vast and ceaseless activities—changing the aspects of nature. Stupendous artificial mountains of over-stripping greet the eye on every hand; great pits yawn where once was level ground; underground caverns have caved in, burying men by the score with entire trains, and there they still lie buried. The silence of the ages has been hunted out by the screaming whistles, the groaning of giant steam shovels, the snorting of innumerable locomotives—while incessant blasting rocks the body of the Range from end to end. Machinery has been invented capable of doing incredible things, and man and his labor are almost lost sight of in the immensity of operations.

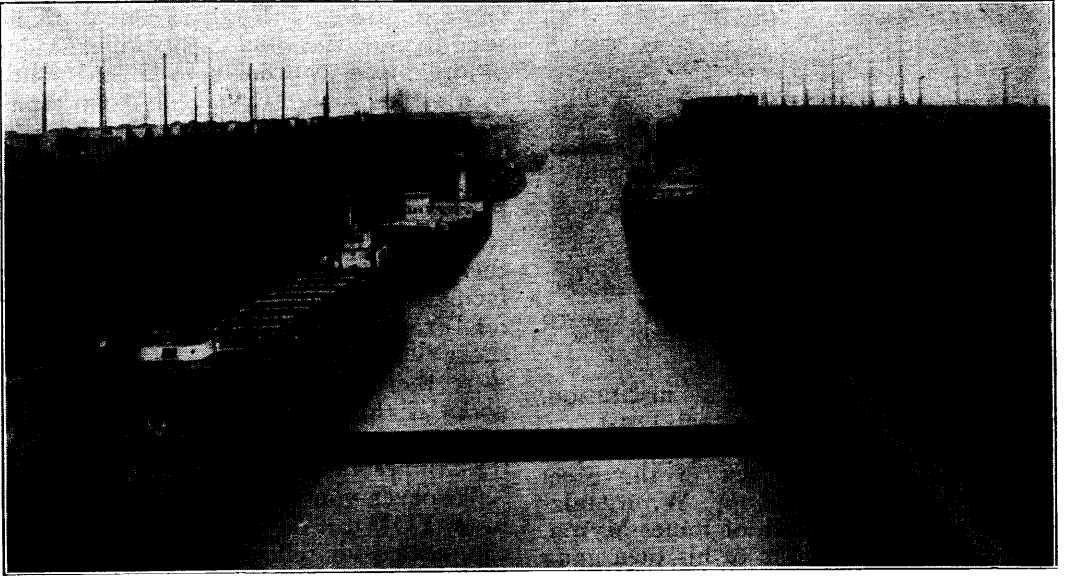
Men are there however, thousands upon thousands of them, risking their lives day after day in underground drifts or taking chances at having their brains dashed out by the swift swinging buckets of the steam shovels in the open pits.



LOADED ORE TRAINS READY FOR THE DOWNGRADE HAUL TO THE DULUTH DOCKS



LOADED ORE TRAINS READY FOR THE DOWNGRADE HAUL TO THE DULUTH DOCKS



THE GREAT ORE DOCKS AT DULUTH. MANY A MAN HAS MET DEATH BY SLIPPING OFF THE NARROW DUMPING PLATFORM IN ICY WEATHER. THE ORE IS DUMPED FROM THE CARS ON TOP DIRECT INTO HOLDS OF THE ORE BOATS

Loading the ore into hundreds of cars, making up the hundreds of trains that leave the Range every day for the trip by gravity into the hopper-holds of the ore boats at the great docks at Duluth, are men who make possible the basis of civilized life—machinery.

Divided by races and unorganized, these men were exploited to the limit by the boss of the Range, the United States Steel Corporation. The big, stolid Finns could not comprehend the longings for better conditions expressed in the purring tongue of the Slav who worked beside him; the Slav in turn knew not the meaning of the soft-voiced Italian at his elbow when he whispered curses at the boss. Every attempt at quiet organization was killed at once by company spies.

Last summer, however, things boiled over and the smoldering discontent flamed out into open industrial rebellion. Most of the readers of the REVIEW are familiar with what followed; how these divided peoples were welded into a solid fighting body by organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World; how the Italians and Austrians, finding a common cause, clasped hands of FELLOW WORKERS, pledging each other in voices choked with emotion that they would let the old country with its kings

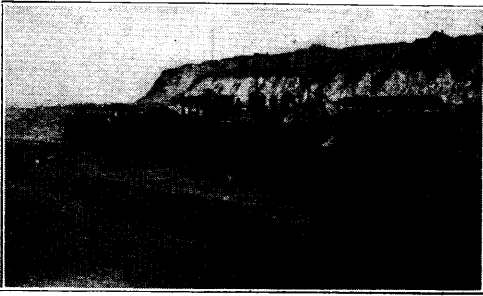
go to war or to Hell—they would stick together in the ONE BIG UNION.

The usual army of drunken slum-scum was imported and deputized. A new record was established for unjustified arrests. LAW AND ORDER, frenzied by the promptings of its master, beat up and jailed over six hundred men and women. John Alar, a striker, died a victim of Oliver gunmen. Likewise, so it is sworn, Thos. Ladvalla, an innocent bystander, died at the deliberately aimed fire of Nick Dillon, a creature whom the Mesaba Ore, a local paper, characterizes as the Steel Trust's "pet murderer"; when Dillon and three deputies invaded the home of Philip Masonowich.

An armored train, a la "Bull Moose Spécial," of Paint Creek fame, was built in the Duluth shops. Machine guns to commit murder by wholesale were installed. The train was rushed to Hibbing under cover of darkness and there concealed in one of the Oliver pits. Steam was kept up and the band of blood-thirsty cut-throats in charge was ready at any time to swoop down in drunken glee and turn any Range town into a shambles. It is alleged that this crew, knowing they could hide behind the law, could hardly be restrained at times from issuing forth on a murder raid, "Just to see if it would



THE GREAT ORE DOCKS AT DULUTH. MANY A MAN HAS MET DEATH BY SLIPPING OFF THE NARROW DUMPING PLATFORM IN ICY WEATHER. THE ORE IS DUMPED FROM THE CARS ON TOP DIRECT INTO HOLDS OF THE ORE BOATS



THE OLIVER ARMORED TRAIN. THIS PHOTO WAS TAKEN SECRETLY BY A REBEL FOR THE REVIEW

work!" A truly American institution, this private army of the Steel Trust.

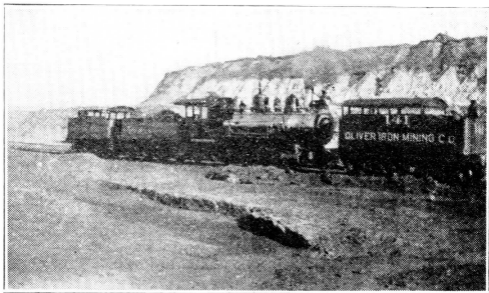
The frame-up by the putty officials, moulded by the iron fist of the Steel Trust, to railroad the I. W. W. organizers because of the death of James Myron, a deputy, killed by one of his own gang in the Masonovich raid, is now up for battle in the courts. How successful the Steel Trust will be in slaking its thirst for the blood of Tresca, Scarlett, Schmidt, the Montenegrin strikers, and Malitza Masonovich, depends upon the support, chiefly financial, which the workers everywhere may lend to their defense.

The significance of these trials should move all sections of the labor movement into action in their behalf. Here, so says Judge O. N. Hilton, there is to be a show-down as to whether or not the infamous Chicago Anarchist Decision shall con-

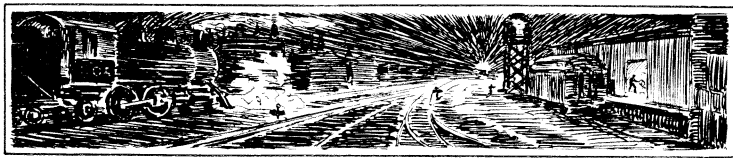
tinue to live as a legal precedent, to be used to stifle the voice of any labor leader or organizer who dares open his mouth in a strike zone. Last year, John Lawson of Colorado was convicted under this diabolical decision; today Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt face the same fate, and, before the smoke from the battle on the wharf at Everett clears away, I suppose there will be another group of brave men facing the gallows because they cried out for Freedom. It matters not whether those whom the bosses want to "get" were there or not; they will face their doom if this devilish, bewhiskered Chicago Anarchist Decision is not broken in the Minnesota trials.

Whoever you may be that reads these lines, YOU can do SOMETHING! You can, with your fellows, sweep the nation with such a tide of protest that Capital will relax its iron fangs in fear of a GENERAL STRIKE. Send protests and demands for justice to Governor J. A. Burnquist, St. Paul, Minnesota. Send funds, unstinted and at once, to James Gilday, Secretary - Treasurer Mesaba Range Strikers' Defense Committee, Box 372, Virginia, Minnesota. Here in this small city the greatest legal battle for labor waged in this decade will begin on the fifth of December. The fate of seven men and one woman and YOUR right to organize hang upon your answer.





THE OLIVER ARMORED TRAIN. THIS PHOTO
WAS TAKEN SECRETLY BY A REBEL FOR
THE REVIEW



Sweetness—And the Dark

By HARRIS MERTON LYON

Reprinted from the author's book, "Graphics," copyright, by special permission of William Marion Reedy.

IT SEEMS to me that in the candy trade we have an extraordinarily compact epitome of life as it is lived today; especially I refer to the chocolate bon-bon trade. We who are on top and have the money to buy, buy.

What do we buy?

Why—chocolate bon-bons, of course.

The chocolate bon-bon! Symbol of youth, joy of the young maid's heart, love-offering of the gallant swain. How at this joyous Christmas time a saccharine sentiment pervades all our good, honest hearts, God bless us! How we who have the money do love to buy and present the sweet gifts! In my mind's eye I see us millions of properly-clothed, healthy, cheery people walking out on Christmas morning, in the crisp air, about our errands from one friend's house to another; hearty laughter on the doorstep; decent exclamations of gladness and surprise within, as we look at the youngsters' Christmas tree, at the young lady's presents. A chatter of pleasant talk for a few minutes and then, perhaps, we pull from our own overcoat pockets the things we have brought, a few trinkets for the father and mother, and a box of bon-bons for the young lady. She breaks it open, with tiny shrieks of glee, and munches.

What does she munch?

Why, choc—

Wait a minute. That is not the only thing that's sweet.

There is something else that is just as sweet as sugar-candy.

Life.

Luella was only one of a family of nine. The family, like so many other families nowadays, was "not much good." By this was meant that the family had never had anything and never would have anything. Of course not. Why should it? Mentally,

the family was endowed with that superficial gift known as "reading"; it belonged in that proud American generation which was boasted of as "the first generation in the world that could read." Not being fitted with any powers which would enable it to comprehend as it read, it contented itself with reading trash, because trash was "easiest." Physically, Luella's family was in fair shape. That is, the nine systems stood up pretty well under the adulterated food which various Interests were allowed to feed them; under the adulterated cotton clothing which various Interests were allowed to force upon their backs; under the adulterated shoes which various Interests were allowed to force upon their feet. And so on.

Because Luella's father and mother, had been lucky enough to be young and healthy, Luella herself, now at the age of sixteen, had a fairly sound body. (Later, as she lay dying in the hospital, one of the Interests tried to prove that her whole family had been tubercular; the Interest failed in this, but it did manage to have a staff physician discharged. What for? For the very thing I am doing now.) One day it became necessary for Luella to quit helping her mother run the house and seek vulgar employment of some sort. This was necessary because Luella's only sister no longer contributed her share of the cash to keep up the family. (Luella's sister was eighteen and represented the family's only attempt at "higher" education. It was, of course, a disastrous attempt. By studying stenography, Edith had managed to insert herself into a new world where bewildering powers ranged and menaced. Her employer was a superior person with thousands of dollars. Secure in his position, he seduced her; discharged her. When she returned he had her thrown out and threatened with arrest for "creating a disturbance" and for "being a nui-

sance." So, being a girl who came of a family that was "not much good," she did indeed become a nuisance. A public nuisance. Edith went on the town, and never home again.)

"What do you think of my trying this?" Luella read from the "*Help Wanted—Female*": "One hundred girls as chocolate dipper. Steady wages. Ellamo's, 10th and Jackson."

Luella's mother was crying abjectly, with her arms about her husband's neck. Luella's father had been drinking a little and seemed more moody than ever. If there had only been a little more brains in the whole family; and if any one of them had shown any spirit; and if they had simply set about it to get justice, to demand their rights! Yes. It is very disgusting, such obtuseness. No wonder such people do not get ahead. God puts an elemental *something* into those of us who are superior; we act by divine right. The under-dog is born with an ineradicable under-dog germ Was it Christ or Nietzsche said that?

"Steady wages," continued Luella, hopefully.

Finally, in a blind and tragic revolt, her father managed to become vocal. It seems incredible, but there was a sort of ruthless genius in the stupid fellow's remark: "Yes—'steady wages.' Hah! Steady as long as you last."

However, money is money. God bless us all, yes! Money is money. So Luella got a job at Ellamo's.

It was not especially enjoyable to work in a candy factory; it was not nearly as enjoyable as the candy itself. To start with, you cannot dip chocolates successfully in a room where the windows are open; for open windows let in dust. There are ways, however, to have pure air besides the air of outdoors. Ellamo's, unfortunately, could see none of these ways. The air in Ellamo's did not circulate. It was fastened into the chocolate-dipping room from the very first day on which Ellamo's moved in. To have obtained pure air would have necessitated remodelling the building.

More than the lifeless air, Luella noticed the steady cold, or rather chilliness, of the chocolate-dipping room. This chilliness is a peculiar chilliness necessary to the proper hardening of the dipped chocolate. And it has peculiar results. It is not as damp a chilliness as the chilliness of a prison, but

it has just about the same thorough effect upon the breathing apparatus of a human being. This chilliness and the kept air gradually possessed themselves of Luella.

In a quite mysterious fashion Luella felt "a severe cold" growing in her chest. Sometimes this "cold" was quite painful. A sort of dullness, a lack of animation pervaded her. It is quite probable that there were all sorts of contributing causes to this cold; nothing is so detestable as a narrow-minded view of things. Probably Luella's cold would not have been so bad if she could have worn flannel. But real flannel costs so much. Or if there had not been paper soles in her shoes. But genuine leather costs so much. Or if the milk she drank had not been adulterated. But pure milk costs so much. Or if the air she breathed could have been fresh air. But, in the name of common sense, how can you have fresh air when real estate costs so much?

As she felt herself growing stupider, Luella redoubled her energies. There is nothing so eager as a poor person, one of the people who are "not much good," when he feels himself falling behind in his ability to earn a living. But, after a period of this enforced action, Luella really had to lay off a day or two. "Go see a doctor," said her father.

"Where?"

"At the hospital, o' course."

The first day she idled around home, too tired to go to the hospital. The second day she went "to see what was the matter with her." The examining physician asked her that very question.

"I got a heavy cold."

"What do you do for a living?"

"I'm a chocolate-dipper."

The examining physician made an unintelligible noise in his nose. "Do you expectorate?"

"Sir?"

"Spit much?"

"A little."

"Take this box home with you. The next time you expectorate, use this box. Then bring it back here."

Luella worked another day, explained to the forelady she "really had an awful feeling in her chest," and laid off the next day to pay a visit to the hospital with the box. Three or four days of idleness at home. Another visit.

"One of your lungs is slightly affected,"

was the careful verdict of the physician. (As a matter of fact, the Board of Health laboratory, to which the specimen had been sent, reported a positive case of tuberculosis.)

"What'll I do?" asked Luella, pathetically. She crooked an arm and barely touched her offending chest with her hand. Those modern painters who waste their paint on the Virgin might have found here a pose that carried a spiritual poignancy as deep as any in all the personages of the Christian procession. "What *will* I do?"—the eternal cry of those who are "not much good," dumbly facing the great blank horror.

The physician inquired more into her home life. Then he grunted, reached for his pen and a pad of paper. "You'd better rest here a while until you get better."

That was one of the big, central, public hospitals. They kept people such as Luella only so long as they were able to wait on themselves. Then, the piling up of more Luellas forced the older inmates out . . . into other hospitals.

Said the house-physician, in effect: "The air here doesn't seem to agree with you. We can send you to another hospital, up where there is a higher altitude."

Luella was shoved on.

It requires money to operate hospitals; and, of course, we all know—God bless us—how hard it is to get money. But, somehow, the sick people seem to multiply easily, without any difficulty. Under our modern methods of living, quite too many people seem to get sick with astonishing rapidity. And the worst of it all is, that most of these people haven't the money to pay their way through a hospital. You will never get the managers of a hospital to tell you this, but really it is a pretty hard struggle for most hospitals to make both ends meet. They are compelled to cut down all sorts of expenses: food supplies, medicine supplies, staff of nurses, even ice for the morgue. Many a death in a hospital has occurred because one nurse was trying to do the work of three.

Luella, unknown to herself, was for a while a paying patient. Ellamo's made it a point to "try to help out" their chocolate-dippers. This, of course, was not business. God bless us, no! It was all due to an un-stomachable feeling which occasionally assailed Mr. Howard Ellamo, senior partner, in the pit of his excellent stomach. The

thought that he *ought* to do something for his discarded chocolate-dippers used to afflict him suddenly with a nausea like that we feel when the life is running rapidly out of us. But such feelings and the charity consequent upon them cannot endure long. After all, everything comes into your balance sheet. The thousand and one outlays necessary in conducting a successful business—consider the one item of advertising alone—foot up tremendously. You have to prune off your luxuries and pay strict attention to business, or you are lost.

Luella was a luxury.

"The altitude here is entirely too high for you," said the house physician. "We can arrange to have you transferred back onto Manhattan Island. Much better for you there than here."

She progressed, descended, through two more hospitals, a patient of the city. At last she came to a full stop in Segmore, a year and a half after she had taken home the little box.

At Segmore, the examining physician noted her "clubbed" fingernails—sure sign of the consumptive—made her strip to the waist; swathed her chest with a linen band to keep him free of any skin disease while he auscultated; then he used the stethoscope.

"Where do you live? Where did you work?"

"I was a chocolate-dipper about—"

He waved his hand and went on with the examination, calling out some meaningless words about "apex" to another severe man who sat writing at a desk. Luella's temperature was high; she was sent straight to bed in the charity ward.

Here, for the first time in her hospital career, she was happy. Of course she was happy. For she found in the charity ward eight other chocolate-dippers, seven of whom had worked at Ellamo's.

It was approaching Christmas time. Even in that long, white room, with its enamel, its linen, its whitewashed walls—all as pale as a ghost would be pale—some little trickle of human merriment and cheer ran from bed to bed . . . moribundity grasping at a novel bit of life. Luella, because of her fever, was strapped into her bed. But others of the chocolate-dippers were allowed to move about and visit. They all expressed the opinion that by the next Christmas they would be "out."

It is regrettable to relate, Mr. Howard Ellamo was dying. He was dying in his beautiful home on Riverside Drive. It is, perhaps, noteworthy to relate that he was dying of Bright's Disease. Suddenly, one day, he had an idea he would be well again by Christmas; and this idea aroused in him another. He called his secretary and feebly dictated a note to his junior partner, a man by the name of Steiner. The note was to the effect that all the Ellamo girls "who could be located" were to have a two-pound box of candy as a Christmas gift from the firm.

It would be absurd to get a false impression of this man. He was an entirely lovable and human sort of man; he had a family of his own, two daughters and one son. He was a religious man, a vestryman in his church. You doubtless think you have broader sympathies than he; on the contrary, he had broader sympathies than you. I do not know just exactly what charity means nowadays (it used to mean love in Greek), but this man would pass for a broadly charitable man. I do not imagine you spend very much of your time on any sort of charity, anywhere, anytime, at all. You see, he knew all you know about it, and more. And, at that, he did not know how to begin being charitable: he gave two-pound boxes of candy. No one knows how to begin being charitable. Somehow the beginning is at the wrong end. We are ready to lay our charity at the needy one's feet; but the puzzle is, why did the needy one become needy? Why was he allowed? There was a famous corpse rose up once and cursed the rose-bearers, asking why such deeds had not been done while the corpse yet breathed. Too many of us are carrying roses to corpses.

Mr. Howard Ellamo lay dying. The immanence of his dying was within him, though he roused himself with false hopes. He sincerely wanted to do good, because of the permeating demand of his own soul, agitated by breaths of eternity. He thought he wanted to do good as a testimonial of his getting well. Never mind what he thought. Because it was too late to matter what he thought. It was even too late to matter what he did. A man's deeds should be done when he is thoroughly alive, able to watch them, to construct them.

Lo, and behold, all of a sudden, Mr. Howard Ellamo was dead.

Mr. Steiner, the junior partner, was a good business man. Advertising is advertising—even if it be for a man who is starting into a world where he will have absolutely nothing to sell. So, as each list of girls' names came in from each forelady, and as each forelady murmured some appropriate remark about the astounding effrontery with which Fate approaches the most superior of persons, Mr. Steiner wheeled and said:

"Wouldn't it be a good thing for all the employees to get up a sort of general notice of their regrets, etcetera? Something to—ah, sort—ah, testify publicly to—ah, their regard for Mr. Ellamo? We could have 'em all at the burial. Have it in the newspapers, too."

The foreladies, quite miraculously, thought it a good idea. A mass-meeting of all the workers was held—all the new Luellas, who had answered new "*Help Wanted—Female*" advertisements, and who still had new worlds by which to be conquered. The resolutions were passed, dealing at length with the goodness of the deceased and the love in which his memory was kept by all who had had the fortune to be employed by him. It made quite an obituary.

There was one forelady who was an old maid. She too was "not much good." She was getting a bit aged and she had no place else to spend her Christmas and so she did up eight of the two-pound boxes and took them out to the girls in the charity ward at Segmore.

All the patients were well enough to be about, for an hour or two. There was a great deal of genuine joy in their quarter. They laughed like the little children they once had been; their pinched faces lost that extraordinary expression which accompanies life when life folds in upon itself . . . a placid sombreness.

The forelady distributed the boxes amid handclaps. The girls were undoubtedly happy. They held up old familiar forms of chocolates which they had once dipped themselves. In giggling, agitated fashion, they rushed about until they aroused fevers.

The forelady mentioned Mr. Ellamo's death.

"Isn't it too bad!" said Luella, vivaciously.

Everybody agreed it was; and a discussion arose as to which "gentleman" he had been at the factory. One girl had seen him drive

away in his motor car. Another had seen him twice on a tour of inspection.

These were immediately frankly envied by the rest.

"What did he look like?" asked Luella.

"I saw him in a gorgeous fur coat. Handsome old man—"

The other: "I didn't think he looked old."

"Well, distinguished. Elegant."

And so on.

That night eight feverish, tousled heads

tossed upon pillows daubed with chocolate stains. The sheets were daubed with chocolates. The nightgowns were daubed with chocolates. Each girl, clinging greedily to her own box, had gone to sleep—a light, unhealthy sleep—with her chocolates clutched in her fretful hand or slipped under her pillow. Consumptives are very fond of bonbons.

You never get well at Segmore. It is the "last" hospital, the hospital at which you always die.

Children of Hawaii

By Estelle Baker

We are hungry in Hawaii,
In the Isles of cane and flowers;
There are many mangoes hanging
In a yard that is not ours.
We are hungry in our school time,
In the afternoon tired hours;
We would buy the good "school lunches"
But the nickels are not ours.

We are hungry in Hawaii,
In the Isles of rainbow showers;
There are fish within the ocean,
But the boats—they are not ours.
We stand looking upward, wishing,
Where the coconut high towers,
We can climb to reach the highest
But the tree—it is not ours.



We are hungry in Hawaii,
In the Isles that once were ours;
We are very fond of taro
Growing in a field, not ours.
We are longing, always longing
In the Isles that are not ours;
There are sheep and swine and cattle
On a ranch that is not ours.

Kapu* over all the mountain,
Kapu bird and beast and flowers,
Kapu earth and tree and ocean,
In the Isles that once were ours.

*Kapu means forbidden (private, no trespassing, etc.)



Nine Short Ones

By MILITANT

GET out your overcoats. Keep your sweaters handy. Winter is almost here.

A special kind of loneliness and suffering for the working class attaches to winter. The haunting air of it is suggested in a poem from "Flashlights" by Mary Aldis:

The winter dusk creeps up the avenue
With biting cold.
Behind bright window panes
In gauzy garments
Waxen ladies smile
As shirt-sleeved men
Hustle them off their pedestals for the night.

Along the avenue
A girl comes hurrying,
Holding her shawl.
She stops to look in at the window.
"O Gee," she says, "look at the chiffon muff."
A whimpering dog
Falters up to cringe against her skirt.

A FEW years ago press dispatches told of a grandson of the author of the song "America" killing himself while hungry and despondent in a mid-west city. His grandfather wrote and millions of school children sang how this is the "sweet land of liberty" and how

"I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,"
and how this is the country where "freedom sings." Patriotism!

An Associated Press dispatch from Topeka, Kansas, says Governor Capper has started a subscription list for Salmon Brown, who is the only surviving son of John Brown, living at 2024 East Court St., Portland, Oregon, crippled and destitute. Which may show that though John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave, his soul

hasn't marched a long ways toward economic freedom among the American people.

A RUSSIAN captain was sent back wounded during the Czernowitz drive. Told the Associated Press correspondent that "where possible, religious services were held before the offensive was begun." This modifying phrase, "where possible," is taken to mean that machine gun operators held no prayer meeting while running a steady spit of metal at the enemy.

NOT yet from Europe has there come mockery at war, mockery at the proletariat of sixteen nations, bleeding itself to white exhaustion equal to this from The Crisis, organ of the American negroes:

"Carrizal was a glory and a blunder; a joke and a crucifixion. Carrizal was a glory for the Mexicans who dared defend their country from invasion and for negro troopers who went singing to their death. And the greater glory was the glory of the black men, for Mexicans died for a land they love, while negroes sang for a country that despises, cheats and lynches them. Even across the sunlit desert as they died came the last wild shriek of a human bonfire in Texas where southern 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' tapered in glee—brave, filthy Texas. Laugh? Why shouldn't they laugh at simple death and grim duty? Have they not faced the harsher and more horrible things? 'Jim Crow' cars, helpless disfranchisement and organized insult? Why should they not laugh at death for a country which honors them dying and kicks and buffets them living? God laughed. It was a joke."

Race consciousness burns in these negro words. No I. W. W. men in a free speech fight, no Irishmen on the barricades, are more superbly passionate and ironic.

SALARIED employes working by the year and paid by the year are members of what is sometimes called "the white collar proletariat."

Census bureau report on manufactures for 1914 shows that this white collar proletarian has had his pay raised nearly every year and in percentages on pay raises the salary-earning office workers beat out the wage earners. From 1909 to 1914 salaried workers got increases of 22 per cent in pay while wage earners got 6 per cent.

These figures, of course, may be off. At that, however, they are the only figures anybody has come across with on this point. That the salaried men of the country, who are *not* organized, should win pay increases far surpassing the pay increases of wage earners ought to prove something.

If the entire working class was organized and had the potential power of a great mass strike or of strikes in any industry, then the foregoing census figures would prove that organization accomplishes nothing.

As the figures now stand, however, they merely indicate that the ability of the white collar proletariat to market their labor power is a better selling ability than that of the wage earners. Both divisions of the working class—white collar and overall—are *unorganized* in anything like the possibilities.

MANY statistics are given out by the nations at war. Nothing has come through so far, however, about deserters, how many, who and why.

"Usually, before a great offensive, many deserters slip over during the night. For they prefer ending the war in prison to going through a hell of an attack."

So writes Raymond Swing, with the Hindenberg armies, for the Chicago Daily News.

The Pole given a rifle to kill other Poles, the Jew encased in a uniform and equipped with a bayonet for stabbing other Jews,—the terror of this has been much emphasized during this war by all the respectable forces of pacifism.

For working men with no natural antagonisms except class antagonisms to be thrust at each other's throats in wholesale killing of working men—this is what?

WHEN Billy Sunday quit Detroit in November he took along \$46,102, a "free will thank offering" from 27,109 persons he "brought to Jesus" in the Michigan metrop-

olis. Now he's in Boston bringing more sinners to Jesus, which sinners will also come through with a "free will thank offering."

CHARLIE SCHWAB, the Bethlehem steel muck-a-muck, never wears diamonds, the Sunday papers and the society pages are reporting. Pearls are what he likes. Pearls are his favorites. He keeps pearls in his shirt front and cuffs and has his wife wearing pearls.

WHAT proportion of the people of this country want universal military service?

Who are the people and how many want enforced, mandatory, universal military service?

Nobody knows the answer to these questions. There is no data on the point. There have been no popular referendums.

Two of the essential facts in the situation are (1) that on all previous occasions in U. S. history, when newspapers, financiers and politicians set up the cry for universal service in peace time they didn't get it, and (2) this country today has a large population, exactly how large unknown, who came here because thereby they escaped universal military service requirements of the European nations from which they came.

The force element, the compelling of a citizen to do a certain act, has driven advocates and opponents of universal military service to queer phraseology.

"Universal *required* service" is the way to say it, according to President Harry Pratt Judson, president of the University of Chicago.

"Universal *obligatory* service" is the way Theodore Roosevelt, our American Bernhardt, puts it.

"Universal *compulsory* service" is the way Henry Ford and John Reed say it when they have to.

You can be required, obliged, or compelled—all the same thing.

It means you have no chance to say yes or no to it.

The one feature that damns it just now so far as the American working class is concerned is that every brutal, grasping, inhuman, tyrannical labor master, labor driver and labor hater in America is for it.

The Voyage of the Verona

By WALKER C. SMITH

FIVE workers and two vigilantes dead, thirty-one workers and nineteen vigilantes wounded, from four to seven workers missing and probably drowned, two hundred ninety-four men and three women of the working class in jail—this is the tribute to the class struggle in Everett, Wash., on Sunday, November 5. Other contributions made almost daily during the past six months have indicated the character of the Everett authorities, but the protagonists of the open shop and the antagonists of free speech did not stand forth in all their hideous nakedness until the tragic trip of the steamer Verona. Not until then was Darkest Russia robbed of its claim to "Bloody Sunday."

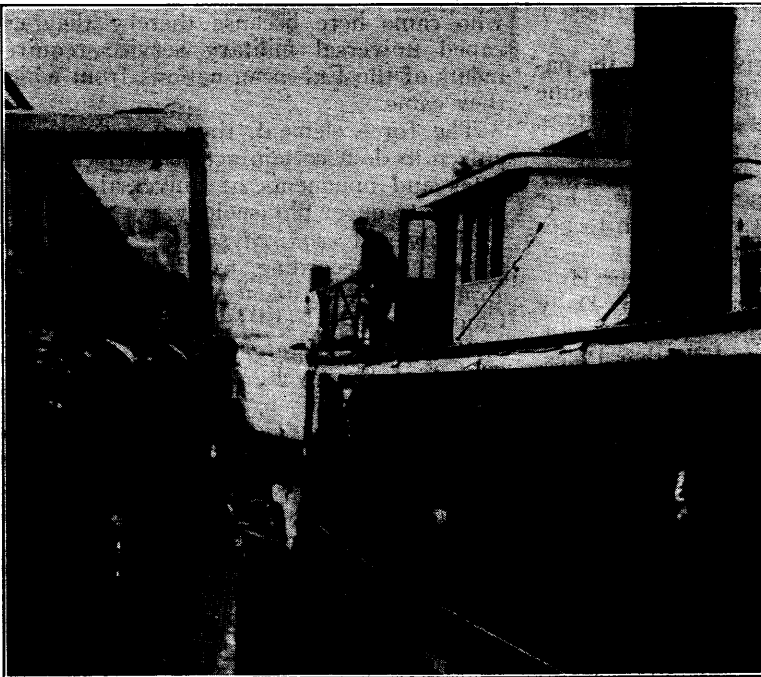
Early Sunday morning on November 5 the steamer Verona started for Everett from Seattle with 260 members of the Industrial Workers of the World as a part of its passenger list. On the steamer Calista, which followed, were 38 more I. W.

W. men, for whom no room could be found on the crowded Verona. Songs of the One Big Union rang out over the waters of Puget Sound, giving evidence that no thought of violence was present.

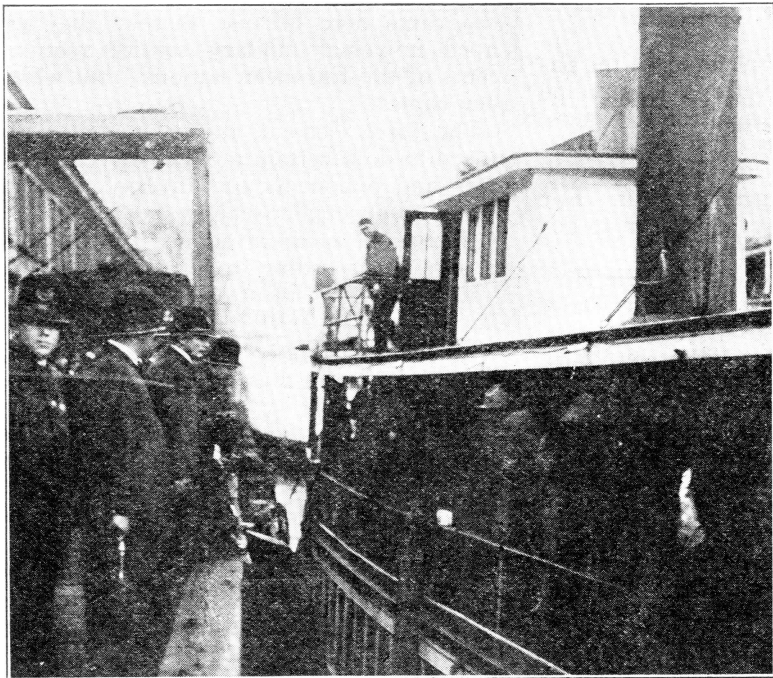
It was in answer to a call for volunteers to enter Everett to establish free speech and the right to organize that the band of crusaders were making the trip. They thought their large numbers would prevent any attempt to stop the street meeting that had been advertised for that afternoon at Hewitt and Wetmore avenues in handbills previously distributed in Everett. Their mission was an open and peaceable one.

The Seattle police, knowing that I. W. W. men had been jailed, beaten and deported from Everett, singly and in crowds, during the past six months, without committing a single act of personal violence in retaliation, made no attempt to detain the men, but merely telephoned to the Everett

authorities that a large number had left for that city. Two Pinkerton detectives were on board the Verona, according to the police and to members of the I. W. W. The capitalist press of Seattle and Everett claim that all the I. W. W. men were armed "to the teeth." On behalf of the I. W. W. some have made the counter claim that the men were absolutely unarmed, as was the case in all former "invasions." Deputy Prosecuting Attorney H e l s e l l, King County, who is assisting the prosecutor of Snohomish County, has stated in an interview that



THE VERONA ARRIVING AT SEATTLE WITH ITS CARGO OF DEAD AND WOUNDED



THE VERONA ARRIVING AT SEATTLE WITH ITS CARGO OF DEAD AND WOUNDED



WOUNDED FELLOW-WORKERS ON BOARD THE VERONA

the number of armed workers was between eighteen and twenty-five. This would mean that less than ten per cent of the men were armed even were the higher figure a correct one.

Following the receipt of the telephone message from Seattle, Sheriff Donald McRea cleared the Municipal dock—owned by the city of Everett—of all citizens and employes, and after the erection of a temporary barricade of heavy timbers, the several hundred gunmen, scabs, militiamen, ex-policemen and other open shop supporters who had been deputized to do vigilante duty, were stationed at points commanding any incoming boats. These semi-legalized outlaws were provided with high power rifles, side arms and many rounds of ammunition. It has been reported that a machine gun was in readiness for service on the dock. Scabs located on the Everett Improvement dock, lying to the south of the Municipal dock, also had a part to play. The scene was set, and the tragedy of the Verona was about to be staged.

As the Seattle boat swung up to the wharf shortly before 2 o'clock the I. W. W. men were merrily singing the English Transport Workers' strike song, "Hold the Fort:"

We meet today in Freedom's cause,
And raise our voices high,
We'll join our hands in union strong,
To battle or to die.

CHORUS.

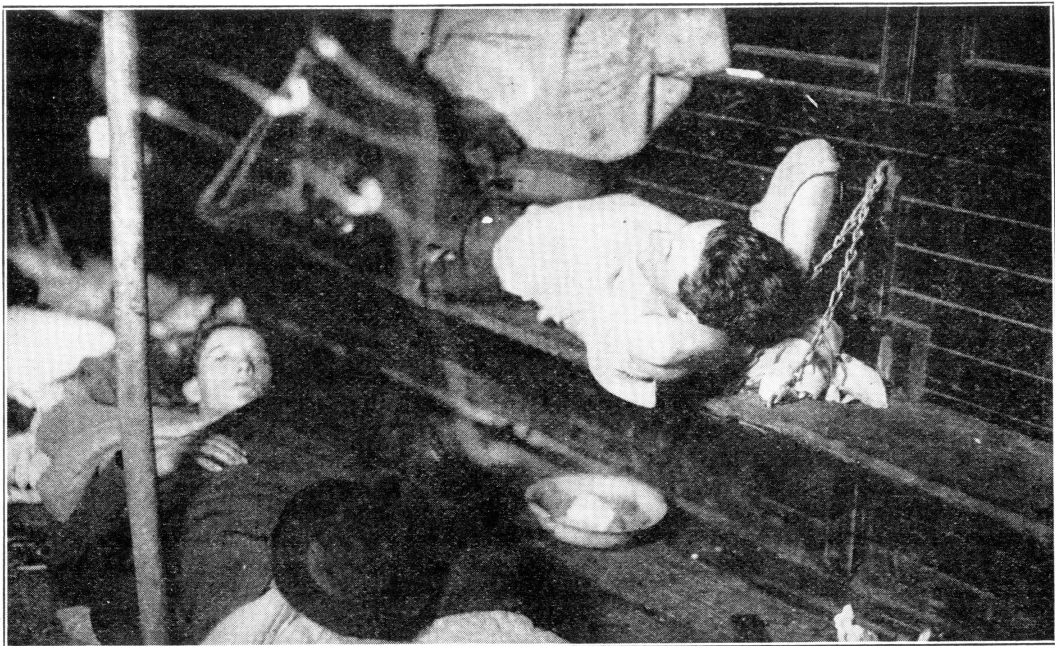
Hold the fort for we are coming,
Union men be strong.
Side by side we battle onward,
Victory will come.
Look, my comrades, see the union
Banners waving high.
Reinforcements now appearing,
Victory is nigh.

See our numbers still increasing;
Hear the bugle blow,
By our union we shall triumph
Over every foe.

Fierce and long the battle rages,
But we will not fear.
Help will come when'er it's needed,
Cheer, my comrades, cheer!

When the singers, together with the other passengers, crowded to the rail so they might land the more quickly, Sheriff McRae called out to them:

"Who is your leader?"



WOUNDED FELLOW-WORKERS ON BOARD THE VERONA

Immediate and unmistakable was the answer from every I. W. W.:

"We are all leaders!"

Angrily drawing his gun from its holster and flourishing it in a threatening manner, McRae cried:

"You can't land here."

"Like hell we can't!" came the reply from the men as they stepped toward the partly thrown off gang plank.

A volley of shots sent them staggering backward and many fell to the deck. The waving of McRae's revolver evidently was the prearranged signal for the carnage to commence.

The few armed men on board, according to many of the eye-witnesses, then drew revolvers and returned the fire, causing consternation in the ranks of the cowardly murderers barricaded on the dock. Until the contents of their revolvers were exhausted the workers stood firm. They had no ammunition in reserve. The unarmed men sought cover but were subjected to a veritable hail of steel jacketed soft-nosed bullets from the high power rifles of the vigilantes. The sudden rush to the off-shore side of the boat caused it to list to about thirty degrees. Bullets from the dock

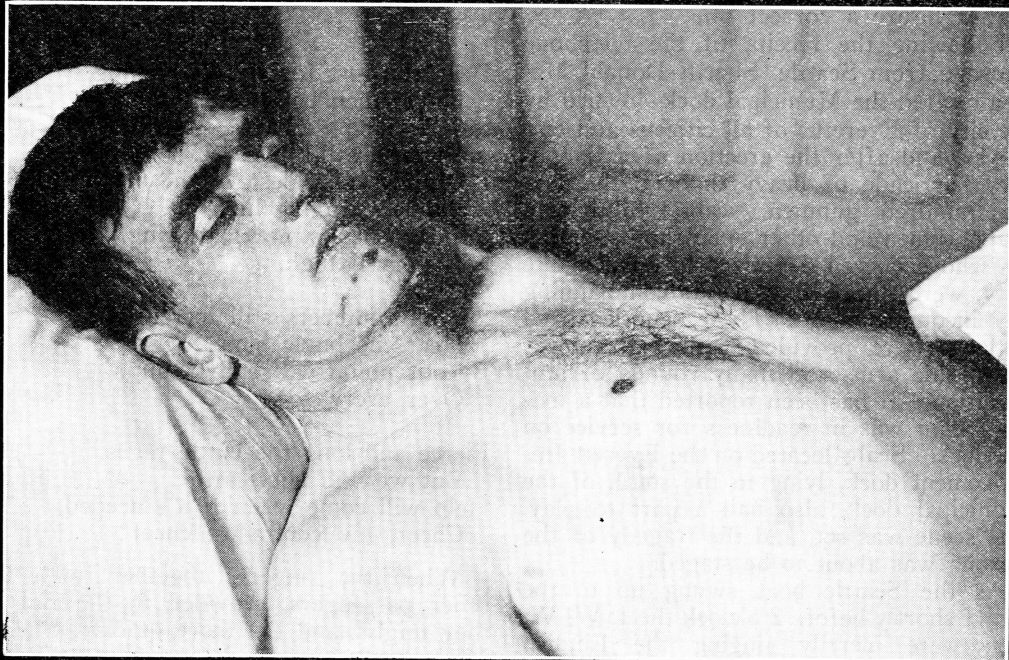
to the south and from the scab tugboats moored there apparently got in their destructive work, for a number of men were seen to fall overboard and the water was reddened with their blood. No bodies were recovered when the harbor was dragged the next day. On the tugboat Edison, the scab cook, a mulatto, fired shot after shot with careful and deadly aim at the men on the off-shore side of the boat, according to the Pacific Coast Longshoreman, the official I. L. A. paper. This man had not even a deputy badge to give a semblance of legality to his murders. That the gunmen on the two docks and on the scab boats were partly the victims of their own cross fire is quite likely.

After ten minutes of steady firing, during which hundreds of rounds of ammunition were expended, the further murder of unarmed men was prevented by the action of Engineer Ernest Skelgren, who backed the boat away from the dock with no pilot at the wheel. The vigilantes kept up their gunfire as long as the boat was within reach.

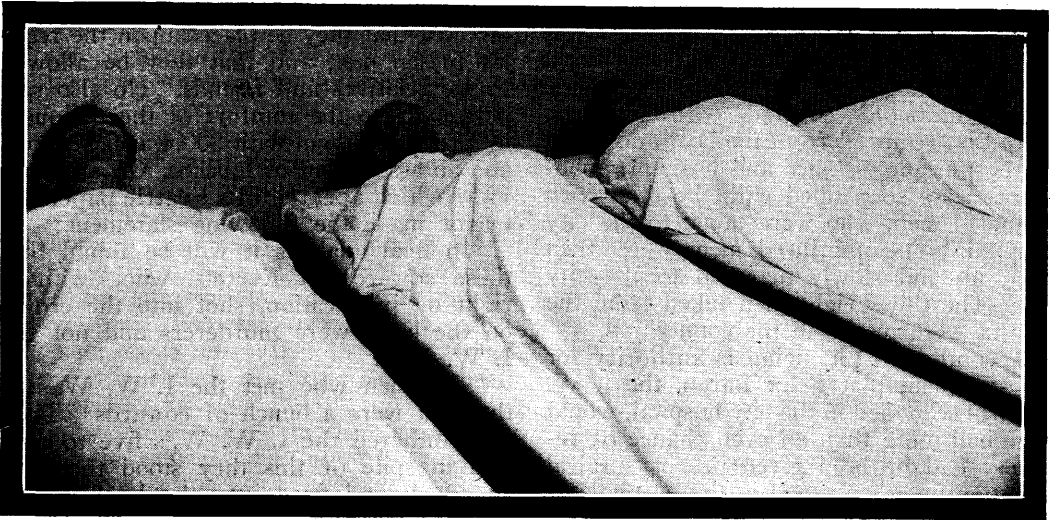
On a hilltop overlooking the scene thousands of Everett citizens witnessed the whole affair. The consensus of their opin-



JOHN TOONEY



JOHN TOONEY



JOHN TOONEY

HUGO GERLOT

FELIX BARAN

A. RABINOVITZ

ion is that the vigilante mob started the affair and are wholly responsible.

Many angry citizens made demonstrations against the vigilantes as they left the dock with automobiles containing the corpse of gunman Lieut. C. O. Curtis, who had fallen early in the fight, and twenty wounded vigilantes, among whom were Jeff Beard, Chief Deputy Sheriff and former Sheriff of Snohomish county, who later died in the hospital, and Sheriff McRae with three bullet wounds in his legs. The recovery of some of the gunmen is still in doubt.

Mrs. Edith Frenette, who was later arrested in Seattle together with Mrs. Joyce Peters and Mrs. Lorna Mahler, is held on the allegation that she tried to throw red pepper in the eyes of the sheriff and then drew a revolver to shoot him as he was being removed from the dock. Mrs. Frenette was out on \$1,000 bail on an unlawful assembly charge made by the Everett authorities.

An Everett correspondent, writing to the Seattle Union Record, official A. F. of L. organ, makes the following statement of the temper of the people:

"Your correspondent was on the street at the time of the battle and at the dock ten minutes afterward. He mingled with the street crowds for hours afterwards. The temper of the people is dangerous. Nothing but curses and execrations for the Commercial Club was heard. Men and women who are ordinarily law abiding, who in normal times mind their own business pretty well, pay their taxes, send their children to church and school, pay their bills, in every way comport

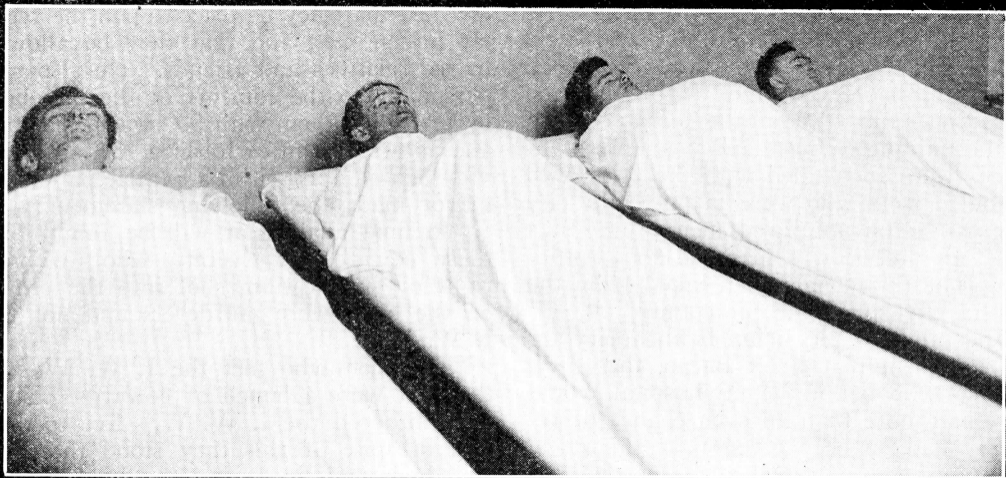
themselves as normal citizens, were heard using the most vitriolic language concerning the Commercial Club, loudly sympathizing with the I. W. W's. And therein lies the great harm that was done, more menacing to the city than the presence of any number of I. W. W's, viz., the transformation of decent, honest citizens into beings mad for vengeance and praying for something dire to happen. I heard gray-haired women, mothers and wives, gentle, kindly, I know, in their home circles, openly hoping that the I. W. W.'s would come back and 'clean up.'"

Terrorism and chaos reigned in Everett following the tragedy. Over six hundred deputies patrolled the streets. A citizen who slipped into the prohibited area claims that he overheard a group of panic stricken citizen-deputies say: "We must stick together on this story about the first shot from the boat."

Certain officials called for the state militia and, without investigating, Governor Lister ordered mobilization and soon some of the naval militiamen were on the scene. Some militiamen, knowing that the call practically amounted to strike duty *refused to go to the armory.*

The Verona, with its cargo of dead and wounded, steamed toward Seattle, meeting the Calista four miles out from Everett. Captain Wyman stopped the Calista and cried out through his megaphone, "For God's sake don't land. They'll kill you. We have dead and wounded on board now."

In Seattle large bodies of police—with drawn revolvers—lined the dock awaiting the return of the two steamers. At 4:40



JOHN TOONEY

HUGO GERLOT

FELIX BARAN

A. RABINOVITZ

p. m. the Verona reached the dock and the first words of the I. W. W. men were, "Get the wounded fellows out and we'll be all right." The four dead members, their still bodies covered with blankets, were first removed from the boat and taken to the morgue. Police and hospital ambulances were soon filled with the thirty-two wounded men, who were taken to the city hospital. The uninjured men were then lined up and slowly marched to the city jail. The thirty-eight men taken from the Calista were placed in the county jail.

A competent physician is authority for the statement that Felix Baran, the I. W. W. man who died in the city hospital, would have had more than an even chance of recovery had he been given proper surgical attention upon his arrival in the hospital.

Up to this writing no inquest has been held over the five dead fellow workers.

The Seattle I. W. W. has been denied the bodies and unless relatives come forward to claim them the men will be buried as paupers. A request that the I. W. W. be allowed to hold a public funeral for the four men met with a denial. It was claimed that the display of these men to the general public would tend to incite a riot and disorder. The even hand of capitalist justice is shown by the fact that at the same time this ruling was made the funeral of gunman C. O. Curtis took place in Seattle with Prosecuting Attorney Alfred H. Lundin as one of the pallbearers. This funeral was held with military honors, Lieut. Curtis having been in the officers' reserve corps of the National Guard of Washington, and formerly of the Adjutant General's staff.

A hastily gathered coroner's jury in Everett viewed the bodies of gunmen C. O. Curtis and Jeff F. Beard, and retiring long enough to put their instructions in writing had laid these deaths at the door of the I. W. W.—"a riotous mob on the steamer Verona." The Seattle Central Labor Council on November 8 characterized the inquest as a farce and appropriated \$100 for a complete investigation. They also demanded that a fair and exhaustive inquest be held, with full examination of all available witnesses.

The men in jail were held incommunicado for several days and were not allowed even the prison bill of fare—being given only bread and coffee. Mayor H. C. Gill, being aware of the fact that the public

generally were sympathizing with the men, directed that they be placed upon the regular prison diet, and that they be allowed to see relatives and friends. He also saw personally to the comfort of the prisoners by providing them with 300 warm blankets and an assortment of tobacco. In an interview which appeared in a Seattle paper the mayor made the following statement:

"In final analysis it will be found that these cowards in Everett who, without right or justification, shot into the crowd on the boat; were murderers and not the I. W. W.'s.

"The men who met the I. W. W.'s at the boat were a bunch of cowards. They outnumbered the I. W. W.'s five to one, and in spite of this they stood there on the dock and fired into the boat, I. W. W.'s, innocent passengers and all.

"McRae and his deputies had no legal right to tell the I. W. W.'s or any one else that they could not land there. When the sheriff put his hand on the butt of his gun and told them they could not land, he fired the first shot, in the eyes of the law, and the I. W. W.'s can claim that they shot in self-defense."

Speaking of the men in jail, Gill said:

"These men haven't been charged with anything. Personally I have no sympathy with the I. W. W.'s. The way I have handled them here in the past ought to be proof enough of that, but I don't believe I should have these men tortured just because I have them in jail.

"If I were one of the party of forty I. W. W.'s who was almost beaten to death by 300 citizens of Everett without being able to defend myself, I probably would have armed myself if I intended to visit Everett again."

The mayor charged that Everett officials were inconsistent in their handling of this situation. He said that they permit candidates for office to violate the city ordinances by speaking on the streets and yet run the I. W. W.'s out of town if they endeavor to mount a soap box.

"Why hasn't a Benson supporter just as much right to speak in the streets as a McBride or a Hughes supporter?" said Mayor Gill.

Passenger Oscar Carlson was at the very front of the Verona when the firing commenced. He now lies in the city hospital with a number of serious bullet wounds.

His affidavit has been taken. In an interview he speaks of the I. W. W. attitude on the voyage to Everett as follows:

"I never expected to have any shooting. All I heard was 'They may not let us land.' I didn't hear any threat of violence—it seemed funny. I was not acquainted and knew but two by sight only."

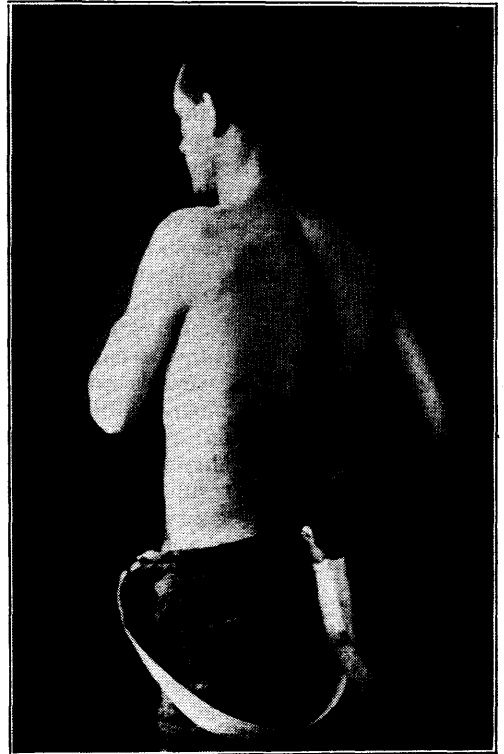
Although in a weakened condition, Carlson stated that he saw no guns and continued the interview long enough to say, "I tell you as it comes to me now, it seems one shot came from the dock first, then three or four from the other side, then all sides at once."

Ernest Nordstrom, another passenger, practically substantiates all of Carlson's statement.

As was to be expected, the entire capitalist press united in their opposition to the I. W. W.'s in this fight. Their tactics have embraced everything from outright lies to the petty trick of placing the words "Jew," "Irish," etc., after the names of I. W. W. men in their newspaper references in order to create the idea that the whole affair is the work of "ignorant foreigners." To combat these capitalist forces there are in the immediate vicinity three official organs of the A. F. of L., the Industrial Worker, the Northwest Worker of Everett and the Socialist World of Seattle. These are weekly papers, but the publicity they have already given the case is swinging public opinion to the side of the workers.

To arrive at an understanding of the tragedy of the Verona some knowledge of the events that preceded it is necessary.

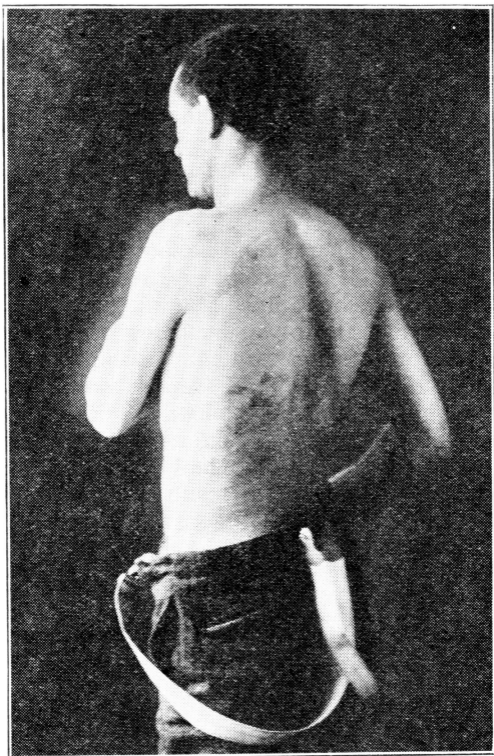
Everett has been in a more or less lawless condition ever since the open shop lumber men imported thugs and scabs to break the shingle weavers' strike of six months ago. Union men were beaten and one picket was shot in the leg. Demands for organization brought the I. W. W. on the scene. Headquarters were opened and street meetings started to inform the Everett workers of conditions in the mills and in the northwest lumber industry generally. Obeying orders from the Commercial Club the I. W. W. hall was closed by the police. Speakers were arrested and deported. Members of the I. W. W. from Seattle, some of them striking longshoremen, aided the shingle weavers in the maintaining of their picket line. Deportation entirely without legal process continued for some



JAMES ROWAN, I. W. W. ORGANIZER, BEATEN UP BY VIGILANTES

time. On September 9 Sheriff McRae and a bunch of vigilantes fired a volley of shots at the launch Wonder and arrested the captain, together with twenty I. W. W. men who were on board. Meanwhile the police were raiding the I. W. W. hall and all of those arrested were taken to jail, where they were severely beaten. Jury trials were denied and finally the prisoners were turned over to the vigilante mob, who clubbed them and illegally deported them. These tactics continued for some time, and increased in their intensity to such an extent that the citizens of Everett, some ten or fifteen thousand in number, gathered in a protest meeting on September 20. There were speakers representing all factions of the labor revolutionary movement, as well as citizens who had come to tell of the beatings they had received at the hands of the vigilantes.

Then, on October 30, occurred an outrage greater than all the preceding ones—an outrage exceeded only by the wanton



JAMES ROWAN, I. W. W. ORGANIZER, BEATEN
UP BY VIGILANTES

murder of the I. W. W. men on the steamer Verona. Forty-one I. W. W. men, entirely unarmed and accused of no crime, were taken from a boat on which they were passengers, and at the point of guns, were searched and abused by a mob of deputized drunks. They were then thrown into automobiles and with armed guards, who outnumbered them five to one, were taken to a lonely country spot, where they were forced to run the gauntlet of the vigilantes who rained blows upon their unprotected heads and bodies with saps, clubs, pickhandles and other weapons. In this mob of 200 fiends were lawyers, doctors, business men, members of the chamber of commerce, "patriotic" militiamen, ignorant university students, deputies and Sheriff McRae. As a result of a peaceable attempt to assert a constitutional right forty-one members of the I. W. W. were sent to Seattle hospitals, with injuries ranging from dangerously severe bruises to broken shoulders.

The answer of the I. W. W. to this damnable act of violence and to the four months of terrorism that had preceded it was a call issued through the Industrial Worker for two thousand men to enter Everett, there to gain by sheer force of numbers that right of free speech and peaceable assemblage supposed to have

been guaranteed them by the constitution of the United States. Then came the tragedy on the steamer Verona.

The prosecution made its first legal move on Friday, November 10, when forty-one men were singled out, heavily handcuffed and secretly transported to Everett. They are charged with first degree murder. The other men are held on the technical charge of unlawful assembly, pending the filing of more serious charges.

The defense of the men will be undertaken by Lawyer Fred H. Moore, assisted by Judge Hilton, Arthur Leseuer, Col. C. E. S., Wood and local Seattle attorneys, according to present advices.

The prosecution is backed by the Chamber of Commerce, the Commercial Club, the Employers' Association, the Lumber Trust and other upholders of the open shop. These men will stick at nothing to convict the prisoners so as to cover the murders committed by their hirelings.

An immediate and generous response is the only means of preventing a frame-up and wholesale conviction of these men. They have fought their class war. Are you game to back them up financially? Let your response go at once to the.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
Box 85, Nippon Station, Seattle, Wash.

The International of the Deed

By FRIEDRICH ADLER

(Editorial Note.—This article was published in the Austrian Socialist magazine, "Der Kampf," on April 1, 1915. At that time the author was known as one of the best thinkers in the Socialist movement. On October 23, 1916, he became famous by shooting the prime minister of Austria-Hungary. Since then people everywhere have been asking what manner of man he is. Review readers will find an answer in the following paragraphs.)—Translated by William E. Bohn.

CARL REHNER has given the answer to all our stupidity parochial nationalists. He has made us conscious of the international bonds which control our whole civilization. He says: "Those who look at the facts of life without blinders must conclude that nationalism exists, that it lives and moves in all of us. But internationalism, too, exists. Yes, it lives and moves,—it is the prime motive power in all our social relations. Let us call it the international of facts."

For this "international of facts" there are

as yet no forms of law, or at least only very primitive ones. But, whether they are formulated or not, the tendencies of our society are given direction by these laws. And so, as Renner proves, there has come into existence, not merely as a pious wish but as a necessary goal, word organization. To quote our great hymn, "The international party will be the human race."

But this fact does not relieve us from the necessity of dealing with the practical problems of the moment. And, as it happens, these are precisely the subjects up for dis-

cussion in the Socialist parties of the world. All Socialists recognize the internationality of civilization. But this recognition is not dependent on a Socialist point of view. It is shared to some extent by all Europeans. Even with regard to the "international of facts," the practical organization of the world, there is no essential difference of opinion among Socialists. The problem which the working-class has been forced to face since the opening of the war has little to do with the general theory of world organization or the possible existence of such organization as a fact. It grows rather out of the things which may be summed up in the phrase, "the international of the deed." We are forced to deal, not with possible forms of a future world but with the character of the actual proletarian struggle. It is not the federation of the world that demands our thought, but the union of the working class which is to make this federation a reality. It is not the goal, but the road toward it that constitutes our problem. If we could once find out how to obey the injunction, "Workers of the world, unite," we should not have to worry about the Socialist commonwealth.

The international of the future will be a federation of nations; the international of the present can be nothing but a union of the working class. If we keep these two clearly separated we shall escape a deal of trouble. We shall not attempt to found the structure of our international congresses on the facts of internationalism in general. We shall not expect these congresses to perform the work of world-parliaments. We shall build them firmly upon one great fact, the world-wide condition of the working class. And we shall expect them to function solely as the organ of the working class.

"The struggle against exploitation must be as international as exploitation itself," we say in our program. It is the common fate of the working class that permits of its world-wide unity. Internationalism of capital compels internationalism of labor. Internationalism is a necessary feature of the class character of the proletariat.

The working class is international. It includes all lands and peoples. But the consciousness of internationality is another matter. It is only one aspect of class consciousness in general. It develops like any other form of international life. That is, intercommunication, contact, mutual adaptation are necessary to its development.

There is gradually developing what we have come to call the international mind. The bourgeois peace societies are one proof of its existence. Our political international cannot, however, include all the aspects of international thought and activity. If it is to be capable of action, it must be limited to the working class. It must be firmly based on class interest.

The political policies of the working class take on international character in a very natural and simple way. Let us merely ask ourselves with regard to all events: What will be their effect on the upward struggle of the proletariat? If we answer this question honestly we shall immediately perceive how vastly more important is unity of national labor than that of the classes within the boundaries of any one nation. This was the conception of Marx and Engels. This is the conception which has more and more dominated the working class since the proclamation of the *Communist Manifesto*. It is very clearly outlined in an article by Otto Bauer. He says: "Internationalism cannot be satisfied with mere national demands. It is not to be realized in terms of national democracy, equality and autonomy for all peoples. It is at once the goal and the limitation of all such demands. It requires the subordination of all particular national purposes to the common class interests of the proletariat. It forces us to measure the usefulness of all national endeavors according to their effect on the common interests of the proletariat of all nations."

"We must support every national demand which looks toward the democratization of Europe as a whole; but we must oppose as energetically any national demand which tends to strengthen social or political forces of reaction. Therefore, the demand for national independence is to be pressed only so far as effort in this direction counts in the struggle for the improvement of the working class in general. This is for us, the international mind, to think of everything in terms of the interests of the working class of the world. It does not exclude national effort but subordinates it to a higher principle. . . . We must have something more than expressions of sympathy and occasional contributions of money to unite the workers of different countries."

The *Communist Manifesto* laid it down as the law that we must "always represent

the interests of the movement as a whole." It is only when we do this that we have a truly international policy.

This is the general principle which should dictate our attitude toward problems of world politics. The bourgeois peace folk may be content with a nebulous internationality of civilization. They may be filled with a spirit of good will and at the same time vote war loans and work hand-in-hand with the rulers. They may be received by potentates and win a peace manifesto from the Bloody Nicholas. In former days we despised such activities and covered them with satire. Now, alas, we can do it no longer.

For we are not deceived: The international has begun to reap what chauvinism has sown. The London conference shows how far the working class has departed from formerly accepted principles. It is true that in the German and Austrian Socialist press some of the resolutions adopted at this conference were hailed as signs of a return of sanity. But it is humiliating to discover that mere declarations against war and despotic terrorism are considered worthy of remark. And is not the fact that such a conference as this is held even more humiliating? German "war" Socialists denounced the English and French as "Entente Socialists." But what was at first a mere slander has been made the truth. In London we saw Socialists grouped according to the alliances of the capitalist governments. On our side of the battle-line we have thus far been spared such a humiliation. We have had no conference of German, Austrian and Turkish Socialists.

This London conference shows as clearly as anything could the real meaning of the International. Those English, French and Russian Socialists tried hard, but they simply could not speak as Socialists. And their impotence lay in the very nature of their organization. They met as representatives of a particular group of war-making nations. But, it is clear, the chief demands of Socialism, such as the demand for peace, can be pressed only by all the workers acting in common. The realization of such a demand can be achieved by only one organization, the International.

Passage deleted by the censor.

The International is now impotent. We undergo the humiliation of seeing the proletarian groups of the world unable even to meet together to take council. We do not underestimate the extent to which the "well-

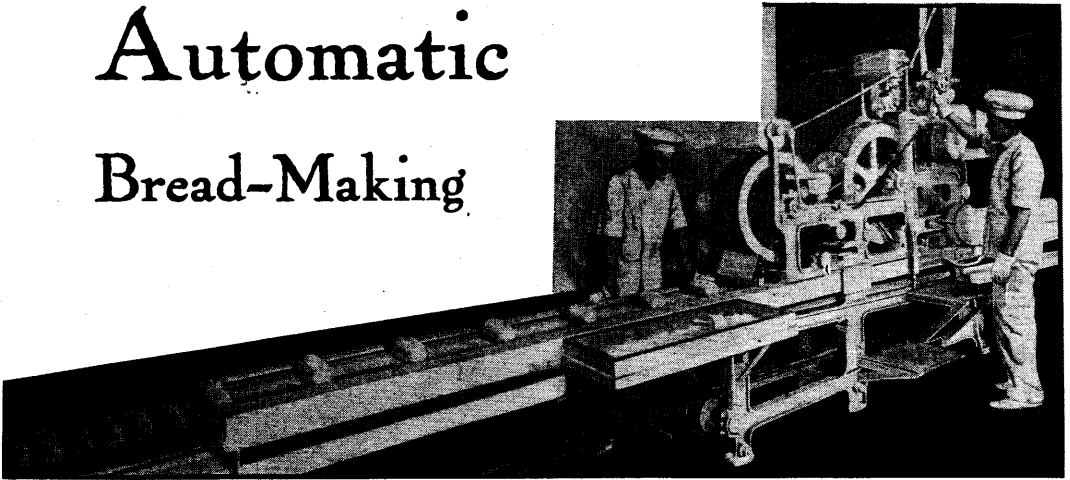
poisoning" carried on by certain "Socialists" is responsible for this situation. We know but too well that we have our Hyndmans and the "Entente Socialists" have their Leuthners. But we must recognize the fact that the cause of our failure lies deeper than the activities of a few "Socialist" chauvinists.

The Socialist parties could not go on with their peace policy because they had made the war their own affair. And this was not all. The Socialists were taken in tow by the capitalist forces.

The enemies of the working class have done their utmost against the International. Sometimes they denounced it as treason. Or, if it served their purposes better, they simply ignored it or classed it with the innumerable bourgeois movements which had an international character. This view has now gained entrance to certain so-called Socialist circles. But there never was a time when the political importance of the International was more evident. In the early days of the second International the effort to improve labor conditions was the main thing. The world-wide movement was chiefly useful as it lent support to this effort in various countries. But as the great conflict of nations reached the point where war was imminent the International became more and more the only possible instrument of the working class peace movement. The workers of each nation could demand peace without suspicion of disloyalty or dishonesty because they could say to their capitalist opponents, "The workers on the other side of the border, in the country of your enemies, are making the same demand."

At the beginning of the war the Socialists of many lands thought it possible to adopt policies contrary to the principles of the International and without regard to the mutual pledges of the various groups. Now we begin to see the obverse side of the medal. This institution, which could speak without fear or favor for the people of all nations, has not yet regained its place in the world. But the proletarians of all lands will learn a lesson from the present state of affairs. They will discover that a vague world-consciousness, a sense of universal brotherhood, is not enough for them. They need something more than this. They are powerless without a fighting force such as that furnished by the International of the Deed.

Automatic Bread-Making



(COURTESY JOSEPH BAKER'S, LTD., "THE BAKER TRAVELING BREAD OVEN," AND THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.)

THE first rays of the sun were just touching the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayan Mountains. In the valley of the River Ganges a man and a woman were sitting by the fire in front of their cave. Steam was rising from one of the flat firestones, where some pap which the woman had mixed from wild barley and water had been spilled. Taking the stone from the ashes, the woman found it covered with a brown, hard crust. Both man and woman first tasted, then ate of the warm, crisp cake. The taste was good. And lo! *Man had discovered the art of making bread.*

Excavations at Wangen and Robenhäusen uncovering Swiss lake-dwellings of that same Stone Period have given up calcined remains of flat cakes made from coarsely ground grain (barley, oats, and one-grain wheat). Both hollowed and round stones used for crushing the grain, and flat stones, still blackened and covered with burnt cake and ashes, were found. These were undoubtedly the primitive tools used by these folks of the Stone Age for baking their crude bread.

Five thousand years later civilization had settled on the shores of the Nile. The Egyptians were no longer cave-dwellers or nomads. They had learned to till the soil and garner crops from their sowing. And they had learned to bake bread. White bread, too, it was, from the golden grains of wheat which had been crushed into a fine flour

between two stones. And light and of good texture was the bread, because those old Egyptians had discovered the art of leavening the dough before putting it into their brick-built ovens.

In Athens the invention of baking bread was ascribed to Dionysius, in whose honor very large show-pieces of bread in different forms were carried in the procession of the Dionysian festivals.

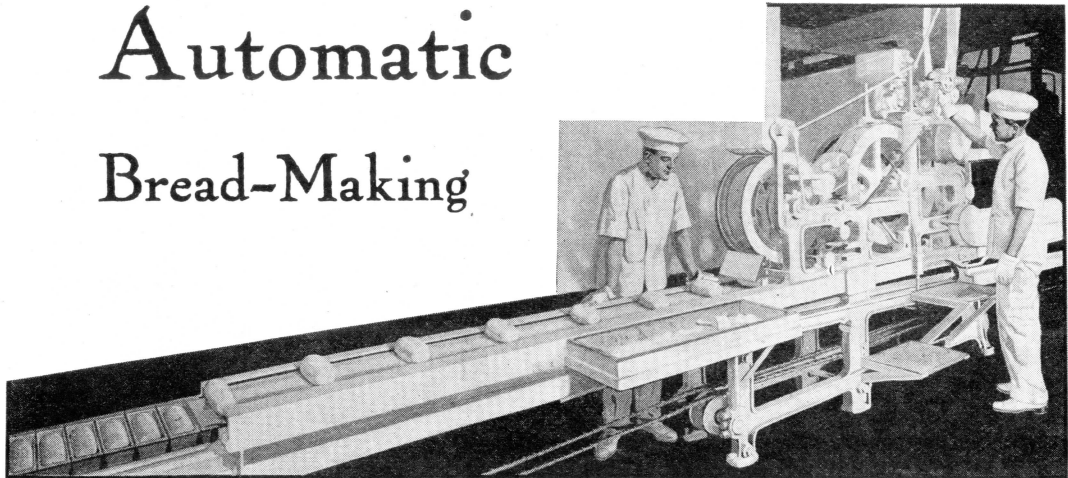
From Greece the art of baking bread came to Rome, where, as in all other countries, it was at first strictly a home and family affair. In 170 B. C., with the introduction of the bake-oven from Greece, public bakers began to ply their trade in Rome and other cities in Italy. In the time of Augustus, Rome had already over three hundred public bakers, and about A. D. 100 Trajan founded the College of Pistorum (millers and bakers) college, in this case, meaning a sort of guild of master-bakers.

The Dark Ages

While the science of bread making was thus early developed into a fine art in the south of Europe, western, central and northern Europe continued, for many centuries after, their barbaric and semi-barbaric mode of living. Caesar and his legions carrying the Roman sword and the Roman eagle into the fastnesses of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, were, after all, mere conquerors, not empire builders. Their civilization, their art, their industrial knowledge they

Automatic

Bread-Making



(COURTESY JOSEPH BAKER'S, LTD., "THE BAKER TRAVELING BREAD OVEN," AND THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.)



INTERIOR OF GERMAN BAKESHOP IN THE MIDDLE AGES.



OLD STYLE OVEN IN USE THROUGHOUT EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.

left behind in Rome. And when with the fall of Rome civilization itself fell, the knowledge of baking bread became, like other things, a lost art.

The western Gauls were the first who had learned bread making while still under the Roman régime, and they are credited with having first discovered and used yeast as a means for leavening the bread dough. Bread making in France remained domestic until the period of Charlemagne, when we first hear of public bakers.

Whatever there was in the way of bread making during this period was crude and did not show much progress. The centuries were pregnant with strife and war and developments of a political character. The industrial development was practically at a standstill. The trades in the larger cities were hide-bound by laws, conventions and customs which had found outward expression in the formation of guilds. And these did not allow for individual achievement along new and progressive lines.

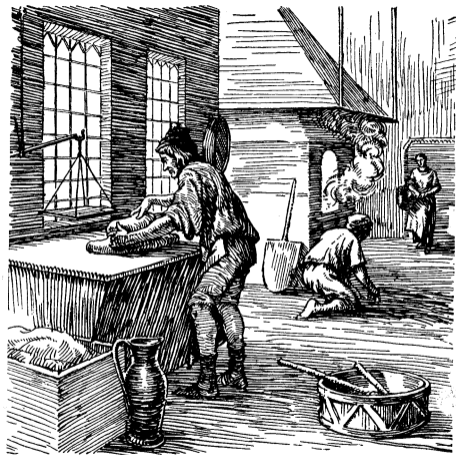
Not until the exploitation of the laws of physics and chemistry had stirred the spirit of invention in the nineteenth century does the baking industry begin to turn to machinery in the place of hand-work. Lember, the Paris baker, may justly be called the father of modern machine baking, inasmuch as his dough kneading machine (1810) was the foundation of the improved Fontaine and Boland kneaders, which achieved considerable success between 1835 and 1850.

The baking of bread from flour or parched grains by means of heat is the most

ancient of human arts. It is remarkable that an industry producing such an important commodity as bread, and an industry old as civilization itself, should have developed so slowly until comparatively recent years.

Probably no other trade has made such slow progress as had the baking industry up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, during the last twenty-five years it has made marvelous advancements, through the use of automatic machinery and the scientific developments of its processes. A few years since it was estimated that twenty per cent of all the bread consumed was produced by the baker—the other eighty per cent being baked in the home. This condition is rapidly changing, and in the very near future at least eighty per cent of all the bread baked will be produced in modern sanitary bakeries. Recent inventions and scientific discoveries, the establishment of sunlight bakeries, with their scrupulous cleanliness, the sanitary handling of the finished product and the modern system of delivering fresh bread each day, naturally enough stimulate the increasing demand for baker's bread. The popularity of the bread will continue to increase because of the constant improvement of the product, due to the baker's better knowledge of fermentation, better knowledge of all the ingredients entering the loaf, more sanitary methods of production, and because of the absolute cleanliness in the handling of the baked loaf.

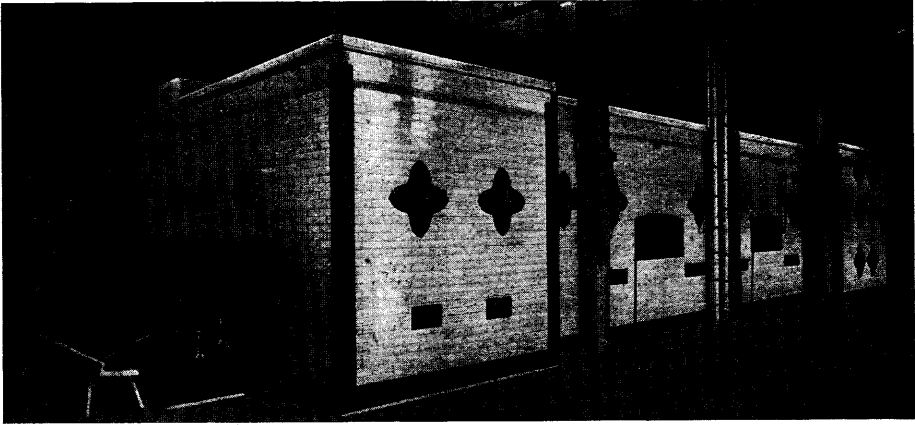
The modern baker uses an absolutely



INTERIOR OF GERMAN BAKESHOP IN
THE MIDDLE AGES.



OLD STYLE OVEN IN USE THROUGHOUT
EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.



SMALL CAPACITY TRAVELING OVEN FOR MEDIUM SIZED BAKERY.

pure, uniform grade of flour, pure compressed yeast (instead of the uncertain ferments which cause sour and otherwise undesirable fermentation), pure water and the best available material for shortening, dough-kneading machines, regulated so as to produce uniform mixing and a uniform temperature of the dough, devices for maintaining a uniform temperature and humidity in the fermentation-room, and complete automatic machinery for scaling the dough into loaves, moulding them into the desired shape, placing them into pans and conveying them into the oven and out again. He has also recognized the value of the wrapping machine, which wraps each individual loaf in germ-proof paper, keeping it absolutely pure and clean until it reaches the consumer.

The greatest triumph for modern baking has resulted in the development of a completely automatic plant, by which the bread, during the process of manufacture, is positively untouched by human hands. This achievement is all the more noteworthy because of the difficulties that were overcome in constructing a machine that would handle such a plastic and everchanging mass as the loaf in its formation.

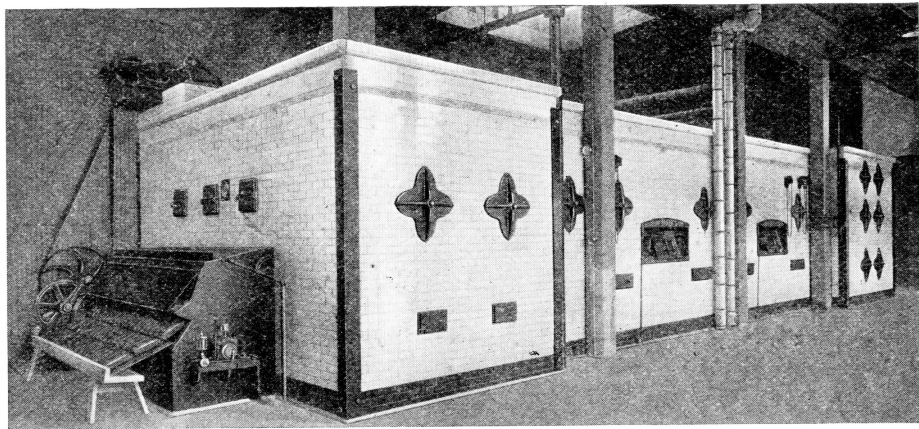
This automatic plant increases the capacity of the bakery, lowers the cost of production, insures the utmost cleanliness for the finished loaf, and produces a pure, uniform, nutritious and wholesome loaf of bread.

Of no little interest, too, is the manner in which the raw materials are handled before reaching the automatic plant. The flour, on arrival, is usually stored in a cool, dry, well-

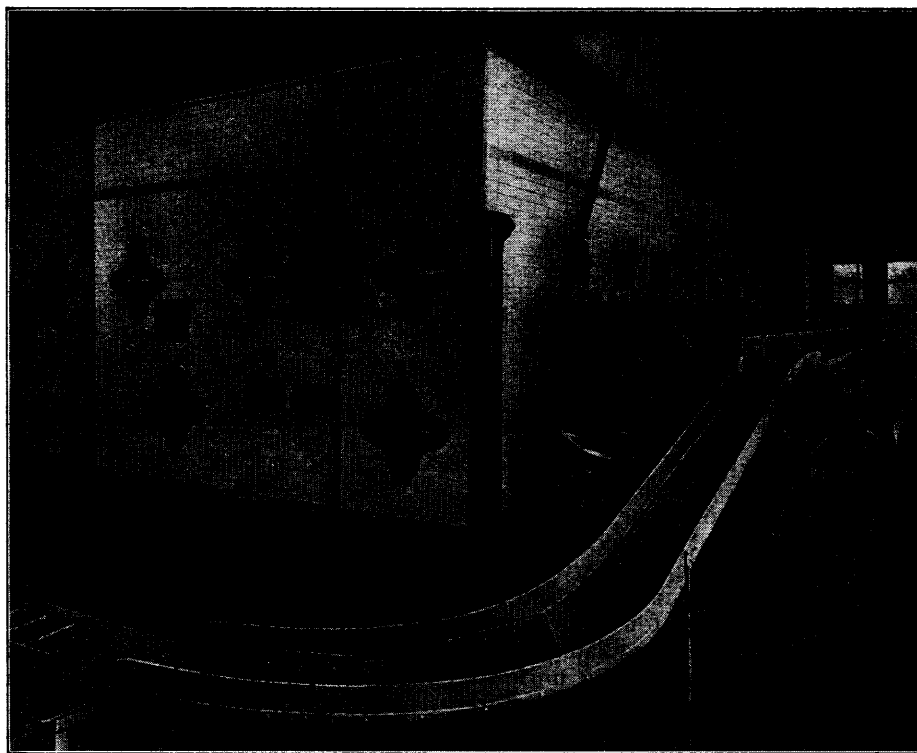
ventilated basement for three or four weeks, to condition and give it the proper age. When ready for use, it is dumped into a hopper, to be conveyed to the top floor of the building, where it is delivered to the blending and bolting machines, which thoroughly mix it and, at the same time, remove from it wood, nails, fiber, etc., before it is automatically weighed into the kneading machine. The other ingredients—water, sugar, shortening, salt, malt, milk and yeast, that finally become the finished loaf—are also weighed automatically into the kneader, which works and churns them thoroughly into a uniform mass of dough, absolutely the same throughout in temperature and composition.

A continuous blast of cold washed air passes into the mixer and acts upon the dough during the mixing. This whitens the dough materially, aids in developing the gluten, and cools the dough, which would otherwise become too warm under the high speed mixing. The dough is mixed fifteen to twenty-five minutes, and is then discharged from the kneader into a trough, where it is left to rise three to five hours, in a room abundantly supplied with sunshine and fresh air, and the temperature under perfect control. During the rising the dough becomes permeated with carbon dioxide gas and the glutinous material is highly developed, so that it produces a loaf of maximum value. The matured dough is then dropped through a chute into a hopper below, ready for the automatic plant.

The hopper delivers the mass of dough, often weighing over 1,500 pounds, to the



SMALL CAPACITY TRAVELING OVEN FOR MEDIUM SIZED BAKERY.



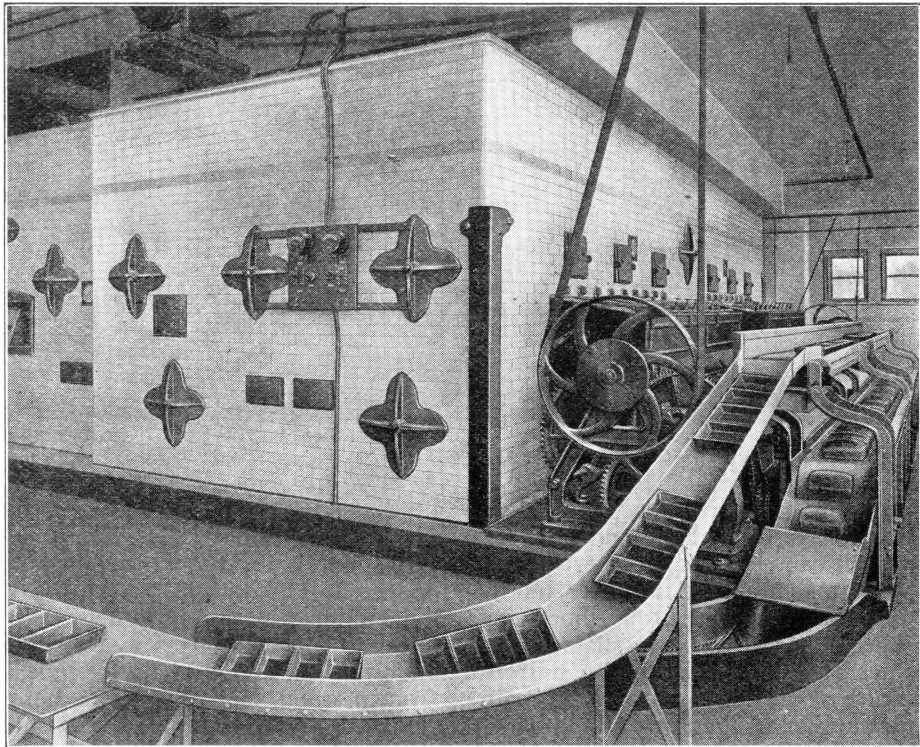
DELIVERY END OF TWO BAKER TRAVELING OVENS. TINS ARE RETURNED AUTOMATICALLY TO PANNING MACHINE, AND BAKED LOAVES TO BREAD ROOM AND WRAPPING MACHINES.

dividing machine, which scales off six loaves at a time, and always of uniform weight. These six loaves are then delivered to the rotary turning-in machine, which moulds the dough into a round mass and at the same time closes up the pores of the dough by putting a soft outer skin upon it. This prevents it from sticking to the boxes of the first proofer into which it is dropped. The proofer consists of an endless series of boxes, six in each, and each canvas-lined. Here the dough, through oxidation and loss of moisture, develops a soft outer skin, making it possible for the rounding-up machine, which receives the loaves automatically from the first proofer, to mould the dough perfectly into a round ball. The dough comes from this machine completely closed with a firm outer layer, and passes continuously to the second proofer by a conveying belt which drops it into an endless conveyor provided with canvas-lined boxes (six abreast). Here the dough remains, each piece in its individual box, but travels continuously for fifteen minutes, expands and recovers completely before it is auto-

matically delivered in regular succession to the moulding machine. This machine moulds the loaves and automatically places them into pans, which in turn are conveyed to the steam proofer. The dough now expands to the desired height in the open pan before entering the oven to be baked. The steam proofer is so constructed that any desired degree of humidity or temperature can be attained. When the plant is in full operation the proof box carries 4,000 loaves and is never empty—loaves enter continuously at one end and pass out at the other, ready for the oven.

This brings us to the final step of the automatic plant—the traveling oven. This is the most wonderful achievement of the whole process. The loaf of bread, which up to this stage has been kept so scrupulously clean and pure and developed to the highest degree possible under modern scientific methods, now goes to the oven for its completion into a nutritious and wholesome loaf.

It is truly a wonderful sight to see the continuous stream (5,000 every hour) of



DELIVERY END OF TWO BAKER TRAVELING OVENS. TINS ARE RETURNED AUTOMATICALLY TO PANNING MACHINE, AND BAKED LOAVES TO BREAD ROOM AND WRAPPING MACHINES.

unbaked loaves automatically enter the traveling oven at one end and emerge from the other perfectly baked loaves, most attractive in appearance, with their golden brown color and characterized by their uniformity of size and composition. Every precaution necessary for the production of a perfect loaf has been taken in constructing this oven. The top or bottom of the loaf can be baked more thoroughly, if conditions so require, by merely pushing or pulling a damper. Steam can be injected or withdrawn from the oven at will, and by pressing an electric button the speed of the oven can be increased or decreased.

The nice, crisp, well-browned, and thoroughly baked bread is then—as it comes from the oven—conveyed to another floor—usually below. Here it travels continuously on canvas belts until it is thoroughly cooled, before being wrapped by wrapping machines, which wrap each loaf with a dust-proof and germ-proof wrapper. This in-

sure for the consumer a clean, pure and wholesome loaf of bread.

The advent of the automatic baking plant adds another decided improvement for the production of better bread. It comes rather opportunely, since at this time the public is demanding cleaner, purer and more sanitary food products. The modern baker realizes this condition and is ever ready to meet it by installing such devices which will improve his product. The rate at which the automatic plant is being installed in this country is truly astonishing—over fifty have been installed within the last five years. A New York company was the pioneer in the field and was the first in this country to adopt it; just as it was the pioneer in establishing sunlit and well-ventilated bakeries, and mechanical devices for keeping the bread absolutely pure and clean during the process of manufacture. It was also first in maintaining research laboratories for developing the science of bread-making.

The General Strike

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE poet's vision.

"All wheels stand still
When the strong arm so wills"

is the ideal of a general strike. In reality the "general strikes" are peculiar for not being general. The general strikes of Russia, France, Italy, England and Belgium were dock laborers' or teamsters' with some cessation of work in dependent industries. Most of the wage earners were still at work.

The Chicago teamsters' strike, the Philadelphia trolley strike and I cannot think of how many other strikes pretended but failed to be general strikes in a limited sense. As yet, we are still to have a real general strike in these United States.

Even in a limited sense, the general strike is a potent weapon in the hands of organized labor, provided it is used only on important occasions and with courage and audacity.

A general strike that would really paralyze the industries of a great industrial center or even of a nation, is not an im-

possibility. But its aims and objects must be vaster than the mere question of the working conditions of any group of wage earners. The objects must be of a kind that will stir the soul of all wage earners; will appeal to them as something that concerns them all alike, and will draw into its maelstrom even a great number of non-wage earners, attracted by their interests in it as social units. These objects must be of a great social and political import. Organizer Fitzgerald of the Amalgamated Carmen's Union understood that he could not command a general strike by the ordinary issues involved in local strikes. And he made a claim that not only the existence of the Amalgamated but the existence of organized labor generally, was at stake in the carmen's strike. It was, he claimed, a great although covert attempt on the part of Wall Street to carry out generally the policy of the Standard Oil in Colorado of destroying labor unions by organizing Yellow Scab Unions. Fitzgerald may

have been right as to Wall Street's policy. But organized labor was not convinced and not aroused. Yet one could imagine a situation when organized labor may be so convinced and aroused. And a struggle may be precipitated which would involve not only the question of open or closed shop, but the right of the wage earners to organize as they deem best. This involves the fundamental social and political rights of citizenship. Under such circumstances a great struggle between capital and labor, with an array of all the forces commanded by either side may be precipitated, bringing to a standstill industrial activity in all great industries. Again, the wage earners may be aroused by political tyranny to use the economic weapon of a general strike in defense and retaliation. They did so in Russia and in Belgium. They may be compelled to do so here.

The capitalist class oppress and tyrannize over the wage earners in this country no less than in Russia. But they do it here and there, spasmodically and locally. Unlimited, brutal and open oppression and tyranny was practiced on the unemployed and unorganized wage earners and on the members of the I. W. W. The right of citizenship, of free speech, free locomotion were taken away. Wage earners were beaten, maimed, murdered, deported or held to forced labor. There is no brutality known in the darkest Russia that is not even now being practiced on the unemployed or unorganized wage earners of the United States.

A classical instance of such arrogant brutality occurred only recently during the strike of the Standard Oil workers in Bayonne, N. J. The stagings seem to have been set for an illustration of the conditions for which capitalists everywhere long. The employers were the Bloody Rockefellers; the public officials of Bayonne, from the Mayor down, were paid employees of the Standard Oil; the wage earners were unorganized.

Note the new Rockefeller dispensation. In Ludlow it was "the majesty of the law" that was to be maintained at all costs. In Bayonne the strikers offered to the Mayor 300 of their own men to keep order. But Mayor Garven, a Standard Oil lawyer, viewed these "hunkies and dagoes" as so many wild beasts to be

hunted down, clubbed and shot at sight. Here there was no question of law or order. "I will break the strike," the Mayor declared at the outset.

In Colorado, Rockefeller poses as a friend to collective bargaining and organizes Yellow Scab Unions. In Bayonne the mere gathering of wage earners was considered a crime to be suppressed by the armed forces of "law and order."

Mayor Garven was breaking a strike. He did it in the peculiar frank, brutal and lawless Rockefeller manner. Gunmen were loaded on automobiles and, bristling with arms, were sent roaring through the strikers' quarters, shooting, killing, maiming, destroying property, wrecking homes, stores and halls where strikers gathered. White terror reigned in Bayonne. Even the New York Sun, a blackest reactionary sheet, asked anxiously whether those Bayonne officials knew what they were about.

"Yes," answered Wilson, Bayonne's Director of Public Safety. "We've got this strike broken and we'll keep it broken."

It is nothing new for capitalist public officials to kill and break strikes, but it is novel to hear one speak frankly on what he is about and not prate of law and order.

The massacre of wage earners in Everett, Wash., is another instance showing the murderous manner in which the capitalists deal with the unemployed and unorganized wage earners. They seem to get beside themselves with rage at the sight of rebellious wage slaves. They dare to show their hearts' true desire only with the unemployed and unorganized. When the wage earners have enough intelligence to get together and show a united front, fear and cowardice takes the place of rage in the heart of the capitalist.

Mark you, again, the difference of Rockefeller dispensation in Colorado and in Bayonne.

Mark you how the Four Brotherhoods dictate terms to Congress and President. And again how the unorganized workers of Everett are shot at sight.

The lesson of Ludlow, Bayonne, Everett and of thousands and one other places is that only by organization and power will the wage workers deter the capi-

talist from their brutalities. A general mass strike would be the best means to this end. But first you must see to it that you have the masses with you.

The masses may be gotten either by explicit or by tacit consent. The tour de force of the Four Brotherhoods proved one thing—a general suspension of work may be caused by tying up a strategic industry.

There are only two such industries—railways and coal mines. Coal mines are the seats of national economic energy, the motor centers of our economic organization. Railroads are the main arteries and motor nerves of this organization. A suspension of work in the energy supplying centers or transmitting lines will find instantaneous response throughout the entire economic system. Years ago I have pointed out how important it was for the Socialist movement to secure a strong footing amongst coal miners and railroad workers. As a National Committeeman from New York, I made a motion for the inauguration of industrial system of propaganda, a special effort to be made to carry Socialism to coal miners and railway workers. But owing to stupid inertia with which our party's official life is plentifully blessed, my motion was not even seconded.

The practicability and success of a general strike lies in the hollow of the coal miner's and railway worker's hand. It

is for us to see to it that the mind that commands that hand is awakened to class consciousness and class solidarity.

Another important point must not be overlooked in the discussion of a general strike. Though the strike may be a spontaneous outburst of a revolutionary fervor, yet those responsible for its organization and success must take care that the necessary supplies be at hand. The striking army must be fed. Vision and audacity alone, on a hungry stomach, will not hold the army together. There must be a commissariat.

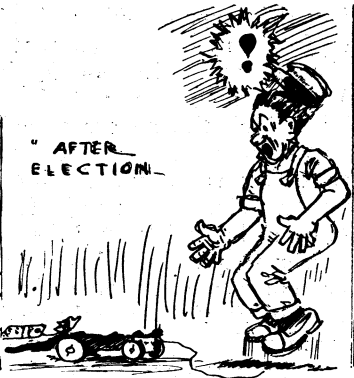
The European general strikes have demonstrated that the workingmen's co-operatives furnished the best material basis for such strikes. Some Socialists still view the co-operatives as undesirable experiments in middle class trade. Others view them as the outposts of the coming economic organization. At the present time, we are interested in them as commissary depots of the Social revolution.

Socialism has passed the jejune period, when it was still permissible to hold that parliamentary action alone or economic action alone was the road to final emancipation. Mass action will no doubt prove as great a weapon in the hands of the working class. It will be the business of the Socialist to examine and organize the necessary conditions of mass action.





" AFTER
ELECTION -



THE SWISS MILITIA SYSTEM

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE militia is the military aspect of a period of small production; the standing army is that of a period of large scale production and imperialism.

This is true historically. Practically every European nation had a militia system during the 18th century and in nearly every one this system has gradually given way to modern military organization, step by step, as capitalism has developed. The militia has all the marks of small capitalism. It is local. It is somewhat democratic. It is inefficient. The great standing army with a trained nation as its reserve force corresponds in spirit and structure to a period of imperialism. It is national or international. It is autocratic. It is a masterpiece of efficiency.

The Swiss military system is merely a survival of earlier days and simpler things. What it was and what it has become Ernest Nobs makes clear in a series of articles published in the *New York Volkszeitung*. Ernest Nobs evidently knows Swiss affairs from the inside. What he has to say is authentic.

According to his detailed account the Swiss militia has for a long time past not been democratic, and it is rapidly modeling itself according to the accepted system. "It is often emphasized that in the Swiss army a working man may become an officer," he says. "But as a matter of fact the corps of officers is chiefly recruited from among government officials, merchants and the professional classes. Workingmen do not become officers. They lack the necessary education, time and money. It has not been by accident that General Seville, who is more than anyone else responsible for our military system, has advocated forcing the young officer to purchase his own outfit. This system is now in operation. The officer is only partially reimbursed by the government."

"The present spirit of our militia is well represented," he says in another passage, "by the well known Order 5. This regulation creates between privates and

noncommissioned officers the same chasm which formerly divided the general body of the army from the officers' corps. 'The decisive thing,' writes General Wille, 'is the spirit in which the officers are trained, the spirit in which they are compelled to think and act.' Just what spirit he had in mind is clear from an article of his published in 1915. In this article he speaks disrespectfully and impatiently of the luke-warm thinking of civil life, of the 'peaceful good nature and human carelessness' that allows the 'sturdy, virile qualities' to degenerate. He writes quite like a Prussian general. He seems to regard all civilians as a pack of sloppy, good-for-nothing ne'er-do-wells. He goes on: 'Of all human activities, that of the military officer requires the highest consciousness of class dignity.'"

More and more the army has been transformed. Our author quotes a famous Swiss authority, Alfred Zesiger, as follows: "The Swiss army has lost its character as militia since the changes of 1907 and 1911." How necessary and natural the change is from the capitalist point of view becomes clear when we are told that the chief changes were made at the very times when Socialism was growing and labor troubles were plentiful. It was in 1899 that the private's gun and ammunition were taken from him. Since then the necessity of mastering the technical apparatus used in modern military operations has helped to complete the effect of this change. More and more Swiss soldiers are becoming part of a great machine. Less and less are they capable of directing their own movements or selecting their own enemies.

"It is a great mistake," say our author, "to suppose that the militia is not as much in the service of the ruling class as any other military organization. The forms of democracy can easily be adopted to the needs of the bourgeoisie." "In a long series of strikes beginning as far back as 1860 our militia has done the bidding of the employers."

Who Owns the United States?

By R. F. PETTIGREW

Ex-Senator from South Dakota

LAST week it was announced that John D. Rockefeller had finally succeeded in accumulating one billion dollars, thus making him the richest man that ever lived.

The American people know how he succeeded in accumulating this vast sum. He produced none of it—he stole all of it. He exploited the American people who had produced it out of it.

The most thrifty of the American people do well if they succeed in saving \$300 a year above all of their expenses, and they must be busy every day in the year in order to do that. To accumulate one billion of dollars at the rate of \$300 a year—a dollar a day for three hundred working days—a man would have to live and labor 3,333,333 years. He would have to be older than Methuselah. He would have had to start when the world was hot no matter where he ended up.

But, if he was cunning, unscrupulous and religious and followed Rockefeller's methods of robbing his fellow-men, he could get the billion-dollar prize in fifty years.

One billion of dollars is equivalent to the earnings of one hundred thousand men for twenty years, provided they earned \$500 apiece each year, and during all that time leaving nothing out for sickness, death or accident. The fact that Rockefeller could appropriate the earnings of his fellow men and the fact that he did do it is what has caused the social and economic unrest and universal protest against the existing system and the cry for justice.

This great and powerful force—the accumulated wealth of the United States—has taken over all the functions of government, congress, the issue of money and banking and the army and the navy, and now they are clamoring to increase the army and the navy in order to have a band of mercenaries to do their bidding and protect their stolen property. They

absolutely own the Supreme Court and they nominated Hughes as their candidate for President of the United States.

Immediately after the announcement that Rockefeller was worth a billion dollars, Armour and Swift announced a dividend upon their capital stock of 33 1-3 per cent, and each of these concerns increased their capital stock from twenty millions to one hundred millions.

It is safe to say that neither of these concerns had any capital stock for which they had paid a dollar. Their capital stock represented what they had stolen from the people of this country. Their working capital is represented by bonds. The eighty million of stock which they have since added is also nothing but water, and is issued so as to make the annual dividends appear smaller. The exploited people will object less to paying six or seven per cent on a hundred millions than to paying thirty-three and one-third per cent on twenty millions. It looks better in print.

How do Armour and Swift make their money? They are the great packers. They are in collusion. They fix the prices they pay the farmer for his hogs and cattle, and they fix the price they will charge the consumer for their product. They are simply robbing the producer and the consumer, and their robbery is represented in their great wealth which they did not produce but which they took from the people under the guise of law.

Has not what Lincoln feared already happened:

“As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this

moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless."—Lincoln's letter to his personal friend, Elkins, of Illinois, 1864).

When the bill to take the census of 1890 was pending before Congress, I secured an amendment requiring the enumerators to ascertain the distribution of wealth through an inquiry into farms, homes and mortgages.

Using the figures thus secured by the enumerators of the census of 1890, on June 10th, 1898, I delivered a speech in the Senate of the United States on the subject of the distribution of wealth in the United States and from the census of 1890, I showed that 52 per cent of the people of the United States owned \$95 worth of property per capita, or \$95 each of second-hand clothing and second-hand furniture, and that four thousand families owned twelve billions of the wealth, and that 6,604,000 families, or 52 per cent of

the population, owned three billions of the wealth, or just five per cent.

It will be seen from these tables, which were compiled from the census report of 1890, that 52 per cent of the people, or two per cent more than half of them, owned but five per cent of the accumulated wealth of the United States. The report of the Industrial Commission of last year, which thoroughly investigated the distribution of wealth in the United States, discloses the fact that after twenty-six years, covering half the period in which Rockefeller and Armour and Swift and the others have exploited the people who own only five per cent of the wealth, these had increased to sixty-five per cent of the population.

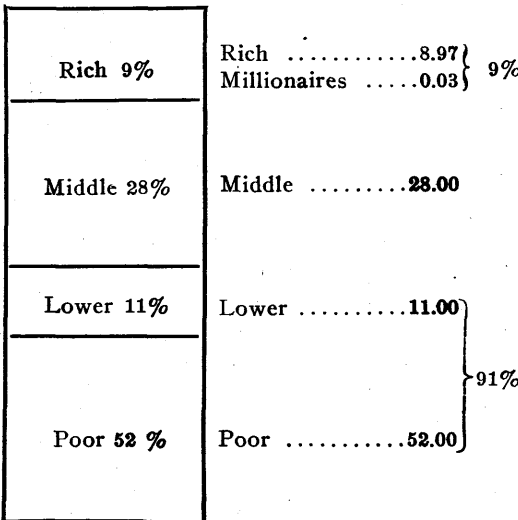
During this period, two millions of the hundred millions of our population had secured sixty per cent of the wealth, and here follows the tables showing the distribution of wealth in the United States in 1915:

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH BY CENSUS 1890

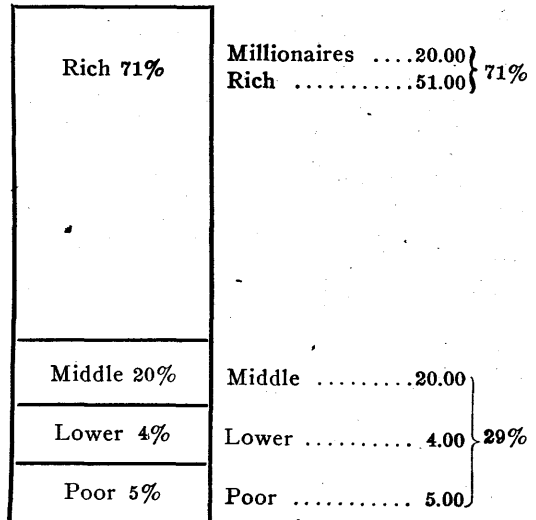
Class	Families	Per Cent	Average Wealth	Aggregate Wealth	Per Cent
Millionaires	4,000	0.03	\$3,000,000	\$12,000,000,000	20
Rich	1,139,000	8.97	27,000	30,600,000,000	51
Total rich.....	1,143,000	9.00	37,358	42,600,000,000	71
Middle	4,953,000	39.00	2,907	14,400,000,000	24
Poor	6,604,000	52.00	454	3,000,000,000	5
Grand Total.....	12,700,000	100.00	4,725	60,000,000,000	100

DIAGRAMS SHOWING, BY PERCENTAGES, THE POPULATION AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, ACCORDING TO CENSUS 1890

POPULATION

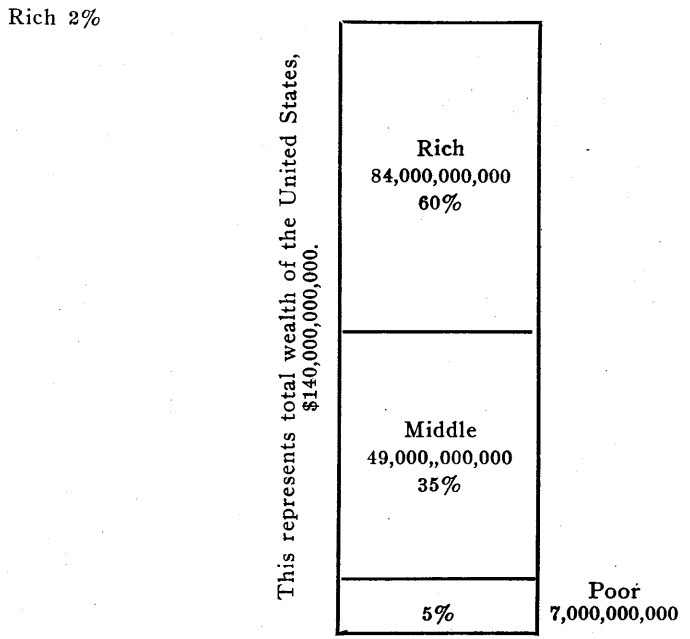
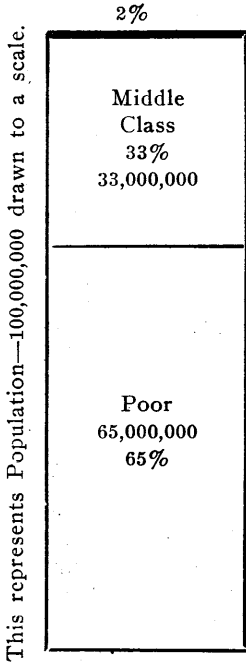


WEALTH



DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH REPORT INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION 1915.

Class	Number	Per Cent	Average Wealth	Aggregate Wealth	Per Cent
Rich	2,000,000	2	\$42,000	\$84,000,000,000	60
Middle	33,000,000	35	1,480	49,000,000,000	35
Poor	65,000,000	5	107	7,000,000,000	5
Grand total...	100,000,000	100	\$ 1,400	\$140,000,000,000	100



I wish a careful examination of these tables. You will see that sixty-five per cent of the people own five per cent of the wealth and that two per cent of the population, the little black line at the top of the diagram, own sixty per cent of the wealth: They did not produce the wealth. It was all produced by the sixty-five per cent of the population who have nothing. They were able to do it because they owned the government and the courts, and enacted the laws which made it possible. They have done it through manipulation, combination and exploitation. They have done it through corporations. They have done it because they own the railroads and the banks and all the public utilities, and used them all—all of these great, important public service institutions in order to gather the product's of everybody's toil into their hands. In other words, they have stolen what others produced.

You ask me what is the remedy. The remedy is clear and plain—the same rem-

edy you apply when a man breaks into your strong box and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him. It is the duty of the sixty-five per cent of our population who produced all the wealth to reach over and take back the sixty per cent of the wealth which the two million thieves have stolen from them, and appropriate it to the general welfare, not divide it, but appropriate it to the good of all, as all produced it, and therefore the mass of the people are entitled to it.

Take over the railroads, take over the banks and the issue of money and the public utility concerns, and take over the title of the lands that have no value except the value the community has given it, and then use all of this property for the general welfare of the community. This is not confiscation nor robbery. It is simply taking from the thieves what they have stolen from you, and the first thing to take is to take control of the government out of their hands.

Will Labor Stand for Another Haymarket?

By THEODORA POLLOK

SAN FRANCISCO in 1916; Chicago in 1886. The closed shop fight now; the 8-hour fight then. In both cases, a crime of violence occurs and is tied around the necks of innocent labor men in the hope of helping to crush the spirit of labor.

In Chicago in 1886 a slavish press and an inflamed public mind, and the labor and radical groups, too weak to save the chosen victims. Today in San Francisco a slavish press, but a public mind open to conviction. Yet young Billings, first of the San Francisco Preparedness Day explosion defendants to be tried, has been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, and *only the fighting working class of the country can save him—by saving his four co-defendants.*

Tom Mooney's trial, the second trial, is set for the 27th of November. It is Tom Mooney's life that is desired above all others by this gang of ruffians, the "gentlemen" of the Chamber of Commerce, the United Railroads, and the Pacific Gas & Electric, and their tools in the District Attorney's office. For Mooney, helped by his little music teacher wife, Rena, who is one of his co-defendants—Mooney recently dared actually try to organize the carmen of the United Railroads, who have been beaten down, spied upon and "weeded out" since the great car strike before the earthquake.

The tactics of the prosecution are such as might rather be expected in some backwoods lumber baron's camp than in a great urban center. Indeed, with the "Law and Order" Committee from the Chamber of Commerce censoring all the press, the truth is even harder to get to the people than in a small town where it flies from mouth to mouth.

Scarcely a day passes now without some attack on Mooney's case in the newspapers—the prosecution's way of preparing the public for the extreme penalty. Yesterday it was the story of a negro who had been paid \$500 by

Mooney to blow up—what do you suppose?—the "Liberty" bell (long since, poor bell, cracked and silent in the land of Ludlow and Bayonne, of Mesaba and San Francisco). He was also approached by Mooney to blow up a building at the Exposition (reason not given) and a boat (I seem to have failed to grasp the "why" of that, but it had something to do with causing or not causing war). This negro authority on Mooney's past is a "three-time" forger, who was on his way to the penitentiary when he confessed. Negroes in town say he is a well-known police tool.

Before his story came out, we got track of a janitor at the house of Mrs. Mooney's sister who, having been lied about to the police by his anger-crazed wife, was being put under the thumb-screws that his "confession" might help to convict Mooney.

On testimony so extracted from criminals or underworld "stools," with whom the police can play "cat-and-mouse," Billings was convicted. Here's the list: (1) A prostitute, Estelle Smith, once indicted for murder in an incestuous "love" shooting and later dragged into the police net in a red light raid along with a negro. (2) A sneak thief, Crowley, who had been convicted of a most revolting felony, on parole when he testified, who is an habitue of houses where male perverts pick up their companions. (3) A dope fiend, McDonald, who boasted to responsible people of the money he was to receive for his testimony; who "seen Billings" as "in a dream" deposit the fatal suit case—and also "seen" Mooney with Billings until the prosecution was shown a picture, accidentally taken, which proved Mooney to have been a mile and a half away, when the prosecution admitted that he didn't see Mooney, but asked the jury to convict Billings on this same man's "seeing." An ex (?) detective, an ex-strikebreaker policeman, two women dead-beats—such are the

people, and practically all of the people, who sold Billings' young life for a part of the reward of \$21,000 offered for the conviction of the bomb planter.

Against them stood the twenty witnesses for the defense, entirely reputable people, unknown to and without friendly feeling for the defendant—working people, store-keeping people and professional people.

Over-zealous for their masters, the Chamber of Commerce and the public utilities, the District Attorney's office proved Billings in three places at the

same time; identified him as wearing a "light-dark" suit, a plain suit and a striped suit; proved that he was 5 feet 3, and also that he was 5 feet 9; that he carried a new black suit case, also that he carried an old yellow suit case. And the defense proved a perfect alibi by word and detail and circumstance, an alibi unshaken from the first days of Billings' arrest, as the Chief of Police himself testified.

You would say a conviction was impossible on such silliness. So did the San Francisco public, even after the rage

THE FRAME-UP SYSTEM

Men are railroaded to penitentiary and gallows on the testimony of denizens of the underworld, who exchange their oaths on the witness stand for indulgencies and pardons.



"And the District Attorney says, says he, 'Mrs. Kidwell, if you can be quite SURE you seen Tom Mooney, you get a pardon for your hubby.'"
 (Mrs. Kidwell was not produced in the Billings case after this exposure by the defense and her husband is still serving time for forgery.)

THE FRAME-UP SYSTEM

Men are railroaded to penitentiary and gallows on the testimony of denizens of the underworld, who exchange their oaths on the witness stand for indulgencies and pardons.



"And the District Attorney says, says he, 'Mrs. Kidwell, if you can be quite SURE you seen Tom Mooney, you get a pardon for your hubby.'"
(Mrs. Kidwell was not produced in the Billings case after this exposure by the defense and her husband is still serving time for forgery.)

which the Law and Order Committee-censored papers had sought to lash them into, subsided. So did the San Francisco *Call*, which had the story "Billings Acquitted" all set up and had three times to corroborate the crazy verdict of guilt before it changed its presses.

But what was there to wonder about?

Billings' jury of his peers consisted of eight *acknowledged* "retired" men—the trade name for professional jurymen; the foreman, a man of eighty-three years of age, "hard of hearing," eleven years a juror—men whose death beds should be haunted by the gibbets of those whom they have hanged at the nod of their master, the District Attorney. The judge knew this prearrangement for beating the truth; the district attorney knew it; these jurymen are their daily servants, and the much praised fairness of the rulings of the judge on the bunch of trash which the District Attorney presented as the evidence against Billings, has but fastened the prison doors more securely on Billings, for their very "fairness" (merciful heaven!) makes a reversal in the Appellate Court the more difficult to obtain.

And this District Attorney Fickert! In his occupancy of the office the Chamber of Commerce was surely blessed. For District Attorney Fickert has been the acknowledged tool of the United Railroads since he was put in there (by the help of union labor) to dismiss the prosecutions for graft against the labor-hating Pat Calhoun and other officials of the United Railroads in the great San Francisco "Graft Prosecutions."

The same kind providence seems to have been with the Chamber of Commerce on Preparedness Day. For, blocked in their war shipments by the strike on the water front, the Chamber of Commerce had, with insane ravings, declared its now historic "open shop" war, appointed its Law and Order Committee to usurp the government of the city of San Francisco, pledged within fifteen minutes \$300,000 of a million dollar labor-breaking fund. A white-haired shipping magnate, Captain Dollar, had shouted that the way to restore order in San Francisco was to send a few ambulances of union men to the hospitals with broken heads.

Right then came the Preparedness Parade and the bomb. "This is a fine chance for the open shop!" a well-known member of the Chamber of Commerce was heard to exclaim. (Was this forethought or after-thought?) Disregarding dozens of letters of warning sent to prospective paraders beforehand, the Chamber of Commerce forces swept the five defendants into jail, taking them from a list of active union men given by the chief detective of the public utilities corporations, Martin Swanson, who, from sundown of the very day of the disaster, became City Detective Martin Swanson.

The assertion has been sent out from the District Attorney's office that these are not labor cases.

But anyone who really knows the labor game in San Francisco (and not merely its political dickerings, knows that these are labor cases and nothing but labor cases, and that they constitute an early assault in the "open shop" war now on in this city.

Examine the bare record for yourself! Then judge: Is this a labor case? Ed. Nolan (Machinists Lodge man for fifteen years, and formerly a member of both the Los Angeles and the San Francisco Labor Councils), a brainy, ardent fighter for the Hop Pickers, for the McNamaras, Caplan and Schmidt, the Magons, to the fore in the iron trades strike in Los Angeles, and the late lockout in Stockton—a marked man to the M. & M. Tom Mooney (in the Molders' Union for fourteen years), Socialist educated and a Socialist still, tireless and full of vim in every recent strike in San Francisco, and especially obnoxious for his expose (along with Nolan) of a detective's "plant" in Stockton, and very recently an organizer of the local carmen's unsuccessful strike. His wife, Rena Mooney, a music teacher by profession, but an indefatigable and plucky worker in labor's cause. Billings at twenty-two president of the Shoe Workers Union and a delegate to the Labor Council, and three years before that an active and responsible worker in the Pacific Gas & Electric strike. Israel Weinberg, on the Executive Committee of the Jitney Bus Operators Union, now in a violent struggle with the United Railroads, and an enthusiastic helper of Mooney in the

work of organizing the carmen. These men, this woman, are the victims of the labor-hating public utilities and their financial associates!

The twentieth anniversary of the Chicago Martyrs was held all over this country a few days ago—the men who twenty years ago gave their lives in the eight-hour struggle. Will it take five lives and twenty more years to establish the fact that these men are the martyrs of the closed-shop movement? Disgraceful to commemorate that bitter harvest and not save these men from a like ending!

And as Ed. Nolan says of himself and the other defendants—Ed. Nolan, as brave and wise and true a fighter for liberty for the workers and as pure-hearted an idealist as the American labor movement has ever been privileged to make a fight for—"They've got us in here now, but by God, we don't intend to go down without making a fight out of it. That's all we ask."

Send us funds and still more funds, and every bit of outside pressure you can muster by meetings and talks and shop agitation. We can save these men if you will help. And saving them can score a victory for the "closed shop" in the



Courtesy of The Literary Digest.

TOM MOONEY AND WIFE

new industrial cities of the West. Big Business, emboldened by its huge war profits, has attacked the greatest stronghold of unionism in America; and if it succeeds in strangling its San Francisco victims, every leader of radical thought in America will be victimized. Address Robert Minor, Treasurer, International Workers' Defense League, 210 Russ Building, San Francisco.

From German Socialists THE LEFT WING

New Methods of Parliamentary Action*

THE period in the labor movement before the present world war may be called the period of parliamentarism.

The organizations grew, victories were gained, there was an illusion of power and . . . a catastrophe. A new period of Socialism has begun. What position will Parliament, will parliamentary action, hold in this new period?

Up until now parliamentary action had to conquer direct improvements for the

*From "*Arbeiterpolitik*," the weekly paper of the utmost left wing of the German party opposition, edited in Bremen.

working class. The delegates of the workers denounced the shortcomings of capitalist society, urged the necessity of improvements, fought every paragraph of every law and proposed amendments. By parliamentary action a growing number of mandates were conquered, a growing amount of power . . . till at last, as soon as a majority of Parliament, or at least of the citizens, should be in favor of Socialism, the end of the Supremacy of Capital would be in sight.

That such conceptions of the purpose of Parliament are undone, is clear to almost anybody. That improvements in the conditions of the workers are *not* conquered by



Courtesy of The Literary Digest.

TOM MOONEY AND WIFE

Parliaments is shown beyond the shadow of a doubt in the last decennium in Europe; in the same degree that mandates were conquered, reforms grew less and less important. Imperialism needed all the money and increased the self-consciousness of the capitalist class. And that political power is by no means identical with parliamentary power is clearly shown by the present situation.

Therefore, what can we expect from Parliament? It gives us no reforms and no power. Are we not bound to admit that the syndicalists were right in advising us not to spend energy in parliamentary action?

In order to answer this question, we have to dig a little deeper beyond the surface. What we have given above is only a superficial conception.

Reforms never were brought about by talking or by the suggestions of Socialists in Parliament. They were granted when the dominating class thought it to be of advantage to give reforms. This was brought about by a growing opposition of labor against capitalism. And such opposition was greatly strengthened by parliamentary action, by critics in Parliament. This aroused the masses; this showed them their own interests and what may be expected from bourgeois parties; it uncovered the real objects of the policy of the ruling classes. So *indirectly* parliamentary action caused reforms, and for this reason the Socialist party got the support of the masses and inspired the workers with a high ideal.

But as soon as the party lost sight of this reality and tried to get improvements by adjusting itself to capitalist politics; as soon as the proletarian power grew less quick than that of the bourgeois, the reforms were withheld. For the power became only a sham power.

How will all this work out under future conditions?

Whatever may be uncertain in future developments, one thing may be considered beyond doubt: Imperialism will not change anything in the fundamental economic position of the workers; it will demand new and great sacrifices; the power will be concentrated in the hands of Big Interests, against which Parliament is powerless. New power can only be gathered by the proletarians when they act as a class, in mass action. Only in this way reforms can be gained.

Now, someone may ask: If all depends

upon the action of the masses, is it not logical that a true Socialist, who happens to be a member of Congress should reason: I cannot achieve anything in Parliament, same being without significance, so I'll resign and join the mass-action? The answer will have to be: This would *not* be the proper thing to do, because a *class conscious* socialist can do important work also in Congress.

It is *not true* that Parliament under Imperialism is wholly without significance. Parliament is powerless *against* Imperialism, *against* the money trust. But it is important and powerful *as an instrument of Imperialism.* Parliament fulfills a very essential function under Imperialism: it is one of the most efficient mental weapons to subjugate the masses and to make them support Imperialism. The solemn speeches, the public statements, the complicated order of business . . . all this is of a strong suggestive character to the masses. In this also consists the assistance which the Social patriots render to Imperialism. The autocracy of Financial Capital is only possible under the form of acts of Parliament. Even an opposition of words and words alone may be to the advantage of Capitalism, because they satisfy the masses by hollow phraseology. It, therefore, is of the utmost importance that there should be *real* socialists in Parliament, who make Parliament instead of a tool of Imperialism, a *battlefield against Imperialism.* What is said in Parliament about the real character of Imperialism may reach the remotest and most unconscious group of workers.

Those words will not be hollow long speeches, full of scientifically dressed platitudes, but sharp criticisms, which will come down like lightning. This is another kind of parliamentary action than the old styled one. But when compared with the methods of the best fighters in a period of about thirty years ago, it will prove only to have changed in form, but to be the same in spirit and aim. The essential features being now as before: *To awaken the masses and to help in building up the proletarian power by showing the facts in their proper relations.* And especially under circumstances under which the ordinary methods of propaganda are interfered with, *such* parliamentary action can be of utmost importance.

This is not mere theory or a conception for a possible future. (The minority weekly here evidently refers to Liebknecht,

without being allowed by the censor to proceed in that line, and continues.) : Also in this respect, the new parliamentary methods are very different from the old styled and resemble more the conditions in the early beginnings of parliamentary action, in that the function of the socialist representatives becomes much more difficult and dangerous.

Imperialism arouses such strong passions, such a dominating will to conquer power, that a relentless opposition will attract the deepest, most unscrupulous hatred from all

of its defendants, the Conservatives as well as the Social patriots.

The new advocates of parliamentary action form the sharpest contrast to those bureaucrats who consider themselves to be indispensable as "leaders," for the very reason that the new leaders are convinced that the workers will have to learn to dispense with them until they prove to be real leaders, who can show to the workers the road that leads to a better future.—*Translated by S. J. Rutgers.*

THE LEFT WING

An Actual Beginning

By S. J. RUTGERS

WHILE many of us were "talking it over," a group of comrades in Boston performed a deed, made an actual beginning in trying to organize the Left Wing forces in the Socialist Party of America. Born in the actual fighting of a minority opposition in the State Convention of Massachusetts, the "Socialist Propaganda League" is a legal offspring of the Socialist Party.

Its first manifesto appeals to the members of the Socialist Party asking for revolutionary socialism instead of opportunism; democracy instead of bureaucracy, a firm stand for Industrial Unionism as being superior to Craft Unionism and endorsement of Political Action in its fullest sense instead of Parliamentarism for reforms and offices only.

Furthermore, this manifesto appeals to all Socialists who stand for the uncompromising class struggle on the industrial, as well as on the political field, to unite and emphasize the fact that this unity should be made international in a new international organization "with authority on questions affecting workers in more than one nation," under control of a world referendum.

It goes without saying that a special demand is made that the party members should take a firm stand against all militarism, including compulsory military service, as well as defensive wars.

It was inspiring to meet the Boston comrades who took the initiative for this

"Socialist Propaganda League," a bunch of class-conscious workers who, mostly through every-day facts and experiences of life, had come to realize the new forces of imperialism as it develops all over the world and who rightly responded by an *act*. Organizing means preparing for action, is a part of the action, and once started on a sound basis is bound to proceed. Local in its beginning, the Socialist Propaganda League has now decided to make a nationwide appeal and to support their action and their organization by a weekly paper, "The Internationalist Weekly of the Left Wing."

COMRADES ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES

This is an effort to organize the workers of the New World to take their share in the immense world struggle between the capitalist and the working classes, of which the European war is only a most frightful but instructive episode. The Socialist Party in this country confronts a capitalist class unscrupulous in its methods, fully under control of financial monopolistic capital. In no other country of the world has "bourgeois democracy" been so abused to fool the workers, and the results of parliamentary action along the old lines nowhere have been poorer. There is not the least doubt but among the rank and file of the Socialist Party, as well as among thousands of former members and uncounted workers who have not joined it, there exists a hopeless feeling and a disgust with the inefficiency of present methods of fighting. They know that the working class has to fight and has

to win, but they do not see how it can be done. Let them look the world over and notice that everywhere, even on the battlefields of Europe, new hope is arising.

Left Wing organizations are an international feature in the Socialist parties of all countries. They mean new life rising from old ruins. Do your share; join the Socialist Propaganda League; read the new weekly, together with THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the monthly that has kept to the fighting line all the long years of its existence. Don't say that the program in the Manifesto should be a little more this or a little more that. It is a living proposition that will grow and develop with the facts and with you—if you at least join and work for it with heart and soul.

Don't worry about this not being the most formal way to reorganize a Socialist Party. We have already had far too much of formalities. The party members advocate new forms of action, new forms of organization, and the party will have to follow, no matter in what manner this majority expresses itself.

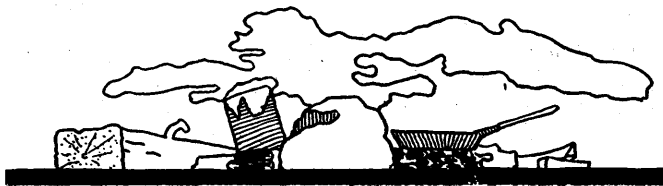
Freedom of speech and of criticism is the very fundamental democracy, and we have the right to form organized groups to criticize and if possible to reorganize the party in every land. To deny the full rights of

criticism or to keep to dead formalities in a period of rebirth and readjustment will mean to disrupt the Socialist Party. We want a new adjustment of opinions and a new lining up. This is to the interest of new groups, which can only gain by clearing up the situation. But suppression of free speech has often been the tactics of old elements who fear that criticism will hasten their downfall. If those elements refuse a chance for reorganization, this will only illustrate their lack of vitality.

* * * * *

There now is a beginning of *action*, however small as yet. Some of you may not like it at this moment, others perhaps would have preferred it in some other form. Don't bother about smaller details. Act; join; participate in discussions, in meetings, in demonstrations; give your backing, give your personality, and this will gradually develop into a strong group, an organized power capable not only to disorganize the government of the capitalist class, but to build up the organized "New World" of the workers. It is worth while to join and to try.

Send \$1.00 to P. O. Box 23, Roxbury, Boston, Mass., for a yearly subscription to the new paper, *The Internationalist Weekly*, and join the League.





EDITORIAL

MASS ACTION

Where We Stand

We hope you have been reading the series of articles running in *THE REVIEW* by Dr. S. J. Rutgers. Comrade Rutgers has tried to show us what knowledge the Left Wing members of European Socialist parties have gained through the breakdown of the International and the great war.

An article translated by Dr. Rutgers from one of the leading German socialist papers, and printed elsewhere in this number, will add to the information already printed.

To sum up briefly the most important decision these European socialists have reached is that *mass action* is today the *only remaining form of democracy left open to the workers*. And they advocate *mass action* as a means to prevent war and as a weapon of protest and *force* to execute the will of the working class toward emancipation.

These Left Wing socialists advocate industrial strikes, to be broadened into *class* strikes whenever possible, as the best means to enforce better conditions, shorter hours, higher wages, legislation in favor of the workers, and for furthering the revolutionary movement of the workers in any field. They urge that all industrial strikes be broadened into *political strikes* wherever possible. And by "political" strikes they do not mean parliamentary strikes, but *class struggles*.

In spite of the fact that real socialists everywhere agree that all nationalist wars are waged in the interests of the capitalist classes, both offensive wars and so-called defensive wars, we have, here in America, as well as in the warring nations of Europe, so-called socialists who vote for war appro-

priations, for armies, who write editorials saying that the Socialist Party ought to assent to the invasion of Mexico; we are burdened with a so-called socialist mayor in Milwaukee who marched at the head of a preparedness parade; we have so-called socialists endorsing plans for universal military service.

On the other hand, in the Socialist Party Platform of 1916, we have the members of the American Socialist Party taking a stand for *mass action* and the *general strike* as a means to prevent war:

"The proletariat of the world has but one enemy, the capitalist class, whether at home or abroad. We must refuse to put into the hands of this enemy an armed force even under the guise of a 'democratic army,' as the workers of Australia and Switzerland have done.

"Therefore the Socialist Party stands opposed to military preparedness, to any appropriations of men or money for war or militarism. . . . The Socialist Party stands committed to the class war, and urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields, the use of their economic and industrial power, by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes, and thus keep out of the hands of the ruling class the control of armed forces and economic power, necessary for aggression abroad and industrial despotism at home."

So we have the Socialist Party of America advocating *mass action* and the *general strike* to prevent war, as the Left Wing European socialists are doing. It remains

for us now to utilize this weapon at every opportunity as a means of *class protest*, *class revolt* against the degrading conditions imposed by wage slavery, and as a weapon to further the revolutionary movement.

It was the Belgian socialists a few years ago who inaugurated the general strike for the ballot; but Left Wing socialists urge that we also educate the working class to employ *mass action* as a means for serving their interests today and working out their emancipation from the profit system as soon as they shall have become sufficiently educated and organized.

It is obvious to any revolutionist that socialist parties which restrict themselves to legislative contests alone are in no position to rally to the support of the working class in any sudden emergency. Left Wing European and American socialists expect that we American revolutionists will follow the lead of our comrades across the water, who have seen the suicidal folly of the old party tactics in the presence of a declaration of war of one nation upon another nation.

Furthermore, *mass action* is bound to become, is already in this country becoming the best school for revolutionary activity. As Marx taught, ideas do not fall from heaven, but spring from the actual, material *needs* of human beings. The same rule applies to *tactics* in a revolutionary movement; they follow in response to an obvious need. Furthermore, we have seen among the old so-called Marxian socialists of Europe how futile are mere *ideas* in the minds of leaders and of privates when they have not grown step by step with revolutionary *activity*.

The day of the leader in the revolutionary movement is past, for capitalist governments have everywhere discovered that where a constituency merely follows the dictates of socialists in office, or socialists editing periodicals, it is an easy matter to suppress the offensive press and imprison the leaders and check any incipient revolt. Mass action develops initiative in the rank and file and renders the working class independent of leaders.

The working class, schooled in Mass Action, cannot be suppressed or imprisoned, sold out or led astray. Further, Mass Action will develop new tactics, new weapons, new means for waging the class war for the abolition of the profit system.

THE POSITION OF THE REVIEW

We wish to send this message to our Left Wing comrades in war-torn France, and Belgium, in Germany, Russia and England, and to those loyal comrades in Holland fighting so valiantly for international working class solidarity:

We, too, in this class-war-torn Land of "Liberty," will do our small part in the great work you are doing to build up a true working class International that shall have for its aim the joining of the hands and hearts and heads and aims of the revolutionary workers of all lands for the overthrow of the Capitalist System of society.

We hereby wish to repudiate all so-called socialists, those traitors to the working class, whether they be at home or abroad, who march at the heads of military preparedness parades, who vote war appropriations, who advocate aggression on weaker nations, and sing the siren song of Nationalism as opposed to Internationalism.

The interests of the Mexican workers, the American, German, French, English, Belgian, Austrian workers, of all those who are exploited by the capitalist owners of the means of production—the interests of these people are *one*. These workers have no national flag, no country. They must unite against the capitalists of all nations and take back the world for those who labor and those who produce. They must unite to make the whole world the country of the workers of the world.

Left Wing socialists in Europe are urging that every industrial struggle of the workers be broadened from craft to industrial groups, and further into *class* (or, as they say, *political*) struggles wherever possible.

This has always been the sort of propaganda work THE REVIEW has tried to carry on. Left Wing socialists everywhere find themselves gaining new revolutionary recruits because they throw themselves into every labor struggle, showing how much more effective these struggles may become if made a struggle of all the workers in an industry than when they represent only the interests of a small group in an industry, and how ultimately, when the workers more and more learn to fight and to organize as a *class*, they may overthrow the present system of exploitation.

THE REVIEW stands for Political Action in its broadest sense, Mass Action, Industrial Unionism, Class Unionism and for International Socialism, of which these are the strongest weapons. We oppose Imperialism in all its forms.

We are for such reforms as shorter hours and higher wages only for the reason that the struggles of the workers for these things are one of the best means of education in the class struggle. No reforms can materially benefit the working class as long as the present system of *product-taking* continues.

WHAT WE NEED

We received a telegram today stating that six members of the I. W. W. were killed and forty injured when a machine gun was turned upon them as they advanced to disembark from a boat docking at Everett, Washington, to organize the timber workers at that point. The business interests of Everett decided they would throw law to the winds and merely kill on sight men whom they knew to be intent on uniting their exploited wage slaves to put up a fight for better conditions—and Industrial Democracy later on.

Such things are happening every week in this great privately owned capitalistic America today. We have had more strikes in America during the past year than in any previous five years.

Every true *Left Wing* socialist ought to be on the job during those strikes to teach the workers *how to win*, to propagate industrial, or class, unionism, and teach the workers what Socialism, or Industrial Democracy, is.

The simple vote-once-in-four-years "socialist," who does not know that labor power is a commodity and who believes the working class pays the taxes, does not know how to fight. Like Public Ownership politicians they don't understand Marx; they imagine they ought to lower *taxes* or work for penny telephones. They do not know that low prices mean low wages. And they fear to see any man get higher wages for fear his product will *cost them more*.

If you don't know anything about Socialism, of course you will always be shooting in the dark, or advocating Public Ownership or some other thing that is beneficial to your enemies, the capitalist class.

And so, the first thing *you* want to do is to *find* out what Socialism is, if you do not know already. And if you *do* know, we want you to hunt up the old-timers who may have left the party in disgust because they thought it was being steered into the bogs of penny reforms, or who were expelled because they advocated the general strike or industrial unionism, and tell them to subscribe to THE REVIEW.

We are overwhelmed with work to be done. We are getting our friends and readers to help by jumping in to aid the workers win strikes, by teaching what Socialism is and re-educating some of our friends who have been taught by our misinformation departments that the main plank of Socialism is public ownership of railroads, and similar rot.

If you are sitting around with your hands folded wondering how you can work for the revolutionary movement, just write us and we will put you to work right where you are.

Tell the good old guard that there is a lot of work to be done. There are thousands of new people who have just voted the socialist ticket—and probably not one in a hundred knows what *real* Socialism is. Show them.

There is money to be raised to save our old comrade, Tom Mooney, and his friends—all splendid Reds who have worked for class-conscious unionism for years, and who are on trial for their lives on a framed-up charge of bomb planting in San Francisco. Help is needed for the boys who were arrested for planning to organize the workers in Everett, against the wishes of the Everett capitalist class.

And next month we hope to start a *simple, scientific* course in Socialism in which you will want to interest all your friends.

Left Wing Comrades—all together now!

M. E. M.

FIFTH EDITION NOW READY

Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History

By **ANTONIO LABRIOLA**, Translated by **CHARLES H. KERR**

HISTORY may be interpreted in several ways. We may say, for example, that it was God who freed the black slaves of the South. That is the Theological conception.

Or we may say that Abraham Lincoln freed them; that but for him they would still be chattels. That is the Great Man theory.

Or we may say that the American Nation was founded on the Idea of Liberty, and that in the fullness of time this Idea freed the slaves. That is the Metaphysical theory.

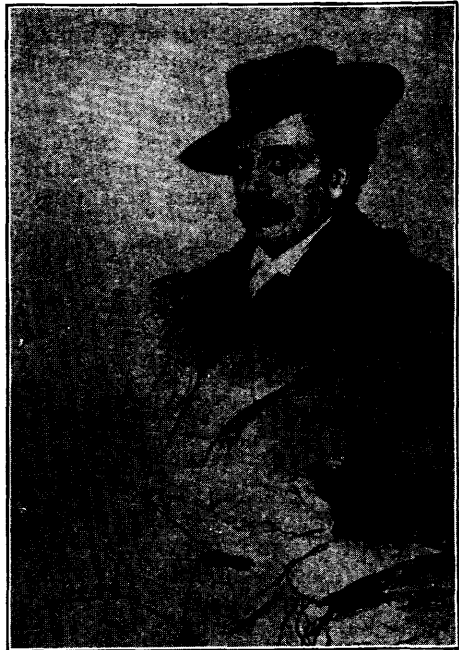
But Karl Marx and Frederick Engels discovered over sixty years ago a theory which explains the facts of history far better than any of these—a theory so logical and convincing that it has forced acceptance from many enemies of Socialism, while it is one of the foundation principles of Socialism. Marx and Engels stated this theory briefly and constantly applied it in their writings from 1848 to the end of their lives.

It remained for another writer, however, to explain the theory in full detail and show the student how to apply it. This has been done by Antonio Labriola in his **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History**.

The book is in two parts. Part I, "In Memory of the Communist Manifesto," is an explanation of the causes which made possible the writing of that greatest of historic documents, together with the reasons for the slow growth of Socialism

for the first twenty years after 1848 and its rapid and ever more rapid growth within the last forty years.

Part II, "Historical Materialism," is the most thorough and accurate interpretation of the theory itself to be found in any language. It requires close study, but it also repays close study. Master it, and your understanding of history and of the events of the day will be wonderfully clarified. It is one of the few books indispensable to every student of Socialism.



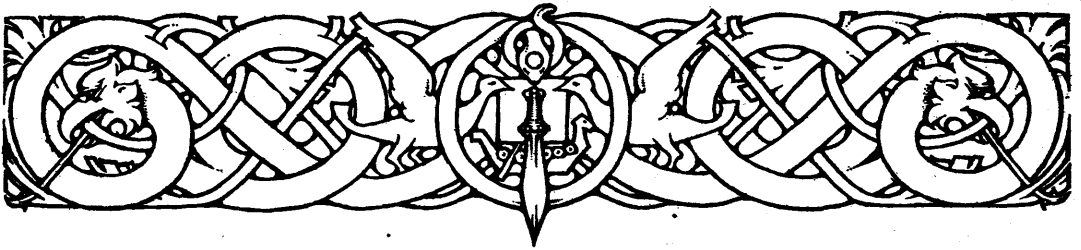
ANTONIO LABRIOLA

Our latest edition is very attractively printed and bound. Price, \$1.00, postage included. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341 EAST OHIO STREET, CHICAGO



ANTONIO LABRIOLA



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The German Socialist Conference. The German Socialists met in conference for three days, beginning on September 21. What they did is of tremendous importance to the Socialist movement. But at the present writing (Nov. 11) we know little about it. The official report, the one sent out by the Majority and sanctioned by the government, has reached us. For the other side of the story we shall have to wait.

There is some significance in the fact that the gathering was held in one of the rooms of the Reichstag. Evidently the government had no fear of the result. It would surely be impolite to attack Bethmann-Hollweg in his own house. There were 400 persons in attendance. Ebert was presiding officer. Ledebour opened proceedings for the Minority by attacking the purpose and composition of the Conference. Scheidemann answered him. Haase replied to Scheidemann. David moved the resolution upon which turned the chief debate. The following paraphrase of it is taken from London *Justice*: the resolution declared it to be a "duty to defend the country until the enemy was prepared to conclude a peace guaranteeing the political independence, territorial integrity, and economic development of Germany." It expressed regret for "the attitude of the statesmen of the Quadruple entente and Socialists of the entente powers, which was hostile to peace." It declared "that a strong international union was the aim of Socialist policy, and that permanently to guard the world's peace was the ideal." It asked, in conclusion, "that the German govern-

ment be constantly occupied in attempting to bring the war to an end, and to give the people the peace they desired."

This resolution must have drawn the group lines very sharply. In effect, it was a declaration that the Majority has been right from the beginning. The concluding talk of peace was evidently only pious verbiage—if there was nothing worse involved in it. The worst thing that seems to be hidden in it is an effort to place part of the blame for continued hostilities on French and English Socialists. After helping to start a war it is very easy for German "Socialists" to ask for peace when they know quite well that their government will not pay the least attention. In fact the state of the case may be even worse. The German government is evidently eager to start peace negotiations while it holds the military advantage. It is quite likely that a part of the Socialist resolution was formulated in response to a ministerial suggestion. Possibly the acceptance of this feature is in the nature of payment of rent for the use of a room in the Reichstag building.

We may well believe that the discussion was heated. No doubt there was a very satisfactory airing of grievances and a mighty attempt to conceal things which will not bear the light. The resolution was accepted by 251 votes to 5, the Minority abstaining.

One vote may be fairly supposed to represent the relative strength of the opposing groups. A resolution stating that the conference was contrary to the party statutes was defeated by 279 votes to 168.

Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

1. **The Evolution of Man.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Contains absolute proof of the truth of Darwin's theory of the descent of man. Illustrated.
2. **The Triumph of Life.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Describes the resistless triumph of the Life Force over all obstacles. Illustrated.
3. **Life and Death.** By Dr. E. Teichmann. A study in biology, explaining how and why life began and how the life of each individual ends.
4. **The End of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. A study of the natural forces that will some time destroy all life on the earth. Illustrated.
5. **The Making of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Describes the process by which dead worlds are re-born into new worlds and how life begins again. Illustrated.
6. **Germs of Mind in Plants.** By R. H. Francé. A remarkable work proving that "mind" is not limited to man or even to animals, but is found in plants also. Illustrated.
7. **Human, All Too Human.** By Friedrich Nietzsche. A study of human motives, showing the absence of "free will" and the folly of orthodox theology.
8. **Science and Revolution.** By Ernest Untermann. A history of the growth of the Evolution theory, showing how at every step it was fought by the ruling classes and welcomed by the workers.
9. **Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. The causes of belief in God and the origin of abstract ideas explained in a brilliant and convincing way.
10. **Evolution, Social and Organic.** By Arthur M. Lewis. A volume of popular lectures in which the relation of the Evolution theory to Socialism is fully explained.

These ten volumes are handsomely bound in cloth, uniform with our Library of Socialist Classics of which nearly fifty volumes are now ready. Price 50c each, postpaid, no cheaper by the set. Our stockholders buy them for 30c each postpaid. Ask for free booklet telling why you should be and how you can be a stockholder. Address

**CHARLES H. KERR &
COMPANY**

341-349 East Ohio St., CHICAGO

This showing gives the Minority 37 per cent of the voting strength. When we reflect that some members of the Minority refused to take part in the election of conference members this percentage seems very satisfactory indeed. We have thought all along that about a third of the members of the Social Democracy had proved their fidelity to the cause. It begins to look as tho this estimate is too low.

Friedrich Adler's Deed. On October 22 Friedrich Adler murdered Count Stuerghk, Prime Minister of Austria-Hungary. Since then his deed has been subject for heated discussion all round the world. Some have charitably taken for granted that he had been turned crazy by the events of the past two years. Others hastened into print to prove a perfect alibi for the Socialist movement. Some are always ready to faint at the thought that good people may get the notion that Socialists are murderers.

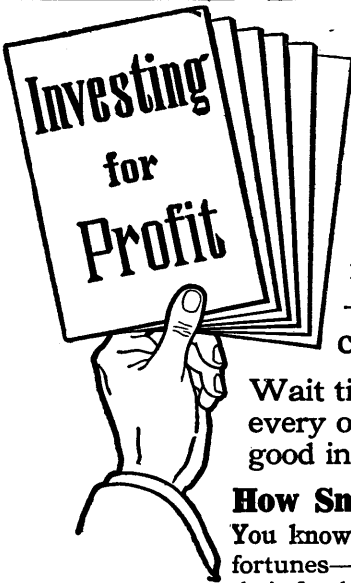
For real Socialists the first necessity is understanding. The first question is not, Was this thing good or bad? but, Why did it happen?

The Austrian ministry was the immediately responsible agent in the series of events which led up to the beginning of the war. This body it was that sent to Servia an ultimatum which it could not possibly have expected to see accepted. Count Stuerghk was its official head. Since the outbreak of hostilities the Austrian parliament has not been called together. Policies have been adopted, the people's money has been expended without even the formal sanction of the people's representatives. Austria has been more reactionary than any other nation involved in the war. Pacifists have been hanged and shot. Unbelievable atrocities have been committed by the government. When peace comes the world will hear a tale of horrors that will rouse to renewed activity imaginations long since deadened by excess of suffering and death.

Recently there has been deep popular discontent. Count Stuerghk stood resolutely against a change of policy. His last deed was to forbid the holding of two meetings which had been called to urge the calling of parliament.

Friedrich Adler is a man in middle life,

Free for Six Months



My Magazine—

“Investing for Profit”

If you will send me your name and address, I will mail you this wonderful magazine *absolutely free for six months*—Special Trial Introductory Offer. Each copy is worth \$10.00 to \$100.00 to you.

Wait till you see, it is a good thing, but don't wait till every one sees it—you will then be too late. One good investment is worth a lifetime of labor.

How Small Investors Have Made Large Fortunes

You know and I know that small investors have made large fortunes—men who, guided by judgment and courage, have placed their funds direct into creative enterprises at their inception and thus reaped full benefit of the earning power of money. Today opportunity on bended knee is entreating the small investor to accept her favors—and those who heed the insistent call are achieving fortunes.

My magazine explains the rules by which small investors have made wise and profitable investments—how \$100 grows into \$2,200—the actual possibility of intelligent investment.

Learn the REAL EARNING POWER of Your Money

The real earning power of your money is not the paltry 3% to 5% paid by corporations who have their future behind instead of in front of them. “Investing for Profit” reveals the enormous profits financiers make, and shows how one can make the same profit—it demonstrates the real earning power of your money—the knowledge that financiers hide from the masses—it explains HOW small investors are making big fortunes and WHY they are made.

This and other valuable financial information is yours—it is free six months for the asking.

How to Determine the Value of Different Investments

There are thousands of salaried people today who have a small sum laid aside or who can invest a small amount each month—but who realize that they do not know how to determine the value of the different classes of investments that are offered to them daily. This condition has created a demand for a publication or institution whose express object is to help direct and guide the small investor. “Investing for Profit” is the result of a pressing need, and will be worth hundreds—even thousands of dollars to you.

If You Can Save \$5 a Month or More

“Investing for Profit” is for the man who intends to invest any money, however small, or who can save \$5 or more per month—but who has not yet learned the art of investing for profit. Read what Russell Sage, one of the most successful financiers of his day, said in regard to investments:

“There is a common fallacy that, while for legal advice we go to lawyers, and for medical advice we go to physicians, and for the construction of a great work to engineers—financing is everybody's business. As a matter of fact, it is the most profound and complicated of them all.”

Don't invest a dollar in anything anywhere until you have at least read 1 copy of my really wonderful magazine.

Mail Coupon Today for Free Financial Advice and Magazine

There are absolutely no strings to my Six Months' Free Trial introductory offer. I will do exactly what I say. If you will send me your name and address on the attached coupon I will send you absolutely without charge, for six months, my magazine—“Investing for Profit.” Then you are to decide whether or not you care to continue to subscribe and want free advice on financial matters. Surely this is a fair, square, liberal offer—so sign and mail the coupon now—before you turn this page.

H. L. BARBER, Publisher, CHICAGO

H. L. BARBER, 20 (na) Jackson Blvd., Chicago

Please send me absolutely Free of Charge, “Investing for Profit” for six months, and enter my name on your list for free financial advice.

Name.....

Street..... City.....

MAKE YOUR OWN LIQUOR

Just your name and address—send no money. We will show you how to make your own Whiskies, Liquors or Cordials at home, with our Concentrated Extracts, at half the Liquor Dealers' or Mail Order prices. Simple, easy; a few minutes at your kitchen table does the work. *Legitimate wet or dry.* No license required. Same ingredients as used by Liquor Dealers but in concentrated form. Complies with Gov't regulations.

I QUART ON APPROVAL

Try it at our expense—your favorite Whiskey or Liquor. See what a good whiskey you can have whenever you want it—wherever you live. Send today for **FREE** Booklet—"Secrets of Making Liquors at Home," and **FREE TRIAL OFFER**. Universal Import Co. 1491 Third St. Cincinnati, Ohio



Rupture Simple Home Treatment

FREE



Do Away With Steel and Rubber Bands that chafe and pinch. Stuart's PLAPAO-PADS are different from truss, being medicine applicators, made self-adhesive to prevent slipping. No "digging in" or grinding pressure. No straps, buckles or springs attached. Soft as Velvet—Easy to Apply—Inexpensive. Hundreds of sworn testimonials from those cured. Swearing Bands Moral and Grand Prix. Write today for Trial Pads and illustrated book, absolutely FREE. Nothing to pay, nothing to return. PLAPAO CO., Block 245 St. Louis, Mo.

TRIAL OF PLAPAO

Socialism and War

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN

Author of "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx."

A brilliant and adequate Socialist interpretation of the Great War by the foremost Marxian scholar in America.

This book develops a theory of the economic basis of Imperialism that is at once original and satisfactory.

The general problems involved in the Socialist attitude to ALL wars are brilliantly discussed.

The Analysis is Strictly Scientific, the Style and Presentation Simple and Direct.

This important book has lately been published in New York at \$1.10 postpaid. We have bought part of the edition, and while our copies last, we will mail the book to any REVIEW reader on receipt of \$1.00. Address

Chas. H. Kerr & Company

341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago

perhaps forty-five years old. His father is Victor Adler, long recognized as the leader of the Austrian Socialists. He was trained to be a chemist and worked for some years at his profession. But he is a born philosopher, and soon turned his energies into the struggle of the working-class. He became editor of *Der Kampf*, a monthly magazine, and was for a time secretary of the Austrian Socialist party. He is naturally uncompromising, and so became a leader of the out-and-out Socialists, the pacifists, the internationalists. On this account he has often been compared with Carl Liebknecht. The difference between them is that Liebknecht is a practical political leader and Adler is predominantly a thinker.

When the war broke out the world was treated to the dramatic sight of a father leading the patriotic "war Socialists" and his son leading the uncompromising anti-war internationalists, the real Socialists. In the last party congress, it will be remembered, the son was able to muster only 15 votes in favor of his program.

As leader of the Minority Socialists Friedrich Adler has seen one effort of the discontented people after another come to naught. The government was deaf and dumb and blind. All the peaceful, respectable, civilized methods of making an impression had failed. In desperation he grasped at the last method, the primitive one.

The dispatches sent out by the government have busily denied that the act had political significance. But the meaning of it is clear to everyone.

Another thing is noticeable. On the 23rd of October the calling of parliament began to be discussed as a possibility. And the new Prime Minister is more liberal than the old one. The shot fired by the Socialist philosopher did penetrate to the consciousness of the deaf and dumb and blind conservatives who rule Austria.

No, the author of these paragraphs does not believe in death and destruction as a political policy. Far from it. But he can easily understand why Friedrich Adler committed murder. And he does not feel at all certain that under the extraordinary circumstances his deed was fruitless.

Conscription Defeated in Australia. On October 28 the citizens of Australia rejected a military conscription law. It was a drastic measure of the regular sort. It provided that practically all able-bodied men should be forced to serve. Refusal to comply was to be treated as treason.

The government expected the law to pass. Mr. William Morris Hughes has recently enjoyed a visit to England. He is the Labor Premier of Australia. Hailing from an antipodal province he suddenly awoke to find himself a lion among London imperialists. The English proclaimed him the strong man of the Empire. His eloquence stirred patriotism to new heights and depths. He was the prime mover in the development of the economic war against the Central Powers. In Paris, as in London, he was the man of the hour. What he promised to the Empire on behalf of Australia made British Islanders ashamed of themselves.

Then he went back to Australia. There was a notable lack of enthusiasm in his welcome home. Adelaide and Melbourne were somehow different from London and Paris. But William Morris Hughes paid little heed. With all his energy and eloquence he plunged into the campaign for conscription. He and his ministry are supposed to represent the Labor Party. But when he appeared before the executive committees of the provincial labor groups he was unconvincing. Only one committee endorsed his bill. The Labor Party is not radical enough to do anybody any great harm, but there are limits to its docility.

The labor leaders, the women, and the Socialists made a great fight against conscription. A goodly number of men and women are in jail for the fight they made. Comrade Robert Ross, editor of the Melbourne *Socialist*, is probably among them. The number of his paper for September 22, which is the last to arrive, is a rousing call to the fight against militarism.

"All glory," he writes, "is not in the present or the future. To Australia has come the test as it has come elsewhere. Let us prove worthy, and victory is sure."

We, far from the struggle, cannot be certain to whom belongs the credit for victory. No doubt a large share should go to the women voters of Australia. Incomplete returns show the measure defeated by a vote of 723,000 to 673,000. The decision is decisive and final.

But what seems finest to an American is the spirit of the fight. Those men and women over there have courage. Many of them are in jail now. If that law had been carried, thousands of others would have gone rather than deny their principles and turn soldier. For the past two years our eyes have been turned toward Europe and our hearts have been saddened by much that we have seen. A look at what is passing in the far new land on the other side of the world gives us new hope and new courage.

Startling Values in Typewriters \$10 to \$15 up. Rebuilt as good as new. All standard makes. Shipped on trial. Write for our "Easy Ownership" offer No. 66-D. Will positively save you money. WHITEHEAD TYPEWRITER CO., 186 N. La Salle St., Chicago.

¶ BE PREPARED to fight capitalism's most powerful weapon to subjugate the masses—THE PRESS.

¶ "Fakes in Journalism," by Max Sherover, (3rd edit.) tells you how labor news, our news, is being adulterated and suppressed; how the workers' minds are poisoned so that they misunderstand the revolutionary working class movement. Read this book and be armed with facts. Sell this book and help spread light where the prostituted press spreads darkness. Single copies 25c postpaid. In lots of 100—\$6.50. Sell as fast as you can hand them out.

Free Press League, 1569 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Notice I will send valuable recipe for Bronchitis and Cough for one dollar, and you receive a one dollar book free. It shows Christians have no Savior, Jesus only God's grand son. It shows God broke his own commandments and sent himself to Hell for lying, and it shows where men arrive after death. Read this book. Cut this ad out. Address J. A. CAMPBELL, 183 College St., Toronto, Ont., Canada

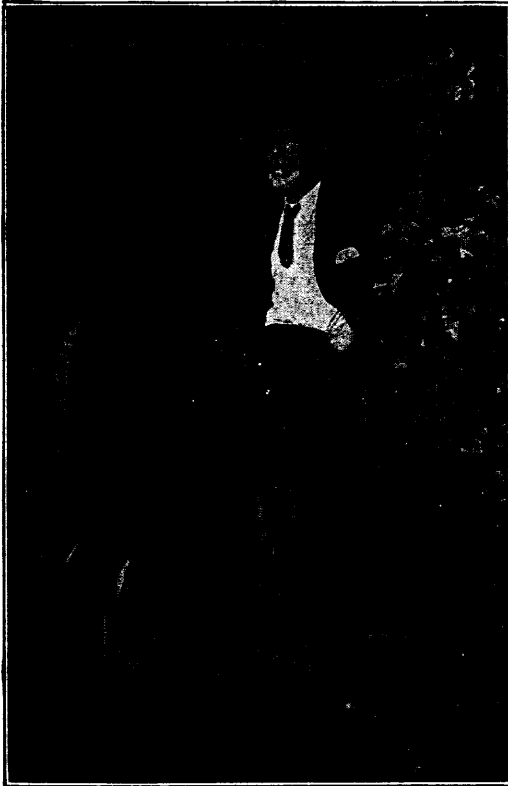
ECZEMA IS ONLY SKIN DEEP

CRANOLENE Kills Itching Germ
No internal medicine will cure Eczema—only by the application of *Cranolene* can the Eczema microbe be destroyed. You pay us no money until you say you are cured. Write today for free supply. MILLS CHEMICAL CO., 145 Mills Building, Girard, Kansas
Show This to Some Unfortunate Eczema Sufferer

Mr. H. C. Atteberry, Lilac, Neb., writes: "I have used free supply of *Cranolene*. It has done me more good than anything I have ever used. Enclosed find \$5 to pay for the good you've already done me. Postage will be in your FREE Eczema kit. Atteberry gratefully paid \$5 for."

Love's Coming-of-Age

By EDWARD CARPENTER



A volume of essays on the relations of the sexes. The author brings to his difficult subject the logic of a scientist, the sympathetic insight of a poet and the courage of a revolutionist. That is why the book is a classic that finds an increasing number of readers yearly. The chapters are:

The Sex-Passion
 Man, the Ungrown
 Woman: the Serf
 Woman in Freedom
 Marriage: a Retrospect
 Marriage: a Forecast
 The Free Society
 Some Remarks on the
 Early Star and Sex
 Worship
 The Primitive Group-Marriage
 Jealousy
 The Family
 Preventive Checks to Population

Extra Cloth, \$1.00 postp'd

LOOKING FORWARD: A Treatise on the Status of Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State, by Philip Rappaport. Cloth, \$1.00.

ANCIENT SOCIETY, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. By Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D., Cloth, 586 pages, \$1.50.

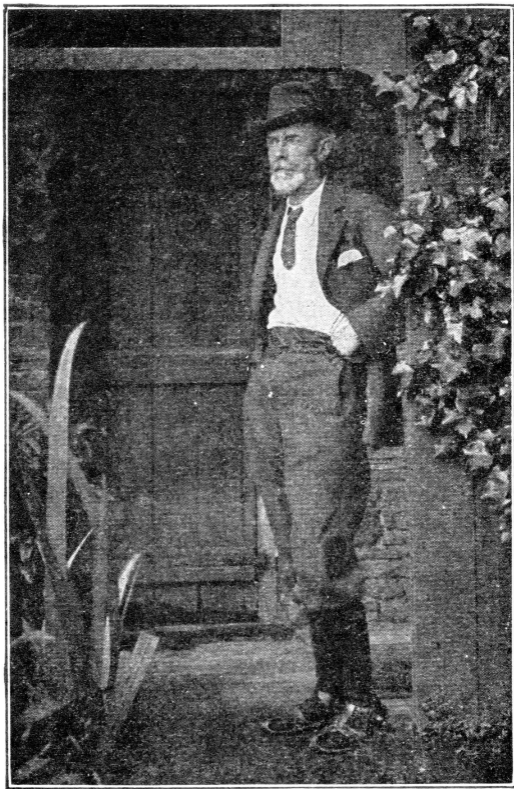
THE ROSE DOOR. The Story of a House of Prostitution. By Estelle Baker. Cloth, \$1.00.

THE SOCIAL EVIL, by J. H. Greer, M. D., paper, 10 cents.

VICTIMS OF THE SYSTEM, by Dorothy Johns. Paper, 10 cents.

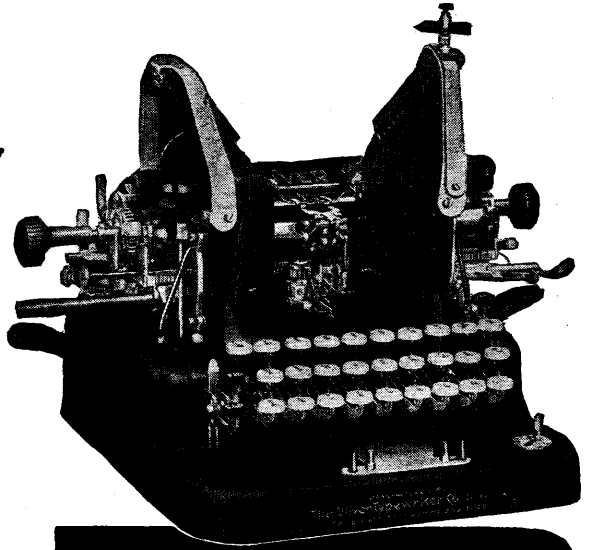
Prices include postage; catalog free on request.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers
 341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago



No Money Down FREE Trial First A Year to Pay

*Visible Writer
Visible Reader
Automatic Spacer
In-Built Tabulator
Universal Keyboard
U-Shaped Type Bar
Handy Back-Spacer
Writes 84 Letters and Characters
Lifetime Guarantee*



Rates Now Cut!

**On 1000 Oliver Typewriters—Perfect Machines
Unbeatable Bargains—Prices We Can't Print**

These world-famous visible writing Oliver's are all fresh from the factory. Thousands have been sold at \$100, but on this special lot we propose to save you both the salesman's commission and the agent's commission. We don't dare print our terrific reduction, for we can't tell how long we can supply these typewriters at this price. Hence we ask you to mail us your name and address so we can tell you in confidence. After you get our unbeatable offer, all you have to do is notify us to send one of these superb Oliver's *on trial*. You don't need to send a penny until you have tried it. When you are satisfied, we let you remit a trifle once a month till paid for. *Our terms amount to only 13c a day; and surely you'll never miss that.*

OLIVER ^{Visible} _{Writer} Life Guarantee

Why pay others 75 to 78½ per cent more than our price for this standard size Oliver? Why buy a typewriter guaranteed for only one year when we guarantee this Oliver No. 5 for life?

It brings you typewriter triumphs unexcelled by any machine on earth, and will write any form from the size of a postage stamp to a wide legal document.

The down-stroke U-shaped type bar gives double strength and double life and makes more carbon copies than any other machine on the market. Experts marvel at Oliver's light touch—one-third lighter than any other made. Saves your energy—rests your fingers.

Errors in writing quickly and easily corrected by use of handy Back-Spacer. Built-in Tabulator lets you write columns of figures like lightning.

Universal Keyboard writes 84 characters and letters, yet you control them all *with only 28 keys*. Easiest, simplest, handiest keyboard known.

Accessories Free

Complete Accessory Outfit—Metal Office Case, Brushes, Oil, Screwdriver, Typewriter Ribbon, Carbon Paper, set of instructions, etc., included *free*. We even send practice paper, so it will cost you absolutely nothing to try this master machine. Even the novice can start and write the day this Oliver arrives. No experience necessary.

This Price While They Last

We'll save you more money than you ever thought it was possible to save on the price of a typewriter. But our secret reduction applies to but 1000 machines. When these are gone your chance is gone. All inquiries will be numbered and answered according to turn. *So don't delay*. Mail the coupon at once—send no money—but get our offer *by return mail*.

Typewriters
Distributing Syndicate
Dept. 1609,
1510 Wabash Ave.
Chicago

I am interested in owning a typewriter and would like to have your latest cut price and easy payment plan on a No. 5 Oliver. I incur no obligation in asking for your offer.

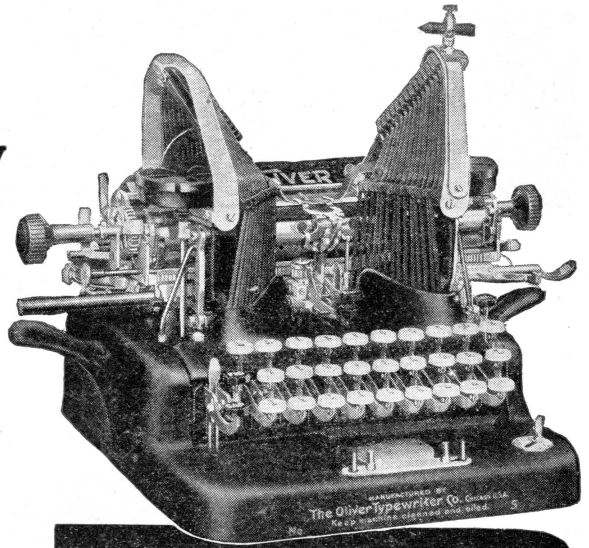
Name

Address

Typewriters Distributing Syndicate
Dept. 1609, 1510 Wabash Avenue Chicago

No Money Down FREE Trial First A Year to Pay

Visible Writer
Visible Reader
Automatic Spacer
In-Built Tabulator
Universal Keyboard
U-Shaped Type Bar
Handy Back-Spacer
Writes 84 Letters and Characters
Lifetime Guarantee



Rates Now Cut!

**On 1000 Oliver Typewriters—Perfect Machines
Unbeatable Bargains—Prices We Can't Print**

These world-famous visible writing Olivers are all fresh from the factory. Thousands have been sold at \$100, but on this special lot we propose to save you both the salesman's commission and the agent's commission. We don't dare print our terrific reduction, for we can't tell how long we can supply these typewriters at this price. Hence we ask you to mail us your name and address so we can tell you in confidence. After you get our unbeatable offer, all you have to do is notify us to send one of these superb Olivers *on trial*. You don't need to send a penny until you have tried it. When you are satisfied, we let you remit a trifle once a month till paid for. *Our terms amount to only 13c a day; and surely you'll never miss that.*

OLIVER Visible Writer Life Guarantee

Why pay others 75 to 78½ per cent more than our price for this standard size Oliver? Why buy a typewriter guaranteed for only one year when we guarantee this Oliver No. 5 for life?

It brings you typewriter triumphs unexcelled by any machine on earth, and will write any form from the size of a postage stamp to a wide legal document.

The down-stroke U-shaped type bar gives double strength and double life and makes more carbon copies than any other machine on the market. Experts marvel at Oliver's light touch—one-third lighter than any other made. Saves your energy—rests your fingers.

Errors in writing quickly and easily corrected by use of handy Back-Spacer. Built-in Tabulator lets you write columns of figures like lightning.

Universal Keyboard writes 84 characters and letters, yet you control them all *with only 28 keys*. Easiest, simplest, handiest keyboard known.

Accessories Free

Complete Accessory Outfit—Metal Office Case, Brushes, Oil, Screwdriver, Typewriter Ribbon, Carbon Paper, set of instructions, etc., included *free*. We even send practice paper, so it will cost you absolutely nothing to try this master machine. Even the novice can start and write the day this Oliver arrives. No experience necessary.

This Price While They Last

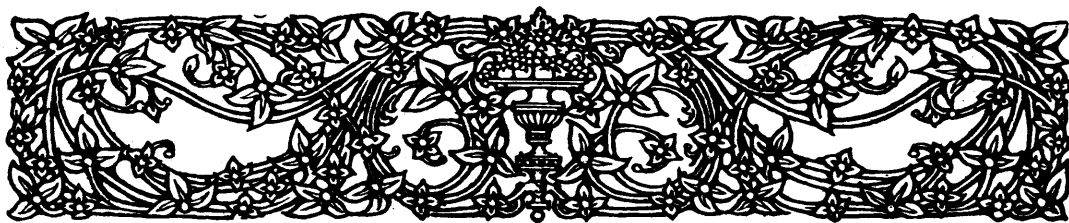
We'll save you more money than you ever thought it was possible to save on the price of a typewriter. But our secret reduction applies to but 1000 machines. When these are gone your chance is gone. All inquiries will be numbered and answered according to turn. *So don't delay*. Mail the coupon at once—send no money—but get our offer *by return mail*.

Typewriters
Distributing Syndicate
Dept. 1609,
1510 Wabash Ave.
Chicago

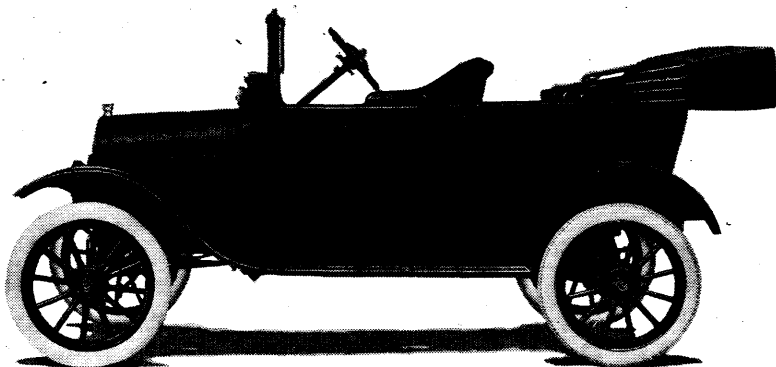
I am interested in owning a typewriter and would like to have your latest cut price and easy payment plan on a No. 5 Oliver. I incur no obligation in asking for your offer.

Name _____
Address _____

Typewriters Distributing Syndicate
Dept. 1609, 1510 Wabash Avenue Chicago



NEWS AND VIEWS



How I Won the Ford.—The best way to get subscribers is to "get them." I believe it was about the 15th of September that I mailed in my first remittance to the REVIEW for subscribers with the thought of winning the Ford. The victory is a collective one and the car the collective property of myself and Comrade Dorothy Merts, she having secured something over two hundred subscribers on the car. Comrade W. J. Loe was the next highest among many who assisted us. The most effective way to get the subscribers is to talk REVIEW.

On the morning of the 7th of November I mailed the required remittance on subscribers to the REVIEW and a check was immediately forwarded to the Ford Motor Company of this city with instructions to deliver the car to me. You can see that I passed under the wire as a winner in less than sixty days from the first subscribers mailed in to the office.

The highest number of subscribers taken at any one meeting during the time I worked was sixty-eight. The job was so much to my notion of the most effective way to spread the gospel of red revolt that I am in to win another car.

You may say to the readers of the REVIEW in Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Texas and New Mexico that I am ready to fill dates on a subscription basis for the REVIEW. If they want the work, write me at address below and I will state terms and conditions.

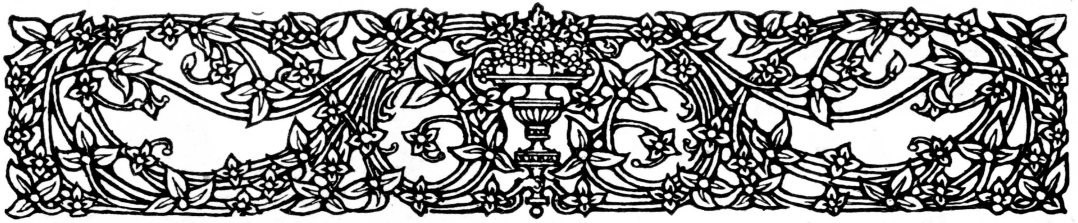
If any comrade wants to win a car he should impress on those solicited the advantages to

the movement in getting work done in the most effective manner, and at the same time the cheapest way. There is a saving in railroad expenses in the use of a car and one is able to reach remote places with the message, and at the same time the REVIEW visits each subscriber for twelve months.

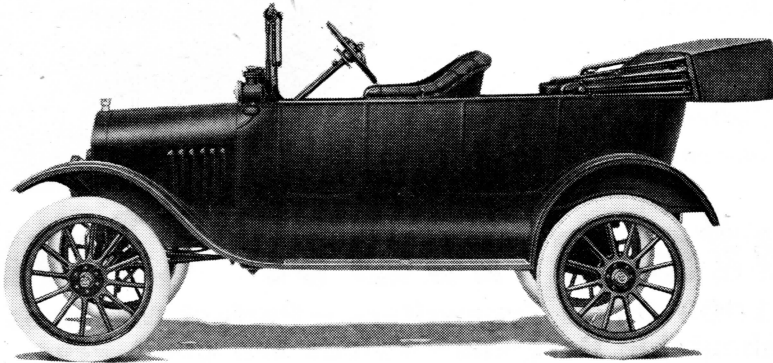
I appreciate the offer made by the INTERNATIONAL and thank all who assisted me in the work of winning.—Stanley J. Clark, Hadley Inn, Oklahoma City, Okla.



Miners Defense Button.—Show your support of and solidarity with the Mesaba Range miners by ordering one or more of these red buttons. Price, 15c apiece; 2 for 25c; 5 for 55c. In quantities, 10c postpaid. Address Forrest



NEWS AND VIEWS



How I Won the Ford.—The best way to get subscribers is to "get them." I believe it was about the 15th of September that I mailed in my first remittance to the REVIEW for subscribers with the thought of winning the Ford. The victory is a collective one and the car the collective property of myself and Comrade Dorothy Merts, she having secured something over two hundred subscribers on the car. Comrade W. J. Loe was the next highest among many who assisted us. The most effective way to get the subscribers is to talk REVIEW.

On the morning of the 7th of November I mailed the required remittance on subscribers to the REVIEW and a check was immediately forwarded to the Ford Motor Company of this city with instructions to deliver the car to me. You can see that I passed under the wire as a winner in less than sixty days from the first subscribers mailed in to the office.

The highest number of subscribers taken at any one meeting during the time I worked was sixty-eight. The job was so much to my notion of the most effective way to spread the gospel of red revolt that I am in to win another car.

You may say to the readers of the REVIEW in Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Texas and New Mexico that I am ready to fill dates on a subscription basis for the REVIEW. If they want the work, write me at address below and I will state terms and conditions.

If any comrade wants to win a car he should impress on those solicited the advantages to

the movement in getting work done in the most effective manner, and at the same time the cheapest way. There is a saving in railroad expenses in the use of a car and one is able to reach remote places with the message, and at the same time the REVIEW visits each subscriber for twelve months.

I appreciate the offer made by the INTERNATIONAL and thank all who assisted me in the work of winning.—Stanley J. Clark, Hadley Inn, Oklahoma City, Okla.



Miners Defense Button.—Show your support of and solidarity with the Mesaba Range miners by ordering one or more of these red buttons. Price, 15c apiece; 2 for 25c; 5 for 55c. In quantities, 10c postpaid. Address Forrest

Edwards, A. W. O. Box 1776, Minneapolis, Minn. The proceeds from the sale of these buttons go into the defense fund for the benefit of those who are charged with first degree murder on account of their activities in the recent strike.

That Adamson Eight-Hour Law.—Enforcement of it is to come early in 1917. On its working or failing to work hangs the issue of war or peace in the railroad world.

On the Great War.—Frank H. Simonds, whose dope on strategy of the Great War is as good as anybody's, says it looks like 1917 will be a draw with nobody winner among the nations, closing an exhaustive review with this comment: "Perhaps the thing that the campaign of 1916 most clearly points to is the moral certainty that there will be a campaign of 1918."

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, therefore asks the good comrades who write us from prison camps that they get occasional copies of this magazine—to be patient. If they don't find what they want in this number of the REVIEW, let them wait; what they are looking for may come along in 1917 or 1918.

Election Returns.—In the November number of the REVIEW we placed the probable Socialist vote at 1,200,000, although we had a feeling that the party would be lucky if the vote equaled the vote four years ago. Owing to the lack of party organization it is impossible to secure anywhere near accurate reports even at this late date. The partial reports so far that have come in to us as well as the national office show a loss.

All the newspaper holler about polling 2,000,000 votes and electing ten congressmen was pure and simple bunk. In 1912 the REVIEW was the first Socialist publication to give the complete election returns, which it did in the January number of 1913, and we will try and do the same in the coming January number.

Berger and Gaylord lost out in Wisconsin and Hilquitt was defeated in New York. Meyer London was re-elected in New York along with two Socialist assemblymen. No Socialist congressmen were elected from Oklahoma.

The two Socialist members of the legislature from Cook county, Illinois, were defeated. Cunnea, the Socialist candidate for state's attorney, ran third, although endorsed by the Chicago Tribune, the biggest paper in the city.

Thos. Van Lear was elected mayor of Minneapolis and two Socialist aldermen went in.

We understand the two Socialist members of the legislature in California were re-elected.

The following news from Terre Haute comes in as we go to press: "The vote in Vigo county as shown by the official returns was: Moss, Democrat, 8,127; Sanders, Republican, 7,781; Debs, 4,998. The prohibition candidate got 1,080, most of which were evidently intended for Debs, due to the use of the voting machine. Debs got a splendid vote in Vermillion county, carrying the towns of Universal and Clinton, but did not carry the country.

He also got a good vote in Clay county, in which is located Brazil, but made a very poor showing in Putnam county, getting only 316 in the whole county. He did not do very well in Hendricks county, although I do not have the figures. I have been unable to get the total vote of the entire district."

From Our Hustlers.—Comrade Johnson of Ypsilanti, sent i three yearlies this month and Comrade Nutting, of Brockton, scaled up with seven more yearlies. The same mail brought three from Comrade Herlinger, of Williamstown.

Every Little Bit Helps.—Comrade Whiting, of Texas, sent her up eight notches with eight new Texas subs., whiel Comrade Farnsworth of Marshalltown, added four yearlies, and Comrade Lamkins, of Washington, rang the bell for seven. It is just a mail like this that keeps the little-old wheels of the REVIEW going round. Come again, friends!

Those Buckle Premiums.—Comrade Thomas, of Canada, sent in three yearlies and will receive a "Buckle's History" for his reward. Better come in for one of these sets of Buckle before they are all gone. Others who sent in from three to fifteen subs. are: Comrade Peterson, of California; Ambler, of Ohio; Lamkins, with 14 from Washington; Radoms, with three from Chicago.

Record Ford Winner.—Stanley J. Clark, of Oklahoma, holds the speed record for winning the 1917 five-passenger Ford touring car for sending in 600 REVIEW subscriptions. We think it was just seven weeks after he sent in his first subscriptions that we mailed him a check for the Ford automobile. Comrade Clark writes that he feels sure he can win ANOTHER car. Why don't you help the REVIEW along and win a Ford this winter? For 600 yearly REVIEW subs. we send a car free. All you have to do is to pay freight.

From Iowa.—"Please increase my REVIEW order from ten to fifteen copies per month. At last they are waking up to the value of the REVIEW here. I have had to give away most of my bundle for the past several months. Now they call for them regularly. The slaves are waking up! J. C."

A Donation Idea.—Comrade G. C. Smith, of Olean, N. Y., writes that in looking over the October REVIEW an idea struck him that our friends could raise considerable money to tide the REVIEW over during these extraordinary times. He suggested that we ask every reader to donate one dollar so that the standard of the REVIEW and the standard of our books need not be lowered in spite of the trebled and quadrupled cost of paper and engraving since the beginning of the war. As an evidence of faith in the suggestion, Comrade Smith enclosed a dollar as the first whack at the deficit. The idea is a fine one and we will be very glad to hear from any of you who want to shoulder a little more of the load, especially if you have been investing your surplus capital in "War Brides."

A PROTEST FROM ARIZONA.

Whereas, Mrs. Malitza Masonvitch, Philip Masonvitch, Gavilo Orlanditch, Jovo Chernogortchevitch, strikers, and Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett and Joseph Schmidt, organizers, are held in Duluth, Minn., on the charge of murder.

Whereas, Their only crime consisted of opposing the U. S. Steel trust on the Mesaba Range in an effort to better the condition of the toilers,

Resolved, That we protest against their unjust imprisonment and demand a fair and impartial trial that they may regain their freedom to which they are justly entitled.

And, That copies of this protest be sent to the President of the United States, the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, the Governor of Minnesota, the Sheriff of St. Louis county, the International Socialist Review, the Industrial Worker and Solidarity.—Local 65, I. W. W., Bisbee, Ariz.

Personal—Will Mr. or Mrs. George Armstrong communicate with Frank Russell, P. O. Box 372, Virginia Minn.?

A Chicago Building Lot for \$400—A few years ago we took this lot from a comrade in exchange for Review subscription cards. Since then, much building has been done on adjoining property, and street car lines have been laid within a block of the lot. It is located on 104th street, half a block east of Wentworth avenue, and about three blocks east of State street.

Cars now run on 103rd street, connecting with lines on Michigan avenue to the Pullman car works, about ten minutes' ride, and on Halsted street to the loop, about one hour. The fare is five cents to any part of the city. The size of the lot is 25 by 125, and water mains, sewer connections and cement sidewalk have already been paid for. This section of Chicago is now "booming," many new industries being started in the Calumet region, just south and east of the lot. We will make terms to suit purchaser's convenience. We are not in the real estate business and have only the one lot to sell. Do you want it?

Emile Royer—The death of Emile Royer, the Belgian Socialist deputy and workers' leader, has caused sorrow, not only amongst Belgians everywhere, but in the ranks of French and numerous other democrats. He had rendered years of ardent service to the proletariat and the cause of Labor solidarity. He had been a valiant champion of the stone workers at critical stages. His was a thoughtful and noble nature, and his gifts as a speaker and leader were very notable.

Norwegian Bosses' New Move—Employers have declared a lockout of workers in Christiania. Some 77,000 toilers are affected. The Government has been discussing the crux.

The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine

By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

Partial Contents of Volume I

The "Taint of Labor," ancient slaves and wage-workers alike despised.
Ancient religion and politics identical; the gods were the ancestors of the rulers.
Right of the Patriarch to enslave, sell, torture and kill his children.
Spartans used slaves as soldiers and murdered them at the end of the war.
A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.
Crucifixion the penalty for strikers at Rome.
Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.
Rome's organized working men and working women.
History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

Partial Contents of Volume II

How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.
Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient Egypt.
A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.
Brotherhoods of workers in India.
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

Two large volumes, \$4.00 postpaid, or either volume mailed separately for \$2.00.

Charles H. Kerr & Company

Publishers

341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago

GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS **Marx's CAPITAL**

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

Until a few years ago, only one volume could be had in the English language, and that in an inferior edition. Then this publishing house took hold and published the entire work in three magnificent volumes, strongly bound in library cloth, with gold stamping.

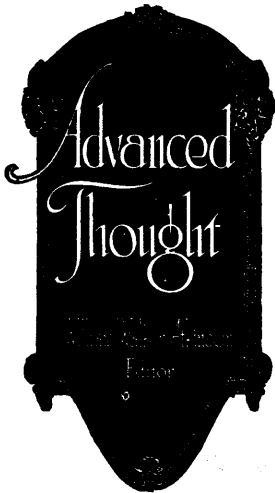
VOLUME I, entitled "**The Process of Capitalist Production**," is practically complete in itself. It explains the thing which, up to the time that Marx came on the scene, had confused all the economists, namely, **Surplus Value**. It explains exactly how the capitalist extracts his profits. This volume might be called the keystone of the Socialist arch. 869 pages, **\$2.00**.

VOLUME II, "**The Process of Circulation of Capital**," explains the part that the merchant and the banker play in the present system, and the laws that govern social capital. Unravels knots in which previous writers had become entangled. 618 pages, **\$2.00**.

VOLUME III, in some respects the most interesting of all, treats of "**The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole**." Predicts the **rise of Trusts** and makes clear the **cause of panics and industrial crises**. Shows how the small capitalist is swallowed. Explains for all time the subjects of **Land, Rent and Farming**. 1,048 pages, **\$2.00**.

Price of the set **\$6.00**, express prepaid. The only way to buy it for less is to be a stockholder in our publishing house. Stockholders buy the set for **\$3.60**, express prepaid. Ask for booklet explaining how easy it is to become a stockholder. Address

Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341-349 East Ohio St., Chicago



Your Greater Self or the Inner Consciousness

A Course of Lessons on the Unexplored Regions of the Mind, The Subliminal Self, The Superconscious Mind, The Subconscious Mind, Automatic Mentation, Intuition, Instinct, Psychic Forethought, and Other Wonderful Phases of The Great Within.

By **WILLIAM WALKER ATKINSON**

This wonderful little book by this well-known authority on the subject has met with a wonderful degree of success. Many thousand copies have been sold to interested students in all parts of the world, and as many more have been ordered upon the recommendation of the original purchasers. Its subject is one that is of the greatest interest to all students and investigators along the lines of the Great Subconscious, and the Greater Superconscious Mind—the Great Within in which are to be found new worlds of knowing and thinking. The most profound truths concerning these wonderful regions of the human mentality are set forth in the clearest manner, and in the most simple words. The subject is fascinating, and its treatment is all that might be expected from this writer whose work is noted for its clearness and practicability. It must be read to be appreciated. It contains nearly one hundred pages of clear, readable type and contains the following complete lessons: **I. Inner Consciousness; II. The Planes of Consciousness; III. The Basements of the Mind; IV. The Mental Storehouse; V. Making Over Oneself; VI. Automatic Thinking; VII. Inner-Conscious Helpers; VIII. Forethought; IX. The Leland Method; X. Intuition and Beyond.**

The regular price of this book has been Fifty Cents, but we have had printed a **SPECIAL EDITION** (paper-bound) which we will sell in connection with a Sample Copy of the Magazine "Advanced Thought," for **TEN CENTS**, as long as they last. When this edition is exhausted, the regular Fifty Cent edition will be the only form in which it can be purchased.

"ADVANCED THOUGHT" A Journal of the New Thought, Practical Psychology, Yogi Philosophy, Constructive Occultism, Metaphysical Healing, etc.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: Ten cents a copy; \$1.10 a year; in United States, Alaska, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico and Hawaiian and Philippine Islands. In Canada \$1.35 a year. In Foreign Countries \$1.50 a year.

FREE

A free sample copy of the new magazine will be sent to you upon application; or if you send us **TEN CENTS** we will mail you a sample copy of the magazine, and also a special paper-bound copy of the book, "**THE INNER CONSCIOUSNESS**."

Send today before the special edition of the book is exhausted.

ADVANCED THOUGHT PUBLISHING CO.,
166 N. Michigan Ave., Dept. E Chicago, Ill.

Here is Ten Cents for a copy of Advanced Thought Magazine and "The Inner Consciousness."

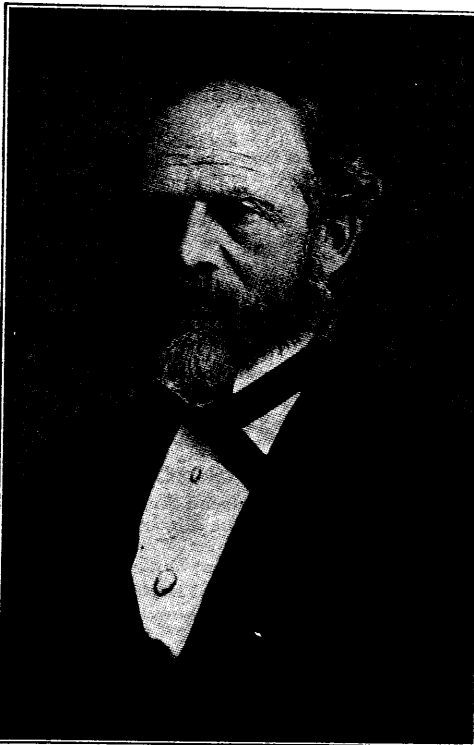
Name.....

Address.....

ANCIENT SOCIETY

— OR —

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization



LEWIS H. MORGAN

One American and only one is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is **LEWIS H. MORGAN**, the author of this book. He was the pioneer writer on the subject. His conclusions have been fully sustained by later investigators.

This work contains a full and clear explanation of many vitally important facts, without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It shows that the successive marriage customs that have arisen have corresponded to certain definite industrial conditions. The author shows that it is industrial changes that alter the relations of the sexes, and that these changes are still going on. He shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which reformers have wailed in vain. And he points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

Cloth, 586 large pages, gold stamping. Until lately this book could not be bought for less than \$4.00. Use coupon below, and we will mail the book to YOU for 50c, provided you send \$1.00 *at the same time* for a year's subscription to the **International Socialist Review**.

Address

Charles H. Kerr & Company

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

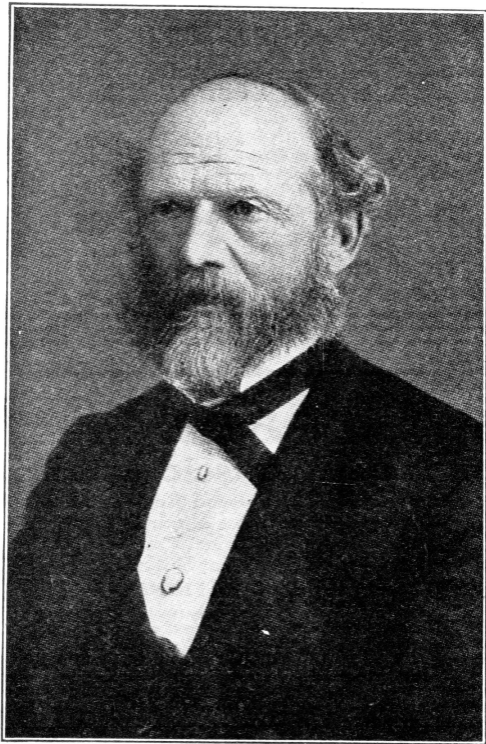
Charles H. Kerr & Company,
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago:

I enclose \$1.50 for which please mail a copy of "Ancient Society" and enter my name for the **International Socialist Review** for one year.

Name..... Address.....

Postoffice..... State.....

Note—If desired, the REVIEW will be sent to another address or we will send a subscription card to be filled out later.



LEWIS H. MORGAN

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Socialist Books Below Cost. Note the special offer on another page of a thirty-volume library with a share of stock for \$5.00 cash and \$1.00 a month ten months. Make it all cash and the price will be \$14.25, we paying expressage on the books. The share of stock will entitle you to buy any of the books we publish at forty per cent discount, postage prepaid by us. Full details in a booklet mailed free on request; ask also for our illustrated book catalog if you have not already received it.

Two American Socialist Classics with the **Review** one year for only **\$1.48**. This is a very special limited offer, made possible only by the fact that we have over a thousand each of the books printed when paper was cheap. \$1.48 will bring you the **REVIEW** a year together with a cloth-bound copy of Vail's **Principles of Scientific Socialism** and of Burrowes' **Revolutionary Essays**. This includes postage in the U. S.; for Canada add 20c, for other countries 36c. For \$5.00 we will send the **REVIEW** one year to five addresses in the U. S. and will send by mail or express prepaid in one package five copies each of the two books just mentioned. This offer ought to put a thousand new names on the **REVIEW** list before the end of 1916.

Special Christmas Offers. You can combine propaganda and education with your Christmas giving by sending your friends the **REVIEW** a year or some book that will start them thinking along working-class lines. These offers give you two Christmas presents for a little more than the price of one.

For \$1.10 we will send the **REVIEW** a year and the **Communist Manifesto** in cloth binding, with an Esperanto translation facing the English pages.

For \$1.15 we will send the **REVIEW** a year and Arthur M. Lewis' latest book, "The Struggle Between Science and Superstition," cloth bound.

For \$1.30 we will send the **REVIEW** a year and any one of the following books in cloth binding:

The Changing Order, Oscar Lovell Triggs.
Economic Determinism, Lida Parce.
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Frederick Engels.

Looking Forward (the Future Status of Woman), Philip Rappaport.

Love's Coming-of-Age, Edward Carpenter.
Marxian Economics, Ernest Untermann.

Principles of Scientific Socialism, Charles H. Vail.

Revolutionary Essays, Peter E. Burrowes.
Savage Survivals, J. Howard Moore.

The Theoretical System of Karl Marx, Louis B. Boudin.

Thoughts of a Fool, Evelyn Gladys.

For \$5.00 we will mail any five of the books named above and will send five subscription cards each good for the **REVIEW** one year.

Other Christmas offers are explained in a circular which we will mail to any address on request.

Canadian and Foreign Postage Extra. These offers include postage on the **REVIEW** for the U. S. only. For each Canadian subscription add 20c; for each foreign subscription, 36c.

The **REVIEW** list is now growing; help us to make it grow faster than ever. All these offers are limited, since the increasing cost of making books may soon oblige us to withdraw them. Address all business letters for the **REVIEW** to

Charles H. Kerr & Company,

341 East Ohio Street, Chicago.

LET US PRINT YOUR BOOK

¶ If you wish to publish a book on any subject, get our advice before you close a printing contract.

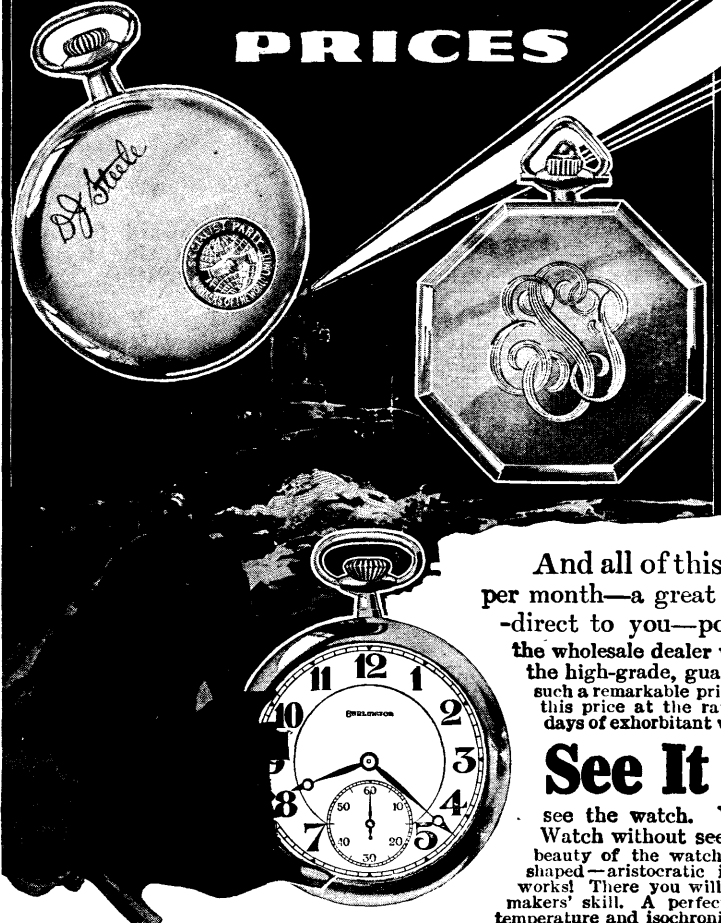
¶ We buy choice book papers direct from the mills. We have favorable contracts with some of the best **Union** printing and binding houses in America. We have thirty years' experience in book-making. We can give you the **BEST** work at a fair price. We will, if desired, put your book into the hands of the important book-reviewers of the country. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341 - 349 East Ohio Street, Chicago

Our 21 Jewel SMASHES PRICES

Look!

- ☞ 21 Ruby and Sapphire Jewels—
- ☞ Adjusted to the second—
- ☞ Adjusted to temperature—
- ☞ Adjusted to isochronism—
- ☞ Adjusted to positions—
- ☞ 25-year gold strata case—
- ☞ Genuine Montgomery Railroad Dial—
- ☞ New Ideas in Thin Cases.



Only
\$2.50
A Month

And all of this for \$2.50—only \$2.50 per month—a great reduction in watch prices—direct to you—positively the exact prices the wholesale dealer would have to pay. Think of the high-grade, guaranteed watch we offer here at such a remarkable price. And, if you wish, you may pay this price at the rate of \$2.50 a month. Indeed, the days of exorbitant watch prices have passed.

See It First You don't pay a cent to anybody until you see the watch. You don't buy a Burlington Watch without seeing it. Look at the splendid beauty of the watch itself. Thin model, handsomely shaped—aristocratic in every line. Then look at the work! There you will see the masterpiece of the watch makers' skill. A perfect timepiece adjusted to position, temperature and isochronism.

Every fighting vessel in the U. S. Navy has the Burlington Watch aboard. Many have over 100 Burlingtons—a few over 200. This includes every torpedo boat—every submarine as well as the big Dreadnaughts.

Burlington Watch Co.
19th Street and Marshall Blvd.
Dept. 5929 Chicago, Ill.
Please send me (without obligation and prepaid) your free book on watches with full explanation of your cash or \$2.50 a month offer on the Burlington Watch.

Send Your Name on This Free Coupon

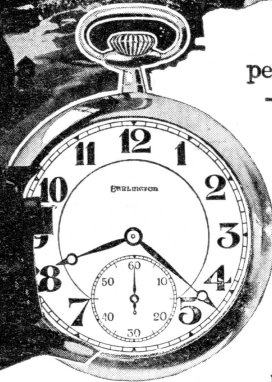
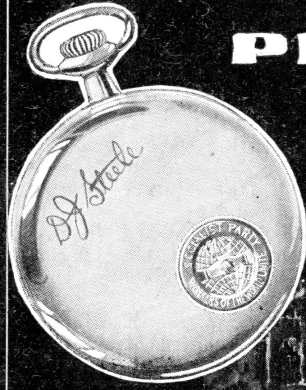
Get the Burlington Watch Book by sending this coupon now. You will know a lot more about watch buying when you read it. You will be able to "steer clear" of the over-priced watches which are no better. Send the coupon today for the watch book and our offer.

Name.....
Address.....

Burlington Watch Co.
19th St. & Marshall Blvd., Dept. 5929, Chicago, Ill.

Last chance at old prices—date prices go up will be announced—write at once for catalog.

Our 21 Jewel SMASHES PRICES



Look!

- ☞ 21 Ruby and Sapphire Jewels—
- ☞ Adjusted to the second—
- ☞ Adjusted to temperature—
- ☞ Adjusted to isochronism—
- ☞ Adjusted to positions—
- ☞ 25-year gold strata case—
- ☞ Genuine Montgomery Railroad Dial—
- ☞ New Ideas in Thin Cases.

Only \$2.50 A Month

And all of this for \$2.50—only \$2.50 per month—a great reduction in watch prices—direct to you—positively the exact prices the wholesale dealer would have to pay. Think of the high-grade, guaranteed watch we offer here at such a remarkable price. And, if you wish, you may pay this price at the rate of \$2.50 a month. Indeed, the days of exorbitant watch prices have passed.

See It First

You don't pay a cent to anybody until you see the watch. You don't buy a Burlington Watch without seeing it. Look at the splendid beauty of the watch itself. Thin model, handsomely shaped—aristocratic in every line. Then look at the works! There you will see the masterpiece of the watch makers' skill. A perfect timepiece adjusted to positions, temperature and isochronism.

Every fighting vessel in the U. S. Navy has the Burlington Watch aboard. Many have over 100 Burlingtons—a few over 200. This includes every torpedo boat—every submarine as well as the big Dreadnaughts.

Send Your Name on This Free Coupon

Get the Burlington Watch Book by sending this coupon now. You will know a lot more about watch buying when you read it. You will be able to "steer clear" of the over-priced watches which are no better. Send the coupon today for the watch book and our offer.

Burlington Watch Co.

19th St. & Marshall Blvd., Dept. 5929, Chicago, Ill.

Burlington Watch Co.
19th Street and Marshall Blvd.
Dept. 5929 Chicago, Ill.

Please send me (without obligation and prepaid) your free book on watches with full explanation of your cash or \$2.50 a month offer on the Burlington Watch.

Name.....

Address.....

Last chance at old prices—date prices go up will be announced—write at once for catalog.