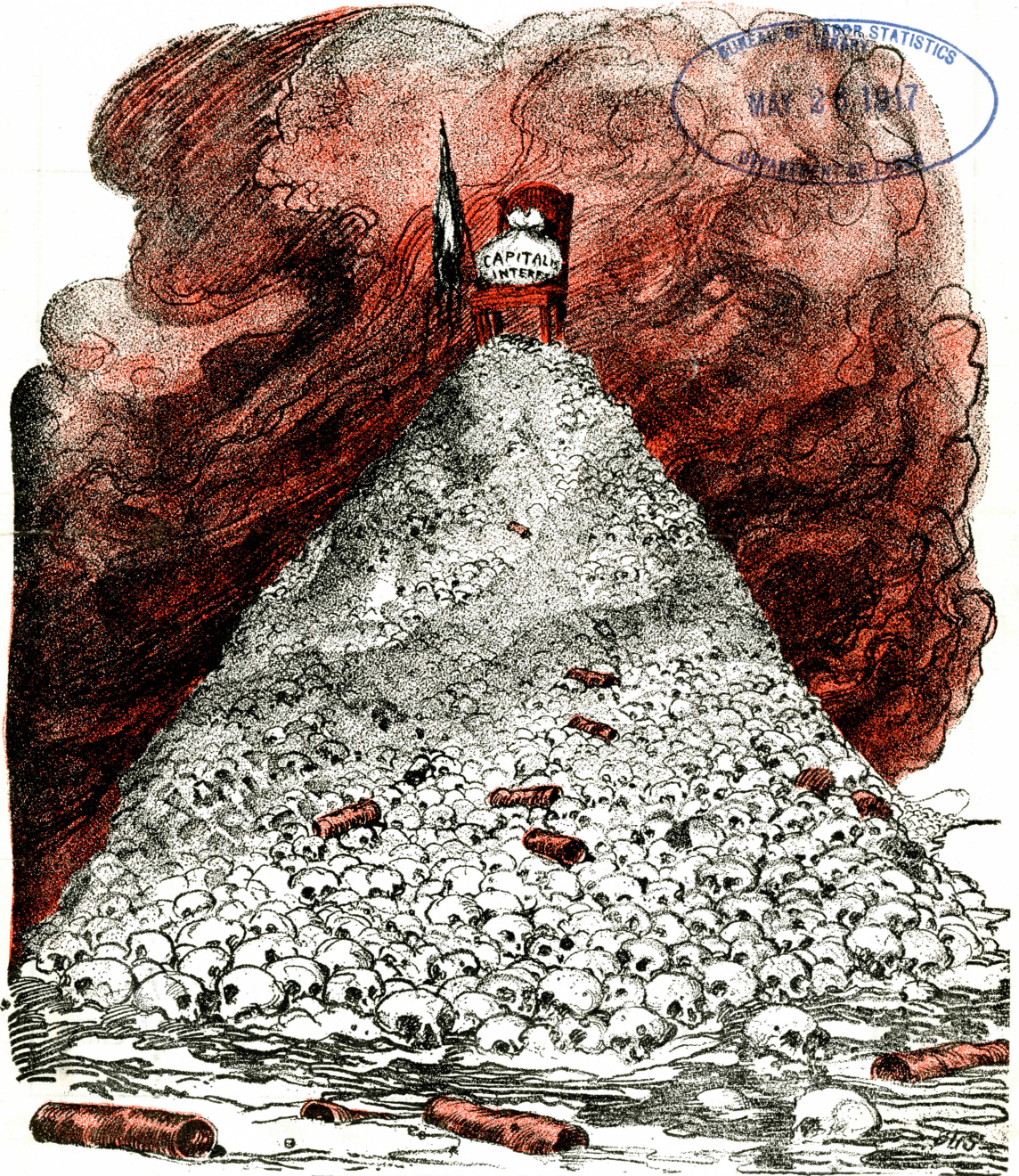


JUNE, 1917

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The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**



EMPTY SHELLS

LEADERS: Why They Appear Why People Follow Them Why They Become Autocrats

These questions are vital to the Socialist movement, since its central aim is not merely collective ownership but also *democratic control* of production and distribution. Is a democratically managed society possible? And if so, do political and labor leaders *help* or *hinder* the oncoming of democracy?

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No. 12

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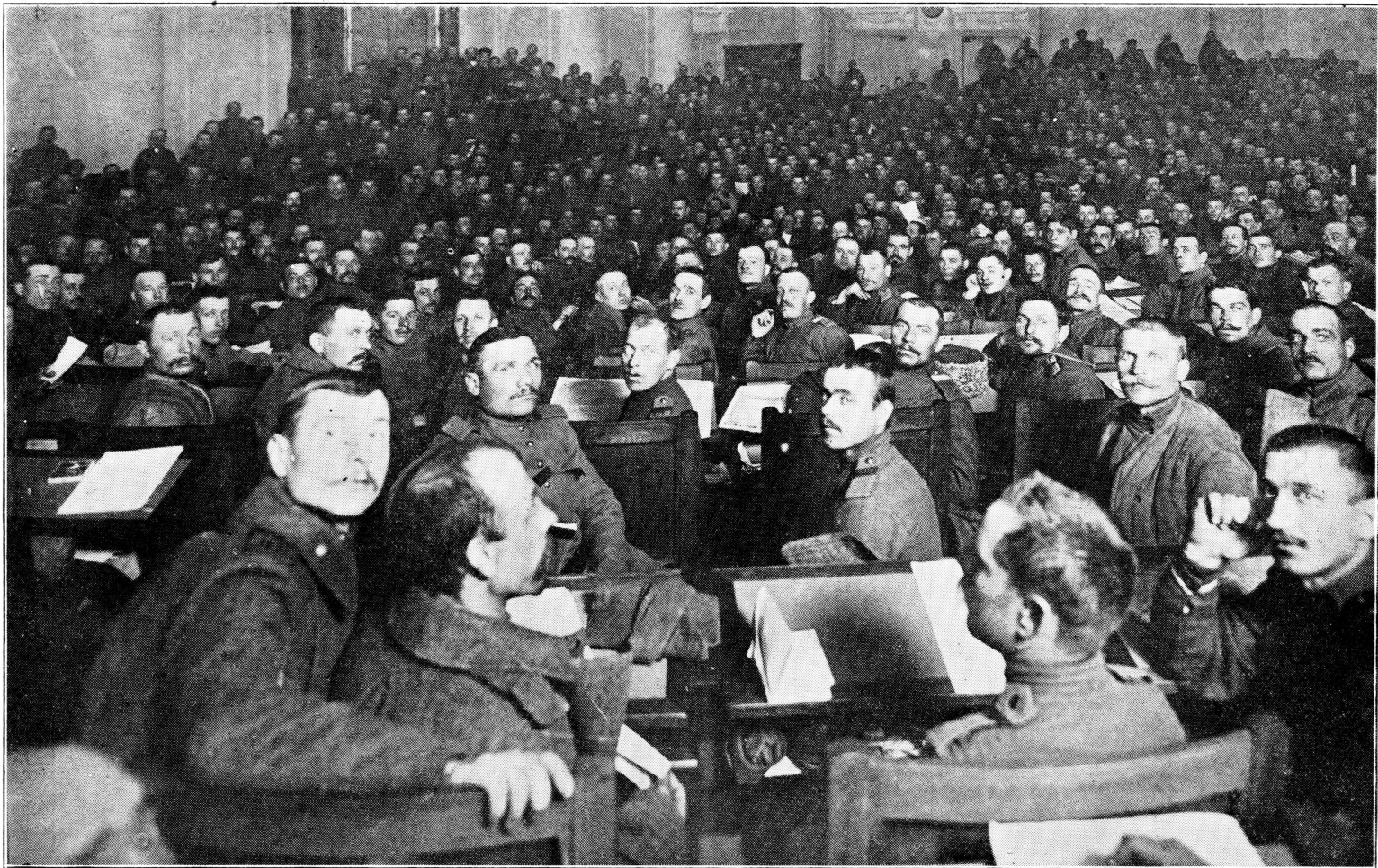
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THE COUNCIL OF SOLDIERS' AND WORKMEN'S DELEGATES IN SESSION

The great work of this Council will be to continue the revolution. If they falter or compromise, all gains will be lost.
The large frame back of the rostrum formerly held a portrait of the Czar.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

CHICAGO, JUNE 1917

No. 12

The Russian Revolution

THE program of the provisional government contains big promises. If they were to be realized, Russia would be the freest country in the world and many revolutionists would move to Russia.

Those revolutionists, however, who understand Imperialism know that it cannot, and will not, keep to this program. There will develop a tremendous struggle in Russia, as we are now only in the honeymoon of the revolution. We have already been informed by cables about protests against speakers who present "impossible" demands. We know what this means. The Social patriots combine with the bourgeoisie against revolutionary Socialism. How large a part of the Russian working class will keep to the revolutionary principles we don't know, but what we know is this: if the revolution stops now, if the workers listen to those who urge them to return to work, to calmly continue regular life, then within six months a compromise will be effective between the utmost reactionary forces and the modern capitalists, and even the ordinary bourgeois liberties will *not* be granted. Only if unrest and action continue to prevail in Russia and the working class is not itself infected by Imperialism, only then will the revolution benefit the Russian people, and at the same time, other peoples as well.

We do not know how this revolution will develop, but we do know that the field was prepared by Revolutionists, who have undermined Czarism through persistent revolutionary efforts. What was done in Russia will have to be accomplished in other countries. The soldiers, whole regiments of them, actually went over to the people, and such we may expect to be their action in the Proletarian Revolution. And the same energy with which the Russian Revolutionists have continued their efforts to weaken Czarism, we Revolutionists of western Europe have to develop to undermine Imperialism. This will have to be the essential part of our struggle.—H. Roland-Holst.

THE full story of the first days of the Russian revolution are just arriving in this country.

The daily news bulletins issued by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies give us a clear look-in on events as the revolution grew in intensity day by day.

The one fact which stands head and shoulders above all others is that organized labor, hand in hand with the Social Revolutionists, precipitated the revolution

which overthrew Czarism in spite of the Duma.

When Paul Miloukoff, the Duma leader, first became aware of what was going on in the streets of Petrograd he exclaimed: "It will be over in a quarter of an hour!" expecting the soldiers and police to crush the revolution. The Duma, therefore, was not prepared for a successful revolution. It was only when the workers had won over the soldiery and defeated the police that the Duma joined in the upheaval.

The following summary of the news bulletins was compiled by Isaac Don



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THE RETURN OF THE EXILES

Workers and soldiers greeting the "Grandmother of the Revolution"—Comrade Catherine Breshkovsky, who spent over thirty years in prison and exile.

Levine, foreign correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. We quote in part:

Beginning With a Strike

On March the 6th a strike began.

On the 7th all the textile workers were out.

On the 8th the last newspaper appeared. The whole populace of the city turned out into the streets with cries of "Give us bread!" For two days the Cossacks and soldiers, sent out to disperse the crowds, fraternized with them, accompanied by universal ovations.

Demonstrations began on Sunday, March 11. Hundreds of thousands marched toward the Winter Palace. This date marks the beginning of the revolution. On Sunday afternoon the police charged the crowds, but the soldiers ordered to do so refused point blank. The police were savage, causing considerable casualties.

The storm, however, burst on Monday, March 12. Enormous crowds rushed to the arsenals and arms factories to arm themselves. The cordons of police were everywhere smashed, and with the help of the soldiers the workmen turned upon the police.

The Revolution's Newspaper

The first bulletin was issued on the afternoon of March 12. Across the whole page is a three-line head reading:

"The Newspapers Are Not Appearing. Events Are Developing Too Rapidly. The Population Ought to Know What Is Going On."

The bulletin contains the Czar's edict dissolving the Duma and the Duma's resolution not to close its session. Twenty-five thousand soldiers joined the revolutionists on that day.

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon a deputation of these soldiers arrived at the Duma to find where it stood. Rodzianko, the president, communicated to this delegation the Duma's resolution.

Rodzianko also said that he had wired to the Czar, the commanders in chief and the chief of staff on March 11. On the 12th he sent to the Emperor the last telegram, which read in part: "The last hour has arrived to decide the fate of the country and dynasty."

At 2 o'clock the revolutionary soldiers, followed

by the *armed* populace, arrived at the Duma. The Socialist Deputies, Tchkeidze, Kerensky and Skobelev, came out to address the revolutionary army. The latter enthusiastically greeted the Socialist leaders. The chiefs of the revolution then detailed rebel soldiers to guard the Duma and take over its telephone and telegraph apparatus.

At 2:30 o'clock the Duma met. The question of organizing a temporary committee to restore order in Petrograd was discussed. In view of the crowded assembly, it was decided to let the Council of Elders of the Duma appoint this committee. It became known under the name of the Temporary Executive Committee of the Duma.

The same day representatives of the revolutionary working men, soldiers and some radical intellectuals met in the building of the Duma and organized the Temporary Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. Immediately the committee issued a manifesto calling upon the soldiers and the workmen of the city to hold elections and vote for deputies to this newly constituted council. The elections were held, on the base of one deputy per thousand voters. The committee also issued an appeal to the people of Petrograd to feed the hungry soldiers who fought all day for the revolution.

Taking the Russian Bastille

The day was eventful in the progress of the rebellion. The president of the Imperial Council, Stcheglovitov, was arrested and imprisoned at 5:30 o'clock in the building of the Duma. The famous prison, "Kresty," where political offenders were held in large numbers, was taken by the revolutionary army the same afternoon. The smaller prisons were captured almost without opposition. The fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Russian Bastille, was then taken over by the revolutionists. The Secret Service Department was set on fire. All the archives were destroyed. So numerous and bulky were the espionage documents that for three days they continued to burn.

Petrograd went to bed on Monday night, March 12, under the protection of the revolutionary army.



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THE RETURN OF THE EXILES

Workers and soldiers greeting the "Grandmother of the Revolution"—Comrade Catherine Breshkovsky, who spent over thirty years in prison and exile.

Two committees, simultaneously formed, representing the Duma and the rebels, were already functioning as the sole government. Searches made in the houses of the cabinet members failed to locate the ministers, who were in hiding.

The following morning at 2 o'clock the Executive Committee of the Duma issued two proclamations, calling upon the population to refrain from violent and destructive acts as well as to recognize the gravity of the situation and help it restore order and law.

The same morning the Council of Workmens' and Soldiers' Deputies appealed to the masses to stand by it in its efforts to demolish completely the old régime and create a new government through a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal, secret and direct suffrage.

The Duma Committee next issued an appeal to the army officers to come to the support of the Duma. "In spite of the profound difference of opinion among the Duma members forming the Temporary Committee," read the appeal, "at the present difficult moment complete harmony has been reached among them. We are faced by the urgent task of organizing the elemental popular movement. In organization only is there safety and power. Obey temporarily the Committee of the Duma."

Kerensky, the Socialist Deputy, met with even greater enthusiasm on the part of the troops he addressed. "Comrades, workers, soldiers, officers

and citizens!" began Kerensky. "That we are all here together inspires me with confidence that the old barbarous régime is destroyed forever. We are gathered here to swear that Russia shall be free."

"We swear!" resounded a multitude of voices. "Long live the free citizenship of free Russia!" concluded Kerensky.

A prolonged and mighty ovation greeted this sentiment.

During the day ex-Premier Sturmer, General Kurlov, General Commisarvo and many other high officials were arrested. The Duma committee dispatched special commissioners to take charge of the railroad, telegraph and telephone lines and various other public utilities. The disorders in the streets continued all day, largely being encounters between the police and the revolutionists. All day long new detachments of the Petrograd garrison joined the revolutionary army. When the day closed the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Council of Deputies were in full control of the situation.

March 13 the Official Telegraph Agency was taken over by Deputy Gronsky. A city militia was formed to keep order. Ex-Premier Goremykin was arrested with the rest of the ministers. The day closed with the following proclamation:

Citizens! The great thing has happened. The old government that oppressed Russia has dissolved itself. The Committee of the Duma and



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REVOLUTIONISTS BURNING POLICE RECORDS AND ROYAL ARMS

Imperial eagles, royal arms and all police records went up in smoke. Hundreds of bonfires lit up towns and villages for three days.



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REVOLUTIONISTS BURNING POLICE RECORDS AND ROYAL ARMS

Imperial eagles, royal arms and all police records went up in smoke. Hundreds of bonfires lit up towns and villages for three days.

the Council of Labor Deputies are restoring order and law in the country. The first task at the present moment is the supplying of the army and the people with food. Citizens! Help your country with bread and work.

The Fourth Day

The 15th of March, the fourth day of the revolution, still found Russia without a permanent government. The two committees were successfully running the affairs of the city and the country. But the czar was still ruler nominally. No new cabinet had been formed. And yet the population was behaving itself wonderfully. The daily bulletins kept all Petrograd informed of the latest developments. They were distributed free. In the morning the officers issued a joint appeal to the soldiers, calling for continued alertness on the part of the revolutionary army.

"The hour of popular freedom has struck!" read the appeal. "The army, navy and people together have raised the holy banner of liberty. Only a free Russia can destroy the German menace. Remember that the safety and victory of Russia lie in our mutual confidence and union. The old autocratic system, which for two years was unable to lead Russia to victory, let it perish forever. Together with you we curse the old regime. Long live free, great Russia!"

Rise of the New Government

Professor Yurevitch was appointed chief of police—undoubtedly the first professor in Russia to hold such a post. Commissioners were also delegated to take over the ministries. Minister of Commerce Prince Shakovsky and ex-Minister of the Interior Maklakov, a notorious reactionary, were arrested. A special committee was immediately formed to elaborate a plan for a general political amnesty. The Labor group issued an appeal calling for obedience to all the regulations and orders of the temporary committee.

Ex-War Minister Brought Under Guard

General Sukhomlinov, the ex-war minister, who was responsible for the terrible Russian defeats in Poland and Lithuania in 1915, was brought under guard to the Duma. So excited were the soldiers over the news that it was with difficulty that they were restrained from doing violence to the prisoner.

The same day the Kronstadt garrison went over to the revolutionary forces Admiral Viren, the commander, was killed. Two deputies of the Duma were dispatched there to take charge of the situation.

All morning negotiations between the temporary executive committee of the Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies took place in regard to the formation of a new government. The negotiations were closed at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The provisional government which now is in control of Russia, was the result of the joint council. This point should be borne in mind at the present moment, when the council of deputies is so much to the front.

The Duma Was Afraid

One thing is clear now. The Duma stood,

out of fear, for the retention of the Romanoffs. The council of labor and soldiers' deputies insisted upon the complete overthrow of the monarchy. All night and day of the 15th of March conferences were held between the two bodies. Finally it was decided to demand the abdication of Nicholas II, to proclaim temporarily as regent Grand Duke Michael and to leave the czar's son, Alexis, as heir apparent. The revolutionary masses greeted the latter decision with outspoken hostility. "Again the Romanoffs!" cried the populace, which had made up its mind during the revolution that czarism was abolished for good in Russia.

From all parts of the country messages were arriving hourly, telling of the nation's unanimous support of the new government. Grand Duke Nicholas wired from the Caucasian front, urging the czar to save Russia. The exiled leaders of the revolutionary movement abroad were urged to return immediately home. The Association of Newspaper Editors met and decided to resume as soon as possible the publication of their journals. New army divisions arriving in Petrograd were met by the revolution forces with music and cheers.

The arrested ministers provided enough diversion for the still nervous population. Protopopov kept asking his guards what would be done to him. Especially alarmed was old Sturmer. "Who will guarantee that they won't cut my head off?" he continuously queried.

While the emissaries of the Duma went to Pskov, where the czar was, to obtain his signature to the abdication decree, the revolutionary elements increased their pressure on the council of deputies in favor of the abolition of the monarchy. This pressure it was that made Russia a republic. The Duma favored a constitutional monarchy. But after the emperor abdicated it yielded to the insistent demands of the workmen and soldiers and caused the Grand Duke Michael to abdicate his rights also.

The masses began the revolution and the masses freed Russia of the Romanoffs and made her a republic.

The liberal Duma was too timid to make full use of the opportunities of the movement, and it was the courageous Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies that transformed Russia from the most absolutist autocracy in the world into the most radically governed great nation.

March 15th was the most constructive day of the revolution. With the provisional government's authority established, the capital rapidly assumed its normal appearance. The Petrograd correspondents and agents of foreign newspapers wired abroad on the afternoon of that day all the news of the revolution for the first time. In the United States the first message telling of the great upheaval arrived at 2 o'clock. In France the news was not released till the next day. In Berlin it was known earlier than in any other country.

March 16th Petrograd was full of all kinds of wild rumors. There were reports of a revolution in Berlin and the murder of Wil-



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BURYING MARTYRS OF THE REVOLUTION

There were many graves containing 45 coffins each which were decorated with red roses and red flags.

helm. But the committee's bulletin of the day called the population's attention to the danger of German agents. The first act of Minister of Justice Kerensky was an order for the release of imprisoned members of the Duma. The most popular of all ministers, Kerensky, soon became a national hero. His passionate eloquence and revolutionary ardor won him the love and devotion of the masses.

The various revolutionary parties began to collect their forces openly for the first time in their existence. The Social-Revolutionists, whose underground activities have inscribed some of the most dramatic pages in Russian history, held their first legal session. The

Cadets met also. Both parties issued appeals calling for union and co-operation. The head of the council of deputies, Tchkhaidze, addressed the soldiers amidst one of the most picturesque scenes of the revolution. General Rennenkampf, whom Hindenburg ignominiously defeated; the black minister of education, Kultchitsky, and the governor general of Finland were arrested. The reactionary governor of Tver was killed. Ex-Premier Kokovtsov was also arrested.

Thus did the old regime die. Already, on March 16th, the banks were open for two hours. With the end of that day the revolution was definitely over. A new Russia had arisen on the ruins of czarism.

INTERNATIONALE

By Eugene Pottier

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
 Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN

'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place,
 The Internationale
 Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
 To rule us from a judgment hall;
 We workers ask not for their favors;
 Let us consult for all.
 To make the thief disgorge his booty
 To free the spirit from its cell,
 We must ourselves decide our duty,
 We must decide and do it well.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
 Wage systems drain our blood;
 The rich are free from obligations,
 The laws the poor delude.
 Too long we've languished in subjection,
 Equality has other laws;
 "No rights," says she, "without their duties,
 No claims on equals without cause."

Behold them seated in their glory,
 The kings of mine and rail and soil!
 What have you read in all their story,
 But how they plundered toil?
 Fruits of the workers' toil are buried
 In the strong coffers of a few;
 In working for their restitution
 The men will only ask their due.

Toilers from shops and fields united,
 The union we of all who work;
 The earth belongs to us, the workers,
 No room here for the shirk.
 How many on our flesh have fattened!
 But if the noisome birds of prey
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.

The Coming of Supernationalism

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

THE night of nationalistic capitalism is passing and it is time revolutionists were up and about their business.

I take it that all of us have been more or less confused and uncertain about the events of the last two and a half years. But now we are beginning to see daylight faintly showing on the distant horizon. The Russian revolution has cleared the atmosphere for us and the moving shadows that formerly were but parts of the welter of darkness now are slowly taking shape as parts of the next stage setting which the great scene shifter, Economic Progress, will soon reveal to us.

The world's masters are frightened. Therefore it begins to look as if their serfs were going to have a chance. In this connection it has been interesting in the last few weeks to watch the various stages of thought arrived at by the *New Republic*, the New York weekly. I mention this journal because it is the country's foremost organ of progressive and constructive capitalism. In its issue of May 5 it made this admission:

"Western civilization is approaching not the end of its potential resources, but the end of its resources as they are now organized."

In other words, the war-makers have bitten off more than they can chew. They are in the position of the shark that swallows a certain little sea monster which, once down, eats its captor's vitals out. The *New York Call* derives great comfort from the situation. It views the plight of the warring powers as the death of capitalism which, in its struggles, is digging its own grave. However, let us be not too previous in singing the funeral chant. Economic nationalism, indeed, is rattling in the throat, but let us consider the locust. That insect is not dead when it relapses into unconsciousness. It merely splits its skin and emerges into a new form. What new epoch, then, are we verging upon? There are varying opinions. Let us accept for what it is worth that of the *New Republic*. It asserts: "It is almost impossible to estimate the consequences of this great revolutionary situation. For one thing it means that a supernational government is being forced into existence—a

world authority over the necessities of life."

In short, there is being born what we have long looked forward to—a perfected international organization of capitalism. We should worry about that! It will then be in the position we have long wanted to get it. The internationalization of capitalism will make easier the internationalization of labor. In fact, the former will promote, will manufacture the latter. It is not true that the International is dead. There never was a real one. But we may have one now.

The international police force, long threatened, has already started its work. When, some months ago, English interests in India were alarmed by a native uprising, marines were landed from a Japanese warship and put down the outbreak at the point of the bayonet. We have abundant reason for believing the story that when in 1905 the Russian autocracy was menaced by the uprising of the peasants, the German government offered to send troops to Russia to smash it. We may yet see the day when American soldiers will be quelling a rebellion of Chinese and other imported coolies on French soil, and if England is hard enough pressed when the next Irish revolt breaks out, she may call on American warships to bombard Dublin.

If any further proof is needed that old-style capitalism is in its death throes, one has only to survey the wild flounderings of the various capitalist governments today. Actually, they are calling on their once-despised Socialists to save them. In Russia Kerenski and Tscheidse are mainstays of the provisional government. In France, Albert Thomas is Minister of Munitions; Briand and Viviani, who got their training in the Socialist movement, and many other former bearers of the red banner, are trusted advisers. In England the usefulness to the government of labor leaders is well known. In Italy Bissolati is a pillar of the state. In Germany Scheidemann and other Socialist politicians are of incalculable aid to a hard-pressed autocracy. Melancholy is the sight of Walling, Stokes, Russell and others acting as volunteer advisers as to what is treason to our own capitalist government! What irony—that Socialists

should become bolsters of a decrepit and crumbling order.

Meanwhile, it is a time for lovers of freedom to look alive. Our Junkers are in the front seat and out for a joy ride. Stimulated by the sight of Britain's well-herded munition workers, they are now demanding the conscription, the militarization, of American labor.

The last vestiges of political freedom left to working men and women are being torn away. State legislatures are rapidly repealing all laws supposed to be for the benefit of labor for the period of the war and for six months after. But this, too, need be no cause for worry to those who look ahead. This facile repeal of laws so toilsomely won will yet teach those workers who believe they can improve their condition by political enactment that they can win and hold what they have won only by compactly formed, firmly rooted economic organization. This war is going to be one grand promoter of industrial unionism.

Nor will the warriors from labor's ranks be alarmed by any shifts in styles of capitalism. A system that can produce cases like Ludlow, Calumet, Bayonne, Paint Creek, Lawrence, Little Falls, Moyer and

Haywood, Ettor and Giovanitti, Ford and Suhr, Rangel and Cline, Joe Hill, Warren Billings, Tom Mooney, the Mesaba Range and the Everett Massacre can hardly change for the worse. Those who tell us that a capitalist reign of terror is about to begin forget there has been one on for a good many years. Conditions such as are reflected in every copy of papers like *Solidarity* and the *Industrial Worker* are frightful beyond words. The murderous hatred with which the employing classes strike back at every upward movement of their slaves betokens the desperate fear in their hearts.

It is a time of opportunity for the working class of America. The American Federation of Labor, following the example of the labor aristocracy in England, France and Germany, has cast its lot with the nationalistic exploiters, but there are some 88,000,000 other workers in the United States, among whom are many who will remember the victory of the coal miners of Wales and will make no compromise. The capitalists' need is the workers' opportunity. The autocracy of Russia has been made to abdicate on account of this war. Shall the plutocracy of America go unscathed?

MUTTON AND WAR

By Mark Twain

"Look at you in war—what mutton you are, and how ridiculous!"

"In war? How?"

"There has never been a just one, never an honorable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, 'It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it.' Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."—From "*The Mysterious Stranger*."



Women Workers of Porto Rico

By NINA LANE McBRIDE

WHEN the sugar coated hand of the United States Government shook Porto Rico loose from the iron grip of Spain, the annual production of the island was about forty-five million dollars. Since the American occupation, the production has increased to one hundred and fifteen million dollars, and great strides in the sanitary conditions of the island have been made, such as the improvement of the water and sewage systems of towns and cities, improved country roads, etc. Wealth, and modern industry are everywhere. This is the sum and substance of the report given out by the Governor of the island, to members of the United States Senate, when the Porto Ricans were seeking the passage of the Organic act, known as the Jones Bill, called by some of the knowing ones, the "Bill Jones." In fact, nearly everything on the island has changed for the better, except the condition of the working people, which has remained the same, with the exception that they have American prices of commodities to meet, and are beginning to organize themselves, to meet American conditions. Like the butterfly, crawling from its chrysalis, the

people of Porto Rico are creeping slowly along the path of progress against the high wind of economic conditions, equipped at the present time with antiquated ideas of organization, from which in time will, no doubt, develop a strong industrial organization, which will free them from their bondage.

The women of Porto Rico, feel the coursing of the new life thru the arteries of the times, more keenly than do the men, after the centuries of servitude to church, state and employers, and are rapidly taking advantage of opportunities afforded. In nearly every industry the workingwomen are organizing themselves into craft unions and while their forces are in a sense divided, those working in the same industry, do not feel that their contracts with their employers are particularly binding, and if one set of women strike, the others whether organized into a union or not, can be counted upon to go out with them.

It has happened that women in one factory have gone on strike, and have marched from the factory into town, pulling out women workers as they marched, taking them from their work at all oc-

M^cBRIDE.



cupations, even those in domestic service, until by the time they had reached the Plaza, they had swelled their ranks to two thousand strong. When these women strike, they strike; they are tenacious fighters, and soft words and promises do not often fool them. In many cases they have forced the employers to raise wages, just by threatening to strike. The women working in the Macaroni factories organized themselves without affiliating with any labor organization, and struck for a twenty-five cent a day raise from a wage of thirty-five cents for a ten hour day, and won. Working conditions for the women are so terrible, that when thru desperation a desire for freedom is born, their struggle for the attainment is magnificent. As yet, they can see only a better form of capitalism, they cannot visualize an industrial democracy.

Working conditions for the telephone operators, can hardly be imagined. The switch boards are placed in the home of the operator and she is supposed to be on the job night and day, to answer the call, and make connections. The ringing of the bell keeps the whole family awake at night, and on a nervous tension all day. It is estimated by the labor organizations of Porto Rico, that fully twenty-five per cent of the operators are tubercular, due to the close confinement demanded by their work. The operators of these home stations receive from fifteen to twenty dollars per month.

Stenographers receive from eight to ten dollars per week, and are the best paid women workers on the island. Teachers receive from thirty-five to sixty-five dollars per month for a school year—nine months. Distinction is made between native teachers and American teachers, doing the same class of work and teaching the same subjects. The American teachers receive ten dollars a month more than does the native teacher.

The woman who works in domestic service, knows drudgery in its worst form, and degradation unspeakable. She works from early morning until late at night, with no days for rest, and no holidays. Her meals are furnished by her master, and her wages average three dollars per month.

The average straw hat workers, doing piece work, working a day of ten hours, six days a week, receive from two dollars and seventy-five cents to three dollars per week. Those doing the very finest work, working the same number of hours, receive from three to four dollars a week. Dress makers, working from 8 a. m. until 10 p. m., average four and five dollars per week. The average store clerk receives three and a half to four dollars per week. Five dollars a week is the highest wage paid for a day of nine hours.

In the cane fields the women work in the hot sun, always moving about, spreading seed, cleaning up litter, etc. In fact, acting as helpers to the men who cut and





NINA LANE M'BRIDE

load. For this work they receive forty-five and fifty cents per day. In the pineapple canning factories, the women and children are paid by the hour, their wages being two and a half cents per hour. They work as long as they are able, that they may make a few extra cents.

Conditions in the cigar factories are very bad. There is only one factory on the island which is considered sanitary by the workers. The factories are overcrowded with workers, and in some of the factories to have sanitary conditions, over half of the workers should be dispensed with. An insular ordinance was passed to improve the sanitary conditions in the factories, and the owners were given ten years in which to make the changes. Needless to state, the ten years have not yet elapsed. The strippers, which are women, are paid twenty cents per bunch for their work. By working hard, they can make from fifty to sixty cents per day.

Coffee is picked during the rainy season, and the women work in the fields in the pouring rain, barefooted and drenched to the skin, with their little children work-

ing by their sides. The mud gets very deep in these fields, and the work is not only hard, but fraught with great danger to the lives of the pickers, as land slides are not infrequent. The fields are on the mountain sides, and the heavy rains loosen the soil, which slides, taking plantation and workers with it. These women are paid by the measure. One measure brings thirty-five cents, and with the help of baby hands can be filled in from nine to ten hours.

Reports tell us, that this has been a very prosperous year in Porto Rico. The sugar companies alone, are said to be making a profit of one hundred and fifty per cent. Prices of commodities are a little higher than in the United States. As one capitalist publication stated recently, "San Juan today is certainly a good American city; it is vastly more American than many parts of the continental United States, etc." I may add, that Porto Rico today, is certainly a good American Island. Fine sanitary conditions, great wealth, and lots of profits—for the other fellow.

Conscientious Objectors in England

TWENTY THOUSAND Englishmen have made their protest against compulsory military service in the last half year, by claiming exemption, based on conscientious objections. The majority of them accepted "alternative service," many were finally exempted for some other reason and about five thousand have been put in jail.

The majority of the conscientious objectors are workers and a great number of them are Socialists. The anti-conscription propaganda has been carried on with such vigor and conviction that the general opinion gradually has improved and the brutal outrages against the objectors has caused so much protest as to stop some of the most ferocious manifestations.

In the earlier period fifty objectors were forcibly transported to the war zone in France and after again refusing military orders were court-martialed and condemned to death. Strong protests in England, how-

ever, changed these sentences into ten years penal servitude. Others were beaten and knocked and tortured by military authorities in the so-called "special rooms" and were denied a trial. Gradually, however, there developed a more systematical treatment, combined, of course, with special offenses and ill treatment, different according to local authorities and local conditions. The system works out as follows:

The C. O. (conscientious objector) is turned over to the military authorities and, with few exceptions, is court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonment, generally for 112 days in a civil prison. During this period the Central Tribunal decides whether the objector is "genuine" and if so, he is offered "alternative service" of "national importance" under the so-called "Home Office" scheme.

If he refuses to accept this he is again sentenced to a longer term of prison, and so on. A general organization, the "No

Conscription Fellowship," and its official paper, the "*Tribunal*," printed in more than 100,000 copies, are of great help to carry on the propaganda and to expose excessive cruelties.

In the first period the treatment before court, as well as by the military authorities, was greatly different in different parts of the country.

One judge even refused to turn a C. O. over to the military authorities and there was a great divergency in accepting different arguments as "conscientious objections."

Comrade Gilbert Cannon, who claimed that he had been for many years a conscientious objector to the whole state of modern society and, therefore, was a conscientious objector against war, was ruled out of order as being a political and not a conscientious objection. Francis Johnson, general secretary of the Industrial Labor Party, was accepted on a statement that he objected as a Socialist, to whom Socialism is a religion, based upon a belief in international brotherhood. One of the judges called this "political," but the majority agreed that: "Tho the objections are rather based upon moral than upon religious grounds, they are acceptable as conscientious objections," which, however, did not keep our comrade out of jail, because he refused to do "alternative service."

Lately the proceedings have been systematized by decisions of the "Central Tribunal" as follows:

First. Absolute exemption is ruled out entirely, altho this is clearly against the spirit of the law.

Second. It is denied that men who are opposed to this particular war, or who are prepared to take human lives under certain circumstances, are C. O. at all.

Third. It is declared that to young people exemption should be refused, because their views cannot be regarded as "deliberate and settled." Membership of a Socialist organization is in itself considered no evidence of a conscientious objection to military service.

Against these rulings, altho not binding for the local judges, the no conscription Fellowship carries an intensive propaganda. It certainly requires some freshness of mind to order young people to kill and be killed and at the same time deny them judgment on account of being too young!

The chief argument presented by Socialists is their international conception of a general brotherhood. Clifford Allen, f. i., argued: "I am a Socialist and so hold in all sincerity that the life and personality of every man is sacred, and that there is something of divinity in every human being, irrespective of the nation to which he belongs. I cannot betray my belief in the brotherhood of all men. To me war is murder. . ."

Particularly striking and interesting also for this country is the following argument:

"I am a Negro, born in Jamaica. My parents were sent in bondage to Jamaica. They were torn from their home. My country is divided up among the European powers, who in turn have oppressed and tyrannized over my fellowmen. The Allies of Great Britain, i. e., Portugal and Belgium, have been among the worst oppressors, and now that Belgium is invaded I am about to be compelled to defend her. . . Even Germans or any aliens who are white men are preferred to us. I have been buffeted from one labor exchange to another. . . In view of these circumstances, and also the fact that I have a moral objection to all wars, I would sacrifice my rights rather than fight."

There is no doubt that the extensive arguing before the different courts and the courage of conviction shown by a great number of Socialists will bear results, if not at once, then in the near future.

The number of C. O.'s no doubt would have been even much larger if the Government had not, beforehand, exempted from service such industries as munition factories, railroad workers, longshoremen, miners.

It will be noticed that among the workers that are exempted without any further investigation, are those that have shown at least some fighting spirit in the class struggle during the first part of the war. It always pays the workers to keep up their class struggle, and if conscription did come at all, this is largely due to the fact that labor finally submitted to the combined efforts of their exploiters and their "leaders."

Anyhow, a strong group of men, mostly workers and Socialists, stood for their principles and accepted sufferings. Will their example and their courage inspire us to similar sacrifices, intensified in proportion, not only to our number, but also to our claims for liberty and freedom of conscience?

Our Action Against Conscription

By S. J. RUTGERS

THE St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party declared in favor of "unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription" and for the support of "all mass movements in opposition to conscription."

If we do not wish to stop at mere words, we must organize *action* in accordance with this resolution.

First of all, we must encourage and support all strikes during war, particularly in important industries, such as transportation and mining. This will not only help to keep the workers from starvation and enslavement, but it will at the same time be the most efficient weapon against the reaction of conscription. The capitalist government seeks to make each struggle on the economic field a political issue. In fact, we have had in New York a strike of truckmen, who asked that a new arrangement made by their masters, and to their disadvantage, should be repealed. This was merely an economic conflict and the bosses were the aggressors, but still the workers were told to drop the strike on account of its "interference" with war interests. If labor submits to that, it gives up its influence, its power of resistance, and is reduced to serfdom. If it does not, it comes into serious conflict with the organization of the Capitalist State and an intensified class struggle will be the result. Gompers, as a faithful servant of Capitalism and a traitor to his class, grasped the situation exactly when he declared his willingness to prevent any and all strikes during war, because he knows that any serious strike under the circumstances may develop into a political strike, into a general conflict between the two classes.

Our task lies not so much in an effort to start or to proclaim a general strike, as some of our opponents seem to believe; our task is to support any tendency towards strikes, which under present conditions and when waged uncompromisingly, may develop into more general movements.

The English miners, as well as the railroad workers and the metal workers, *did*

strike during the war against the orders of their capitalist government, and they gained results.

The government actually had to implore the workers to stop their fight, on the presumption that the future of the country was at stake. Labor "leaders" had to be rushed to the danger zones, and once more succeeded in fooling the workers into submission. But it shows the power of the workers and their opportunities.

The Russian revolution started with partial strikes, combined with street demonstrations, gradually growing into more general mass actions, and the American workers should take to heart the lessons of recent history.

The St. Louis resolution demands support of mass actions against conscription. But this cannot mean that we have to wait until some mysterious general action against conscription falls from heaven. A general action has to develop out of smaller local actions, as soon as conditions become favorable. Our first duty is to organize meetings and demonstrations against conscription in all districts all over the country. Get a meeting together, even if it is a small one, try to arrange for a demonstration in combination with that meeting, and you will do more towards the support of mass action than in declaring your willingness to support "mass action" if "others" (who the devil are those others if not we!) will be kind enough to start something. Our opposition to conscription voiced at these meetings, small or large, should be uncompromising, should be a part of our fight against militarism, and against Imperialism.

It is true that the police have already prevented some of the Socialist meetings, but this should not discourage you. Other districts have held meetings since; we should try every district, every hall, every street corner; we can change our subject, if only not our spirit, and if we are driven by force out of every corner, we will have accomplished at least something. This would help greatly to show the workers the kind of "democracy" and "freedom" they are supposed to go to war for, and they will ask

why this is a fight against "foreign" autocracy.

And even when driven from the last hall, even when denied the right to hold street corner meetings, we need not give up the fight. We can print and distribute leaflets, and we can come together in streets and squares for propaganda and protest until dispersed by the police. If the hundred thousand Socialists, together with their six hundred thousand "voters" and that part of organized labor that did not surrender to its exploiters, organize this form of protest all over the country in a changing and growing number of groups to "discuss" current events, it will mean some problem for the ruling class.

No doubt, one of the topics at such informal gatherings would be the refusal to be conscripted. We may be assured that many will refuse, as was done in England, where several thousand conscientious objectors are still in jail. But it would be more effective if those prepared to refuse would get in touch with each other, could organize in a certain way to carry their action and their sacrifices in one and the same direction.

This concerted action should start with the taking of the military census, with the registration for the prospective conscription. Among the questions as issued by Governor Whitman of New York, there are two which enable us at least to make some form of protest; and no doubt other registration

forms will contain similar questions. Question 50 asks: "Do you claim exemption from military service?" Everybody should answer "Yes." The Socialist Propaganda League of Brooklyn adopted a motion, subsequently adopted at the Borough meeting of Local Kings County of the Socialist Party to answer question 51, asking *why* you claim exemption, with: "Because I am a conscientious objector." No matter what other reasons you may have for exemption, first of all state that you are a "conscientious objector." This may give us an opportunity to get a public hearing on our objections as in England, and to make propaganda and muster our forces. And because the census most likely will include all the inhabitants of the United States up to 45 years of age, the grown up people will have an opportunity to join their protest with that of the younger generation. There is no use stating on the registration form what these conscientious objections are, because this will not be given publicity and may cause your exemption to be rejected without any further hearing.

We may expect different kinds of conscientious objectors; religious humanitarian, non-resistance advocates and class-conscious workers. Each group will have its own arguments, but there can be no objection to co-operating in the effort to get a public hearing and an efficient action.—*The International*.

OUT FROM SIBERIA

By Alice Corbin

I hear the tramp of thousands of men
Coming from prisons and haunts of
gloom,

Out from Siberia's living tomb—
Russia greeting her own again.

Oh, this is the happiest army of men
Who fought for freedom with passionate
zeal,

A fight more brave than of steel on steel—
Russia welcomes her own again.

I hear the marching of millions more
In every country and every state,
Building, before it be too late,
Free republics from shore to shore!



ZULUS ENJOYING A MULLIGAN

NOTES ON NATAL

By S. G. RICH

WHEN the union of South Africa was formed in 1910, the success of the scheme was said to have hung on the participation of the little colony of Natal. Had Natal refused to enter the union, the other three colonies would probably have remained separate. Yet it is to this day problematical whether even Big Business of Natal has been a gainer by Union.

Situated on the eastern coast of South Africa, Natal is a series of grassy tablelands and deep valleys, rising within a hundred and fifty miles from the sea to the ten-thousand-foot mountains of the Drakensberg. With an area about equal to that of New Hampshire and Vermont, Natal has a population of nearly a million. Of these, a scant hundred thousand are whites or "Europeans." Another hundred thousand are Indians. The rest are Zulus, known locally as "natives" and also, to their own dislike, as "kaffirs."

To a Socialist, Natal is an interesting study in many ways. It is, first of all, a land of four industries. The coast, semi-tropical in climate, is a sugar-cane center. The midlands are largely given over to raising Australian wattle trees, whose bark or extract is exported to Europe for use in tanning. The third industry is

that of the port. Durban, or "Port Natal," has the only really decent harbor within the limits of British South Africa. The port, and with it the railway to the Transvaal, is an important industry of the province. The last great Natal industry is coal mining. The only important coal fields of South Africa are those of the Biggarsberg and of Hlabane, in northern Natal.

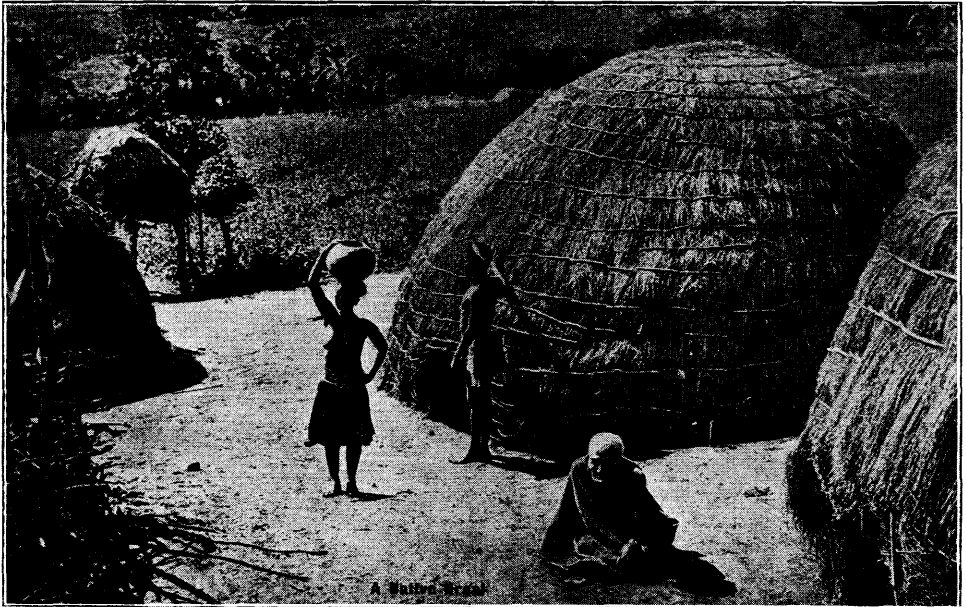
Natal capitalism is, of course, of British origin. Hardly had the settlement of the province begun, seventy years ago, than capitalistic exploitation began. So far has it progressed that industrial Natal may well rank as one of the best exploited regions of the world.

The Zulus, who held Natal previous to the coming of the British, lived in a system of tribal communion. Under their kings, Tshaka, Dingana, and Ketshwayo (commonly misspelt Cetywayo or Cettiwayo), they were the dominant native military power in South Africa. They ruled Natal, parts of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, as well as a slice of Portuguese East Africa. They were a prosperous people half a century ago. Their herds of cattle were large and well fed. They lived a contented communistic life, secure in free access to the land.



Zulus Eating

ZULUS ENJOYING A MULLIGAN



HOMES OF THE NATIVES

Amabele (kaffir corn) and mealies (corn) were raised for food.

The steady encroachment of Europeans upon their lands at first produced little effect. True, the free natives became renters, but the economic yoke was as yet light. Large areas, called "locations," were permanently reserved for native occupation. Here the old tribal life went on, comparatively undisturbed.

An interesting experiment of this period was the native dorp (village) at Edendale, in the midlands. Led by a Wesleyan missionary, a civilized community of Christian natives was here formed. For a long time it prospered. One of its great sources of wealth was "transport riding"—carrying goods from Durban to the Transvaal by ox-wagon. The events I am about to describe ended this:

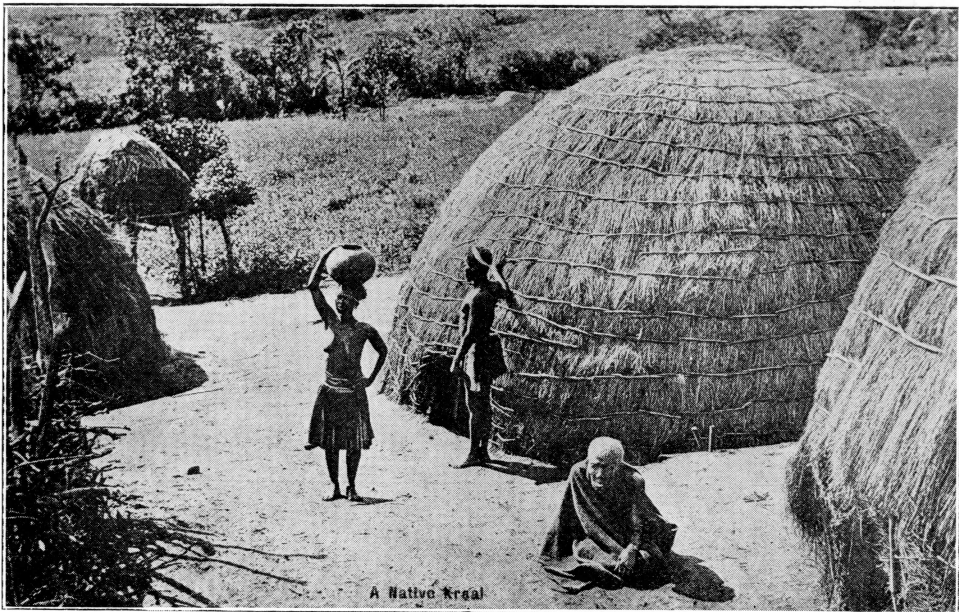
Eighteen eighty-seven is the date which marks the making of modern, capitalistic South Africa. In that year gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, a desolate rocky range of hills in the Transvaal. Quickly a huge new town, Johannesburg, grew upon the "Rand," as this gold field was commonly called. Within almost a few months, gold-mining on the Rand passed into the Big Capitalist stage. This

might have been expected, for the gold was in a nearly vertical vein of hard rock. A Rand mine needed expensive crushing-machinery.

By 1897 the government railway from Durban to the Rand was completed. Transport-riding, a source of wealth to both native and white in Natal, ended. At the same time, the steady growth of the native population began to crowd the locations. The Rand, from the start, was a magnet for natives—most of whom succumbed to miner's phthisis.

In this same period of rapid growth came the sugar-cane industry. This, taking still more land, crowded the natives still worse. Wattle-growing in the midlands likewise crowded the natives out of many areas.

With the huge profits of the Rand gold magnates for comparison, Natal capitalists became impatient. The easy-going native, who went back to his kraal when he had a few pounds on which to live, was not sufficiently exploitable. So to India they sent. Landless coolies were imported under indenture. These were nearly perfect scabs: starvation wages, even at the low standard set by cheap living among natives, were big to the coolie from India. He had no kraal to



A Native Kreal

HOMES OF THE NATIVES



RICKSHA BOYS

which to go. He had to work all the time.

Then came the Rindeopest and Red-Water. Like snow, in April, the natives' cattle melted away before these two diseases. The natives were impoverished. No longer could they be independent of capitalism.

Of recent years, the natives have had more and more to flock to the towns. There, under the supposed democracy of British rule, they are subject to many restrictions. A Russian passport system has been forced onto them; curfew laws, etc., limit their freedom.

But Africa capitalism is not yet satisfied. The Union parliament in 1913, and again this year, has passed Native Land Acts, which, in the words of a Johannesburg comrade, are "manufacturing the proletariat." Under pretense of segregation, of protecting natives from white vice, these acts take away from the natives *all* the good land. Fine, grassy veld is given to Europeans; the reserved locations are rocky and sterile.

One degrading and destructive occupation of natives is that of rickshaw-runners in Durban and Maritzburg. Exploited intensely, the runner who does not fall victim to heart-disease within five years is an exception.

Thus far the labor movement in Natal

and all of South Africa has neglected the natives. It has been a mere conservative craft union movement among whites. Yet the Kaffirs are 93 per cent of the working-class of the country. The international Socialist League, a new body of revolutionary Socialists and industrial unionists, has at last started to reach the natives.

With the memory of free access to land, with keen appreciation of their present exploitation, the natives should be easy to reach. Solidarity they know and practice: it is the rule of their communistic tribal life. They are entirely disfranchised: hence it is useless to talk political action to them.

One tactic they know well. I refer to passive resistance. At the normal school at Adams, M. S., where I teach natives who are preparing to become teachers, the students worked it effectively a year ago, when a holiday was unexpectedly denied them.

The natives are ready for the message of Socialism whenever we can give it to them. Our great difficulty is that of language. Few of us can speak Zulu, Sesuto, Shangan, or other native languages well enough to propagandize in it. There is no Socialist literature in these tongues: the first pamphlet, "Wage-Labor



South African Bheksha Boys

RICKSHA BOYS

and Capital," is only now in process of translation into Zulu.

The Zulus are a fine people. Physically, they are sturdy and well-proportioned, though not very tall. Men and women alike are commonly handsome, especially according to native or negro standards. Few are entirely black: they are a brown people. Mentally, they show very decided power. While slow, they are excellent reasoners. We whites see them at a disadvantage, for English is a foreign tongue to them and Zulu to us. I must not forget to remark how very intelligent even the facial expression of the Zulus is.

Education among the natives is almost wholly in missionary hands and hence under church control. The government aids financially, but rather grudgingly. An immense amount of petrified, stupefying practice, apparently derived from British schools of the "Dotheboys Hall" period, has crept into native education in Natal. We at Adams have to fight it tooth and nail.

But the natives desire education. On every side one hears of their sacrifices to get it.

The Indians, as a bunch, impress one as dirty. This is doubtless the result of their intense exploitation. In contrast to the neat grass huts of the native kraals, they build squalid-looking shanties of corrugated iron.

The white people of Natal are British, and intensely patriotic. They do not regard themselves as South Africans, but as an outpost of England. As a group, they are excessively conservative.

Natal has only two cities: Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Durban, on the coast, is a warm place. It is a very clean town, thoroly mercantile and thoroly British. Palms and fig-trees adorn its streets. It is about as big as Bridgeport, Conn. Pietermaritzburg, half its size, is the provincial capital. It is called Maritzburg

locally. It is a pleasant, quiet city, built of red brick. It lies seventy miles inland, two thousand feet high, in a fertile valley among the hills. Ladysmith, of Boer war fame, is a village of 3,000 people, mostly Indians, near the Drakensberg. Colenso, also of war fame, is a bunch of tin shanties on the bare grassy veld.

As thruout South Africa, the railways of Natal are government-owned. But the government exploits quite as much as private owners. Trains are slow, since grades are heavy. The gauge, standard for Africa, is 3 ft. 6 in. The carriages, etc., are English in pattern and often in make.

Passing up the "Main Line" railway from Durban, we first pass cane-fields and semi-tropical bush, very handsome, in patches. We soon come out on the high, bare, grassy table-lands, 2,500 feet high. Magnificent wide views and gorges are seen. The plantations of wattle break up the grassy veld. So we go on, past Maritzburg in its valley, up onto another plateau, thru fine farms, and upwards to Ladysmith. Except at the coast or where they are planted, there are few trees. It is a land of grassy, open veld, with rocky hillocks called kopjes, as we near the Drakensberg. Near Colenso Boer war soldiers' graves are plentiful. The line to Johannesburg goes on thru the coal districts and fine mountains. A branch line southwards from Maritzburg traverse an Arizona-like district.

Like all of South Africa, Natal is a land of imports. Corrugated iron from England, known as "zinc" or "tin" is the universal roofing and building material. I write this with British ink in a New York pen, on Canadian paper under light from American kerosene in a British lamp. I am wearing an Italian hat, Scotch shoes, a wash suit of American cotton woven in England, a French necktie, German collar-buttons, and am writing on a table made of Australian lumber.



NATAL, LANE & BRIDGE



NINA LANE M BRIDE

INDUSTRIAL ACTION NEWS

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

A234CH BQ COLLECT NPR

SEATTLE WASH MAY 14 1917

I. S. REVIEW

341 E. OHIO STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

ALL PRISONERS RELEASED. ALL CHARGES QUASHED. HAD PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN FRONT OF COUNTY JAIL. DECORATED GRAVES OF MURDERED FELLOW WORKERS LOONEY, BARAN AND GERLOT. TOTAL EXPENSES EVERETT DEFENSE THIRTY SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. REPORTS WILL BE FINISHED AND PRINTED JUNE 1ST. ALL UNIONS SEND FUNDS COLLECTED IMMEDIATELY TO CLEAN UP BILLS.

ALL STREET AND GRADING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ON STRIKE. SEATTLE AND VICINITY COMPLETELY TIED UP. WE DEMAND 50 CENTS INCREASE AND EIGHT HOURS. BOSSES HAVE GRANTED A 25 CENT INCREASE, EIGHT HOURS AND ALL MEN TO BE HIRED FROM I. W. W. UNION HALLS.

ORGANIZATION BOOMING. TWELVE SECRETARIES, ORGANIZERS AND SPEAKERS MOVING AT TOP SPEED.

J. A. McDONALD.

On the 5th of November, 1916, five working men, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, were shot to death on the docks at Everett, Wash., by hirelings of either the mill owners of the State of Washington, or the Commercial Club of Everett, Wash. Forty-six other workers were wounded.

For this crime, seventy-three workers were jailed for six months under various charges and on the 5th day of May, this year, Thomas H. Tracy was acquitted of a murder charge after a trial lasting two months. Now comes the good news of "all prisoners released." Another clean cut victory for the fighting I. W. W.!

Class Lines Clearly Drawn

Never in the history of the American labor movement have the class lines been so clearly drawn and the supposed defendant in the case so completely pushed to one side as in the case of the State of Washington vs. Thomas H. Tracy. For days at a time Tracy would sit listening to the evidence and arguments as if he were only one of the spectators, and in no way whatever connected with the case. On the other hand, every principle and idea of the Industrial Workers of the World, the actions of the Commercial Club of Everett, the industrial disturbances of Everett and several other towns in Washington, and anything that would tend to throw light upon the industrial situation or the propaganda of the I. W. W. was brought out and explained in fullest detail.

The charging of Thomas H. Tracy with

the murder was merely perfunctory. It was the only way in which the state, which represented the Commercial Club of Everett, hoped to be able to break down and completely wipe out the Industrial Workers of the World in the camps and mills of the state of Washington. It was but an extension of the open shop campaign that has been waged on the Pacific coast by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association for the past eight years, and it is the first really big case in all that time in which that association has been defeated.

Attorney Cooley for the prosecution said:

"The question in this case is as to whether any organization, whether it be a labor organization or any other, has the right to use unlawful methods; whether it has the right, because it may have the power, to use unlawful methods."

Attorney Fred Moore's closing speech will rank alongside of Darrow's defense in the Haywood case. In making this closing plea he said, in part:

"Your responsibility is that of measuring out absolute and complete justice between warring elements in modern life, not for one moment allowing yourselves to be swerved by the fact that one class of witnesses are witnesses of social positions, of property qualifications, while, on the other hand, the witnesses called by the defense were witnesses from the four parts of the earth whose only claim to your attention is that they have built the railroads, that they have laid the ties, that they have dug the tunnels, that they have harvested the crops.

"* * * We were further handicapped in view of the fact that we did not have behind us the resources of the state of Washington and the county of Snohomish. Neither did we have behind us the resources of various business interests; neither did we have behind us all the resources of allied business on the Pacific coast, as represented by Mr. Veitch for the prosecution.

History of Conspiracy

"What have they? They have the old reliable, the old faithful, in the trial of cases of this character, namely, conspiracy, hallowed by age. Way back in the sixteenth century the tug women on the banks of the Thames were indicted for conspiracy in attempting to raise wages. The chandlers of London were likewise later indicted. The stone masons in New York, the carpenters in Boston! From time immemorial the charge of conspiracy has been leveled against Labor. Indeed, it was only in the reign of Victoria that labor unions became other than simply conspiracies.

"I can almost hear ringing in my ears the impassioned plea of Mr. Cooley in closing this case. He is going to read this: 'The question of right and wrong does not concern us.' My God, did it ever concern the sheriff of Snohomish county. Does it seem to concern others who are attempting this prosecution?"

* * * * *

"I might urge upon you that the state at that time wanted to absolutely suppress all speech because they had constituted the chief of police, they had constituted the sheriff, they had constituted the arresting officer, as the executive, the legislative and the judicial department of our government.

"We are not afraid of the evidence. We are afraid of the deep grained interest that goes down into men's consciences and that reaches back a thousand years.

"They fight because they must. They fight because to do anything else is suicide. You could not have stopped the American revolution with all the powers of the British government. Since this jury was impaneled you have had the collapse of one of the greatest powers of modern times. It has passed from the stage of an absolute monarchy to a republic.

"The trial of this cause is the presentation of a great social issue, the greatest of modern times, namely, What are we going to do with the migratory and occasional workers? These are the boys who have told their story on the stand.

* * * * *

"If yours is a verdict of 'not guilty,' Tom Tracy must take up again the job of finding a job, this endless tragedy of marching from job to job, without home, wife or kindred. His offense consists of being a migratory worker. I beg of you to render a verdict that has due regard and consideration for the tragedy of our twentieth century civilization that does not as yet measure out economic justice.

"Your verdict means much. The wires tonight or tomorrow will carry the word all over this land, into Australia and New Zealand. We are not in this courtroom as the representatives of one person, two persons or three persons. Our clients run into thousands. These are behind us and put us here as their mouthpiece, the mouthpiece of the workers of America, organized and unorganized. They are here behind our voices."

* * * * *

Importance of Free Speech

"If there is any one principle that is ground into Anglo Saxon thought it is the principle of liberty of the press and freedom of speech. Those two things stand as the bulwark of our liberty. They are the thing for which the Anglo-Saxon has fought from time immemorial, liberty of the press and freedom of speech.

Attorney Moore closed with an appeal for a clear-cut verdict of first degree murder or acquittal.

Tracy's acquittal is entirely due to the solidarity displayed by the militant workers of the country.

A complete history of this, the longest and most important labor trial in the history of the Pacific Coast, is now being written up under the direction of the general office of the Industrial Workers of the World and will be off from the press about July 1st. It will be substantially bound in cloth with over twenty illustrations. Every Revolutionary Socialist and intelligent union man will want a copy for his book shelf.

Meanwhile the Review will not talk about "justice" on the Pacific Coast until Sheriff McRae and the guilty members of the Everett Commercial Club have been arrested, brought to trial and convicted of shooting to death five members of the Industrial Workers of the World on the Everett docks on Sunday afternoon, November 5, 1916.

THE SPRING DRIVE OF THE LUMBER JACKS

By C. E. PAYNE

A NEW method of organization is being tried out in North America, an invention which, like many another, is so simple and yet so efficient that the wonder is not that it has been discovered, but that it has not been tried before. This new machine is the Lumber Workers Organization No. 500 of the I. W. W.

Formerly when the timber workers in one locality became numerous enough to form a Local Union they took out a charter for that locality, and the certain result was that when the members would leave or be driven out, the Charter would lapse, and people would say that "the lumber jacks won't stick together."

The lumber workers who are now organizing in the L. W. O. were at first accepted under the jurisdiction of the Agricultural Workers Organization, but they became so numerous and their activities were in some respects so different from that of the A. W. O. that a convention was called to meet in Spokane on March 4th. It continued for three days, and resulted in an application to the I. W. W. The charter was issued on March 12th of this year, and the members engaged in the lumbering industry who had been members of the A. W. O. began transferring to the L. W. O. No. 500, and new members have been joining at a very encouraging rate. The number in good standing at present is close to 6,000.

The new form of organization is that of an Industrial Union with branches, and it has jurisdiction in the lumbering industry throughout the entire country. The headquarters is located at 424 Lindelle Block, Spokane, and the Secretary, Don Sheridan, and three assistants have all the work they can handle, and more coming in all the time.

There are district branches at Spokane, Duluth and Seattle. Duluth district has three branches, Seattle has seven branches, and Spokane has some seven branches, while each district and branch

has a number of stationary and camp delegates working with credentials. Organization is being carried forward in Louisiana to establish a Southern District, and work is being started in California. Wherever there are a number of districts near each other they function as a district. On the other hand, where logging and milling operations are discontinued in some section of country, there is no lapsed charter because of the members moving away, but some Stationary Delegate who has a suitcase full of literature, stamps and cards simply moves to the new location, and the business of organization goes on.

The new arrangement means that there is but one Lumber Workers' Charter for all North America, and every member belongs to the Industrial Union, which has headquarters at Spokane. But this does not mean any hard and fast rule of action. Each district is left free to tackle the boss whenever they feel so inclined, and to use such tactics as they find suitable, while the head office gives that particular district the support of the whole organization. It also provides a way for the head office to send delegates and organizers into unorganized territory without waiting for a charter to be issued for that locality, and in case of all the members in any one locality being blacklisted they do not lose charter or membership, for there is but one charter for lumber workers, and camp delegates who collect dues and initiate members are becoming very numerous. As the result of organization, the members of the L. W. O. are coming to have a good understanding with each other, and they are quietly and coolly figuring just when and where to make their demands.

In Washington, Idaho and Montana, where logs are floated, or "drove," to the mills, there are generally as many logs cut each winter as can well be taken down the streams during the high water of each summer, and but a few days delay

in the drive will mean that large numbers of logs will be left on the banks of the streams till next year, and the worms and rot can do a lot of damage. It is a question with the bosses whether rot in the logs will cost more than the wages demanded. In some places the bosses have decided that it is better to agree to the demand than have no logs this year, and the L. W. O. is making preparations for presenting demands at the right time at other places. The results gained so far by the L. W. O. through organized effort, and the work of education that is being carried on, indicate that the growth in membership will be very rapid. The river drivers on the St. Maries River in Idaho have raised their wages from \$3.50 for twelve hours to \$5.00 for eight hours.

At the Convention held in Spokane, the pledge was given that if any of the Everett prisoners were convicted, the L. W. O. would bring economic pressure to bear to change the verdict. The convention also adopted a demand for \$60 per month and board for all teamsters in the woods, and eight hours work; \$5 and board for eight hours work for river drivers, and that all men be paid twice a month in cash or bank checks without any discount.

The Lumber Workers Organization is working along lines that were to some extent mapped out by the Agricultural Workers Organization during the past two years in the harvest fields of the Central states. But in some instances the work is being carried along on entirely new lines for which there is no precedent, and each problem is handled as it arises. The Organization and its methods are so new that the bosses have been unable to find any way to successfully combat it.

And the very success that it is making is why the L. W. O. No. 500 is attractive to the lumber jacks.

As this is being written the river drivers are in some places enjoying the benefits of the better conditions they have secured; in some places they are still on strike, and in other places they are waiting till the drives are started before making their demands. There is no disposition to help the bosses break the strikes by going out when there is no demand for labor power. The disposition now is to wait till the bosses are just starting their log drives, and then making a good drive for wages. And the boss knows that the water running to the sea now will never come back to float logs to the mill. It must be taken at the flood to lead on to fortune, and the boss cannot grasp that fortune except he concedes to the lumber jacks a larger portion of the wealth they create.

But more than the demands made for higher wages and better working conditions, the lumber jacks are consciously building their organization for the purpose of taking and operating all the lumber industry in the interest of the working class just as fast as the rest of the working class can be brought to see their economic position in society. The lumber workers know that they cannot go much beyond the most advanced position of other organized workers in industry, but they are determined to keep the L. W. O. in the front of the drive against the bosses, and have in less than three months since their convention been able to obtain some good results, and they know that better results can be obtained in the near future.

METAL MINERS BLAST

By G. H. PERRY

THE work of organizing the metal miners goes merrily on in spite of desperate resistance on the part of the corporation mine owners.

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800 was organized January 29, 1917, and in four months' time its membership has passed the 6,000 mark and is still going strong in spite of the fact that we

have been denied meeting places, men have been blacklisted and the newspapers have carried on a campaign of open-shop slander and abuse.

The Arizona Local No. 800 is the power in the mining industry. Although the Western Federation of Miners, or rather its ghost, has been a silent partner along with the work of the boys to crush

out a real organization among the miners.

The W. F. of M. has dwindled down to a few hundred members in this state. Where hundreds of the boys once prized their W. F. of M. cards, they are now turning them in for transfer in the I. W. W. The officials of the W. F. of M. fell flat in their attempt to foist upon the miners a contract system with a check off similar to that used by the United M. W. of America. The boys down here are on to that game and the mine owners knew that the W. F. of M. did not have the organization to deliver the goods.

Few people realize that Arizona is the biggest copper state in the Union. The deposits extend over the entire state. Some of the largest mining camps are Miami, Metcalf, Clinton and Morenci, where thousands of miners are employed in low grade mines.

The mines are insufferably hot and are located in dry districts where the water has to be hauled into many camps. Food is high because it has to be shipped in.

The whites and Mexicans work eight and ten hours a day and wages are \$5.85 for miners and \$5.45 for muckers while general laborers get from \$2.50 up.

Copper is badly needed for munitions at the present time and the I. W. W. is

in the game for shorter hours and higher wages whenever the opportunity offers, regardless of international financial differences.

Machine guns have been planted on the hill sides around the mining camps and search lights play all night long. Rifle clubs have been organized and various measures have been taken to stand off "foreign invasions."

The miners realize that these military stunts are being staged regularly for their benefit. But they refuse to be intimidated and the work of organization goes steadily forward.

Conditions in other mining states are similar to those in Arizona. Local 800 is rapidly gaining ground in Montana, Idaho, Utah, Colorado and Nevada. One delegate in Butte sent in over 180 members. One day's receipts from Butte brought in 535 new members while nearly every mining camp in the west is represented by a delegate of Local 800. At this writing we have 125 delegates and paid organizers on the job and best of all we have aroused the enthusiasm of the diggers from the Mexican border to Alaska and it will not be long before the men who drift and cross-cut will be the dictators of mining conditions.

THE BATTLE FOR THE LAKES

By H. L. VARNEY

WAR for job control has been declared on the great lakes by Marine Transport Workers' Local No. 200, I. W. W.

For years the lake workers have been divided into autonomous unions and double-crossed by agreements which give the workers all the worst of it.

The seamen had their seamen's Union. Then there was the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders' Union and the longshoremen had their I. L. A. The shipbuilders were also divided into a dozen or more craft unions. But the day has come when the lake workers realize that the old A. F. of L. form of unionism must go in the discard. They are beginning to realize that division brings dividends to the boss but does not bring the bacon home to the workers who do the work. They are awake to

the fact that most of their unions are little better than bosses' unions. And that is one reason why the union membership had declined to almost zero. That is why One Big Union looks awfully good to the lake workers at the present writing.

The first strike handled by Local 200 occurred at Ashtabula, Ohio, and resulted in a good, strong branch among the shipbuilders.

On May 1st a bitter strike broke out in Erie, Pa., between the longshoremen and the bosses. The men were organized in the I. L. A., which is run by one T. V. O'Connor, whose record is well known among intelligent union men. As soon as O'Connor heard of the trouble, he wired into the bosses repudiating the strike in the name of the I. L. A. He assured the bosses that they

were free to fill the jobs with scabs and that he would give no support to the strike.

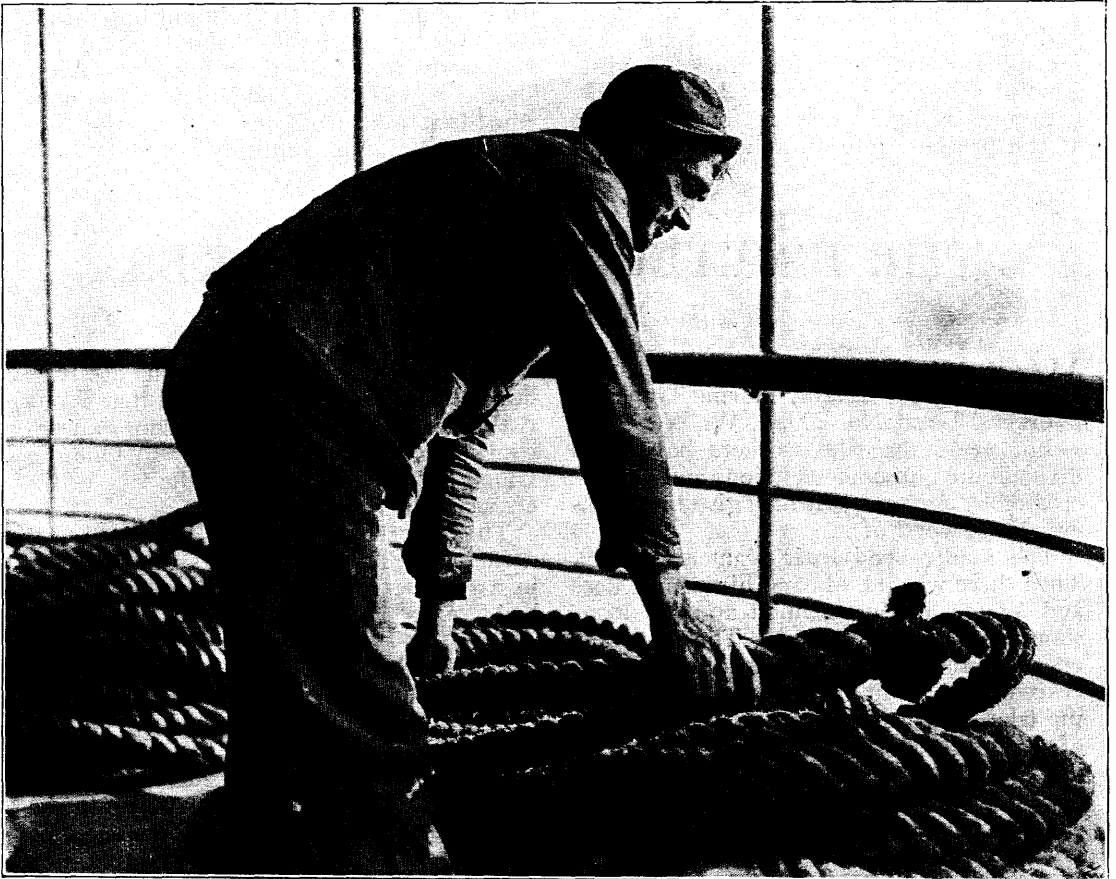
The Erie strikers appealed to the I. W. W. and applied for a charter. The strike is now on its third week and not a single man has shown a yellow streak or deserted in spite of the fact that gunmen, searchlights and threats of Federal deportation have been the bosses' weapons.

About the same time Local 751 of the I. L. A. went on strike at Buffalo, demanding higher wages and the annulment of the old agreement with the bosses. This agreement or contract is one of the rottenest documents ever used to bind or gag a bunch of union men. According to its terms, if the local goes on strike without permission of the Hon. Mr. O'Connors, their worthy International Secretary, the local forfeits a \$2,000 bond to the chief employer,—one W. J. (Fingy) Connors, who, by the way, is a notorious politician, and has taken advantage of the ignorance of these poor

Polish workers for years past. They have revolted and drafted a new agreement which leaves O'Connor out in the cold.

On May 6th they declared themselves independent of the I. L. A. and voted unanimously to follow the example of the Erie lake workers and affiliated with the I. W. W. A tidal wave is surely sweeping our way and with the help of the General Organization it will not be long before One Big Union will hold full sway on the lakes.

The headquarters of Local No. 200 is Cleveland, Ohio. George Hardy is Secretary-Treasurer and at present the General Organization has the following organizers on the job: Joe Schmidt, Wm. Kornick, Emanuel Rey, C. L. Lambert and your humble servant. Arrangements have also been made for a colored organizer. We hope to be able to send the REVIEW readers next month news of the successful winding up of the strikes at Erie and Buffalo.





The Genealogy of Animals

By J. HOWARD MOORE



LIFE originated in the sea, and for an immense period of time after it commenced it was confined to the place of its origin. The civilizations of the earth were for many millions of years exclusively aquatic. It has, indeed, been estimated that the time required by the life process in getting out of the water—that is, that the time consumed in elaborating the first species of land animals—was much longer than the time which has elapsed since then. I presume that during a large part of this early period it would have seemed to one living at that time extremely doubtful whether there would ever be on the earth any other kinds of life than the aquatic.

And if those who today weave the fashionable fabrics of human philosophy, and who know nothing about anything outside the thin edge of the present, had been back there, they would no doubt have declared confidently, as they looked upon the naked continents and the uninhabited air and the sea teeming with its peculiar fauna, that life upon solids or in gases, life anywhere, in fact, except in the sea, where it had always existed, and to which alone it was adopted, was absolutely, and would be forever, impossible; and that feathered fishes and fishes with the power to run and skip, and especially "sharks" competent to walk on one end and jabber with the other, were unthinkable nonsense. Life originated in the sea for the same reason that the first of the series of so-called "civilizations" which have appeared in human history sprang from the alluvium of the Euphrates and the Nile, because the conditions for bringing life into existence were here the most

favorable. The atmosphere was incompetent to perform such a task as the inventing of protoplasm, and there was no land above the oceans.

The first forms of life were one-celled—simple, jellylike dots of almost homogeneous plasm—the protozoa. These primitive organisms were the common grandparents of all beings. From them evolved, thru infinite travail and suffering, all of the orders, families, species and varieties of animals that today live on the earth, and all those that have in the past lived and passed away. By the multiplication and specialization of cells, and the formation of cell aggregates, the sponges, celenterates, and flat worms were developed from the protozoa.

From the flat worms developed the annelid worms, animals perforated by a food canal and possessing a body cavity filled with blood surrounding this canal. The body cavity is the space between the walls of the body and the alimentary canal, the cavity which in the higher animals contains the heart, liver, lungs, kidneys, etc. The worms and all animals above them also have, as an inheritance from the flat worms, bodies with bilateral symmetry—that is, bodies with two halves similar.

This peculiarity was probably acquired by the flat worms, and so fastened upon all subsequently evolved species, as a result of pure carelessness. It probably arose out of the habit of using continually, or over and over again, the same parts of the body as fore and aft. It has been facetiously said that if it had not been for this habit, so inadvertently acquired by these humble beings so long, long



ago, we would not today be able to tell our right hand from our left. In the worm is found the beginning of that wonderful organ of co-ordination, the brain. The brain is a modification of the skin. It may weaken our regard for this imperial organ to know that it is, in its morphology, akin to nails and corns. But it will certainly add to our admiration for the infinite labors of evolution to remember that the magnificent thinking apparatus of modern philosophers was originally a small sensitive plate developed down in the sea a hundred million years ago on the dorsal wall of the mouths of primeval worms.

From the worms developed all of the highest four phyla of the animal kingdom—the echinoderms, the mollusks, the arthropods, and the chordate animals, the last of which were the progenitors of the illustrious vertebrates.

In the eccentric denizens of the southern world, we find the beginnings of a grand transformation—a transformation in both structure and function, a transformation made necessary by the transition from life in the water to life in the air, a transformation which reaches its maturity in the higher air-breathing vertebrates, where the simple air-sac of the fish becomes a pair of lobed and elaborately sacculated lungs, performing almost exclusively the function of respiration, and the gills change into parts of the ears and lower jaw.

The air-bladder of ordinary fishes, which is used chiefly as a hydrostatic organ to enable the fish to rise and fall in the water, is probably the degenerated lung of the lung fishes.

Amphibians

From the lung fishes or allied forms developed the amphibians, the well-known fish quadrupeds of our bogs and brooks. The amphibians are genuine connectives—living links between the life of the sea and the life of the land. In early life they are fishes, with gills and two chambered hearts. In later life they are air-breathing quadrupeds, with legs and lungs and three chambered hearts.

Here is evolution, plenty of it, and of the most tangible character. And it takes place right before the eyes. The transformation from the fish to the frog is, however, no more wonderful than the em-

bryonic transformations of other vertebrates. It is simply more apparent, because it can be seen. The lungs of amphibians and the lower reptiles are simple sacks opening by a very short passage into the mouth. Some amphibians, as the asolotl of Mexican lakes, ordinarily retain their gills through life, but may be induced to develop lungs and adapt themselves to terrestrial life by being kept out of water. Others, as the newts, which ordinarily develop lungs, may be compelled to retain their gills through life by being forced to remain interruptedly in the water.

The black salamander, inhabiting drougthy regions of the Alps, bring forth its young bearing lungs, and only a pair at a time. But if the young are prematurely removed from the body of the mother and placed in the water, they develop gills in the ordinary way. These are remarkable instances of elasticity in the presence of a varying environment.

In the amphibians the characteristic five-toed or five-fingered foot, which normally forms the extremities of the limbs of all vertebrates except fishes, is first met with. It was this pentadactyl peculiarity of the frog, inherited by men and women through the reptiles and mammals, that gave rise to the decimal system of numbers and other unhandy facts in human life. The decimal system arose out of the practice of early men performing their calculations on their fingers. This method of calculating is still used by primitive peoples all over the world. The sum of the digits of the two hands came in the course of arithmetical evolution, to be used as a unit, and from this simple beginning grew up the complicated system of tens founds among civilized peoples. It has all come about as a result of amphibian initiative.

Our very arithmetics have been predetermined by the anatomical peculiarities of the frog's foot. If these unthinking foreordainers of human affairs had had four or six toes on each foot instead of five, man would no doubt have inherited them as cheerfully as the number he did inherit, and the civilized world would in this case be today using in all its mathematical activities a system of eights or twelves instead of a system of tens. A system of eights or twelves would be

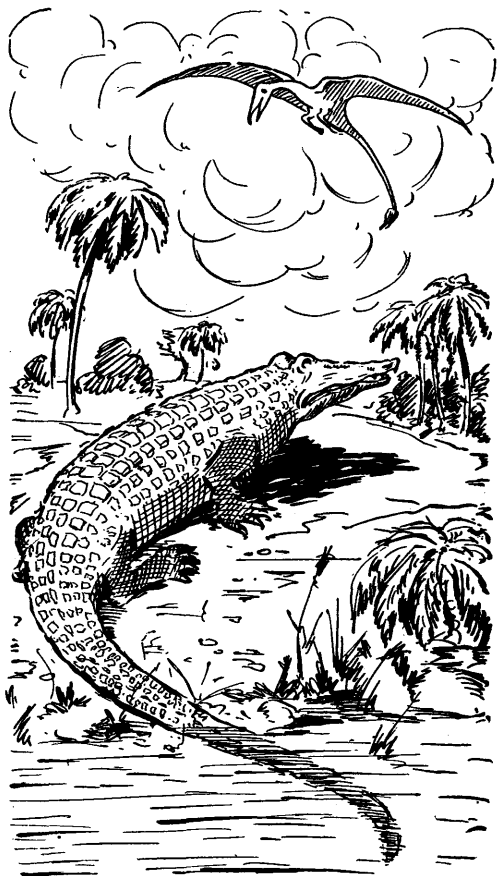
much superior in flexibility to the existing system; for eight is a cube, and its half and double are squares; and twelve can be divided by two, three, four and six, while ten is divisible by two and five only.

How helpless human beings are—in fact, how helpless all beings are! How hopelessly dependent we are on the past, and how impossible it is to be really original! What the future will be depends upon what the present is, for the future will grow out of, and inherit, the present. What the present is depends on what the past was, for the present has grown out of, and inherited, the past. And what the past was depends upon a remoter past from which it evolved, and so on. There is no end anywhere of dependence, either forward or backward. Every act, from an idea to a sun, is a *contingent link in an eternal chain*.

From the amphibians (probably from extinct forms, not from living) there arose the highest three classes of vertebrates—the true reptiles, the birds and the mammals—all of which have lungs and breathe air from the beginning to the end of their days. Gills, as organs of breathing, disappear forever, being changed, as has been said, into parts of the organs of mastication and hearing.

Mesozoic civilization was preeminently saurian. Reptiles were supreme everywhere—on sea and land and in the air. Their rulership of the world was not so bloody and masterful as man's, but quite as remorseless. Imagine an aristocracy made up of pterosaurs (flying reptiles) with teeth, and measuring twenty feet between wing-tips; great plesiosaurs (serpent reptiles), and ichthyosaurs (fish reptiles), enormous bandits of the seas; and dinosaurs and atlantosaurus, giant land lizards, thirty feet high and from fifty to one hundred feet in length. A government of demagogues is bad enough, as king-ridden mankind know, but dragons would be worse if possible. The atlantosaurus were the largest animals that have ever walked upon the earth.

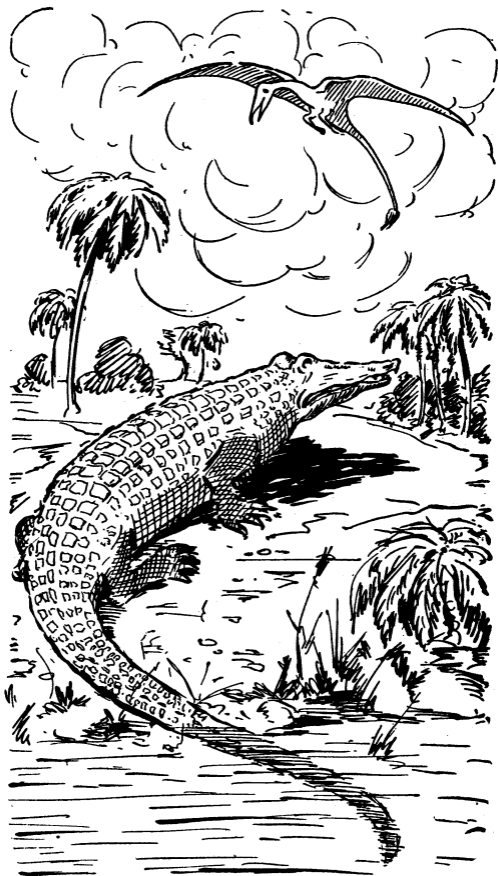
Toward the latter part of the reptilian age, and somewhere along about the time of the appearance of hardwood forests, came the birds, those beautiful and emotional beings who, in spite of human destructiveness, continue to fill our groves and gardens with the miracles of beauty



and song. The bird is a "glorified reptile." How the "slow, cold-blooded, scaly saurian ever became transformed into the quick, hot-blooded, feathered bird, the joy of creation," is a considerable mystery, yet we know no reason for believing that the transformation did not take place.

Altho in their external appearance and mode of life birds and reptiles differ so widely from each other, yet, in their internal structure and embryology, they are so much alike that one of the brightest anatomists that has ever lived (Huxley) united them both into a single class under the name Sauropsida.

Wings, it may be remarked in passing, have had at least four different and distinct beginnings in the animal kingdom, represented by the bats, the birds, the reptiles and the insects. This does not include the parachutes of the so-called flying squirrels, lemurs, lizards and fishes. . . . The first birds had teeth and veterated tails.



The Mammals

The most brilliant offspring of the reptiles were the mammals, animals capable of a wider distribution over the face of the earth than the cold-blooded reptiles, on account of their hair and their warm blood. Cold-blooded animals of great size are able to inhabit but a small zone of the existing earth's surface—the torrid belt. They cannot house themselves during the seasons of cold, as men can; nor escape to the tropics on the wings of the wind, as do the birds; nor bury themselves in subaqueous mud, as do the frogs, snakes and crustaceans. During the Mesozoic period, when cold-blooded reptiles of gigantic size flourished over a wide area of the earth's surface, the planet was far warmer than now. Animals, therefore, like the mammals (or birds), capable of maintaining a fixed temperature regardless of the thermal fluctuations of the surrounding media, are the only animals of large size and power capable of uninterrupted existence over the greater part of the surface of the existing earth. The preeminent life of the Cenozoic time was mammalian. But the decline and fall of the saurian power was not wholly due to the rise of the more dynamic mammals. It was in part due, no doubt, to adverse conditions of climate, and also to the fact that mammals and birds guard their eggs, and saurians do not.

From the marsupials developed the placental mammals, animals so called because their young are developed within the parental body in association with a peculiar nourishing organ called the placenta. From the herbivorous marsupials developed the almost toothless edentates, the rodents, or gnawing animals, the sirenians, the cetaceans, and the hoofed animals, or ungulates. The sirenians are fish-like animals with two flippers, and are often called sea-cows.

Among the most interesting derivatives of the herbivorous marsupials, because the most aberrant, are the whales. They are true mammals—have warm blood, breathe the air with lungs, and suckle their young like other mammals. But, like the sirenians, they live in the surface of the waters, and have flippers and a fish-like tail and form.

Out of generalized forms of hoofed ani-

mals, now extinct, developed the odd-toed and even-toed races of existing ungulates. The original ungulates had five hoofs on each foot, and were highly generalized in their structure. From these original five-toed forms have arisen the variously hoofed and variously structured tribes of existing ungulates; the five-toed elephant, the four-toed tapir and hippopotamus, the three-toed rhinoceros, the two-toed camel, sheep, swine, deer, antelope, giraffe, and ox, and the one-toed horse and zebra.

The carnivorous branch of the placental animals came from the carnivorous branch of the marsupials. From early forms of carnivorous placentals developed the ape-like lemurs and those generalized forms of rapacious animals from which arose the insect eaters, the bats, and the true carnivora.

The lemurs are of special interest to human beings, because in them are found the first startling approximation in looks and structure to the "human form divine." The lemurs are monkey-like creatures living in trees, but differ enough from true monkeys to be often placed in an order by themselves. Their milk glands are abdominal instead of pectoral, as in the monkeys, and the second digit of each hand and foot ends in a claw.

The earliest races of men were speechless—the ape-like "Alali"—beings, living wholly upon the ground and walking upon their hind limbs, but without more than the mere rudiments of language. The vertical position led to a much greater development of the posterior parts, especially of the muscles of the back and the calves of the leg. The great toe, which in the ape is opposable, lost its opposability, or all except traces of it, after the abandonment of arboreal life. It must have been a sight fit to stir the soul of the most leathern, these children of the night, with low brows, stooping gait, and ape-like faces, armed with rude clubs, clothed in natural hair, and wandering about in droves without law, fire, or understanding, hiding in thickets and in the holes of the earth, feeding on roots and fruits, and contending doubtfully with the species around them for food and existence.

The Way That Failed

By AUSTIN LEWIS

BEFORE the war the socialist political movement was in the heyday of its prosperity. Already the leaders could see portfolios dangling before their vision. It was no longer necessary, as it had been, to leave the ranks of the socialist movement in order to attain the object of personal political striving. The need of duplicating the performances of John Burns of Millerand and of Briand had passed. The movement itself offered a respectable career for a politician who had the ambition to become a statesman. The war proved it. The socialist leaders in some instances passed directly into the war cabinets as in Belgium and France. In other countries they were employed indirectly, their power was lent to the governments.

No sooner was war declared than, to the intense disappointment and disgust of the world, even of that portion of the bourgeois which had intellectual and ethical leanings towards a peace propaganda, the vast mass of socialist political opinion was directed into patriotic channels. For a while observers in neutral countries saw only the downward trend of the movement. It appeared to be interrupted by no considerations of decency or consistency. The whole structure seemed doomed. So far had this degenerating influence gone that the Independent Labor Party conference at Norwich, in April, 1915, defeated a resolution which ran in the following terms: "The Conference is of opinion that the Socialists of all countries should agree that henceforth the Socialist Parties should refuse support to every war entered into by capitalistic governments, whatever the ostensible object of the war, and even if such war is nominally of a defensive character."

Little by little, the process of clarification, however, has proceeded, until now there is a respectable and growing minority which is prepared, in all the countries, even in France, in spite of the fact of invasion, to lock horns with the government on the war question. But there is no doubt that the Socialist movement has been greatly discredited by the whole performance and that the dominant responsible political group will

eventually pay the penalty. They had not the moral strength to make the great refusal demanded of all who would really lead.

But the war did not cause the downfall. The seeds of decay were growing in the political party for years before the crisis came. The weakness of its constitution was only made evident thereby. In the Congress at Jena, in 1912, Rosa Luxemburg had said: "We now live in times when there are no longer any advantages to be gained for the proletariat upon the field of parliamentarism." That was in Germany, a country where the political party had already reached a vote of four millions, and was apparently stretching out its hand to grasp the scepter. Apparently, no more. The skilled observer could detect, even then, the channels by which the supposedly revolutionary party was in reality becoming absorbed in the great governmental stream. It had ceased to be revolutionary. On the contrary, it was a group which grew progressively less hostile to the established order, and which could be depended upon to mitigate or delay any attack upon the existent order of things. Here the Social Democracy parted company with the proletarian, who is instinctively revolutionary. Rosa Luxemburg, therefore, who is in the habit of saying significant things, never said anything more significant than when she declared that parliamentarism was useless for the proletarian.

The German Social Democratic Party is not selected as being particularly and above all the sinner in this respect. On the other hand, its size, the ability of its leadership, and what we might term its "kultur" render it the most conspicuous. Indeed, it has always been careful to claim the preëminence and to consider all variations from its dominant "kultur" as transgressions of what we might term the "societal mores" of international socialism. In fact, it was the Colossus; all other social democratic manifestations walked under its huge legs.

So that the political socialist movements in other countries were the replicas on smaller scale of the great Teutonic movement; they showed the same tendencies;

they were inspired with the same ideals, and they elaborated their political methods after the same fashion. In France, in England, in Belgium—indeed everywhere, the tendency of the parties to fasten themselves upon the back of the bourgeois system, became more and more manifest. The working class was not to use its political power for the destruction of the system. On the contrary the base of the system was to be broadened and its walls strengthened by the admission of large numbers of the working class into the system itself. The question was to be solved not by the united and mass attack of the proletarians upon the system, but by incorporating into the system such of the workers as could show sufficient organization and force. The tendency was the same as has since been manifested in the United States, for the Adamson bill meant nothing other than the bourgeoisization of the well-organized trainmen, and the Progressive victory in California means no more than the admission of the well organized unions to a share in the government.

The solution is unsatisfactory to the trackwalker on the railroad and to the migratory workers in California, and in Europe to large masses of the working class, also.

There was a reaction against all this political socialism, to the consternation and disgust of the official party, a carelessness with respect to political action, even where there was no actual antagonism, began to take the place of the former enthusiasm and Rosa Luxemburg but voiced the sentiments of a growing portion of the proletariat.

Friction soon arose between the non-political and the political socialists. Even carelessness with respect to political action could not be tolerated. It was still to be the fetish without which passage to the Co-operative Commonwealth was tabu. And, to tell the truth, the politicians could not afford any doubt or questioning upon a point so vital to their own well being. To detract from the relative significance of political action is to strike a blow at the group of managers, candidates and wire pullers, the whole body of whom look to the political field as their selected campaign ground upon which they must gain such a meed of material or spiritual success as the fortunes of war allow. To reduce politics to a mere tactic would never do;

it was profanation intolerable. It was a displacement of the idol, and such is always followed by a displacement of the priesthood. And a priesthood simply hates to be displaced. And yet Marx, the *fons et origo*, has declared that political action is but a reflex of industrial action, necessary, quite necessary, but secondary, quite secondary. This was the lesson which the Socialist parties were to be taught when the war broke out and they have still to learn it. The teaching will be resumed after the hostilities are over, with this difference, that the close of the war will find the old leadership shaken, the old pundits discredited, and the politicians not quite the objects of adoring respect which they were in 1914.

As a matter of fact, the Socialist parties did not mirror the proletariat as a whole, and they certainly were far from representing that portion of the proletariat which has not organized sufficiently to have an impact upon the industrial system. As far as German Socialism was concerned, its actual aims were not much higher than those of California Progressivism; in fact, it is very doubtful if they were so high, even theoretically. Practically they were infinitely lower, and Manchester Liberalism, with an admixture of social reform, represents about the very summit of the aspirations of the Social Democratic statesmen, except in moments of exaltation on the platform outside, very carefully outside, of the precincts of the Reichstag. And what is true of the German Social Democracy is again true of the Socialist parties elsewhere, making due allowance for the differing economic and industrial milieus, with their differing political reflexes.

Vindictive criticism of the political socialists is, however, unprofitable on this account. They could hardly have escaped, for as long as their real aims do not transcend the bounds of the capitalist system, the latter can readily accommodate itself to the socialists. Indeed, where the socialists are not themselves strong enough the necessity of capitalist politics will itself produce something like socialists, *practical socialists*, as it were.

In those countries where the socialist propaganda has taken but slight hold, as an intellectual expression, but where a union between the lower middle class and organized labor bodies is possible, a tendency to collectivism naturally shows itself.

Professional politicians discover a career in making war upon the greater capitalism. Lloyd George, Hughes of the Australian Commonwealth, and Hiram Johnson, governor of California all represent this collectivism, this union of organized labor with the small bourgeoisie. The contrast between them and the leaders of a generation ago is very clear. The variation tells the story, for the politician survives by adaptation and the change in type is eloquent of the change in environment. The practical politician has "dished" the socialist; he has been more pragmatic. He has changed his clothes, but is nevertheless still bourgeois. He thinks in terms of collectivism, which will save dividends and secure investments, at the same time satisfying the immediate demands of the trade unionists. The political socialist, on the other hand, has not advanced beyond the concept of the organized craft with its political reflex.

The craft unionist readily combines with the small bourgeois for both the crafts and the small bourgeois have a common desire to save their small property. Thus in liberal countries, where the small bourgeois have secured political expression, the socialists are at a disadvantage. They can only express themselves in somewhat obsolete terms; they are not understood of the multitude, and they have really little to contribute in face of the Labor parties, Progressivists, and New Liberals. The issues are not sufficiently clear and the political socialists are involved in explanations which do not tend to clarity.

On the other hand, in the less liberal countries where, owing to the limitations on public expression, the so-called revolutionary party entered the fight as the advocate of liberalism, the middle class flock into the social democratic party, which thereupon becomes an expression of the smaller middle class and trade unionists. This happened in Germany and was precisely the state of affairs when war broke out.

The German Social Democratic Party, with a magnificent organization of some nine hundred thousand dues paying members, was powerless to proceed because of the political situation. It was practically in a blind alley. Its fighting power was much curtailed by constitutional limitations, and it was constantly driven to make a fight upon non-essentials. Its leaders were constantly compelled to tell the membership

that nothing could be done until they had secured an actual parliamentary majority. In 1912 the Social Democratic Party was forced to compromise upon the question of greatly increasing the military forces of the Empire. The compromise was explained as necessary to prevent the financial burden of taxation falling upon the shoulders of the proletariat. In reality it would have lain more heavily on those of the small bourgeoisie who showed themselves the dominant power in the Social Democratic Party.

It is evident that the substitution of the industrialist for the craft notion in the organization of labor would have an enormous influence not only upon the conduct of the organized labor movement, but in addition, upon the political movement which springs from it and whose reflex it is. This notion was rapidly gaining strength when the war broke out. In England it was, perhaps, best expressed in a statement by Tom Mann: "Our concern is that the trade-unionist movement as the chief agency of working-class activity should be made as perfect as may be for fighting the class war, and should forever eliminate sectional and racial animosities that have hitherto checked our advance."

Craft sectionalism lies at the bottom of the failure of the socialist political movement to achieve distinct results for the working class. There can be no working class political solidarity where industrial solidarity is non-existent. How far we are from industrial solidarity let the following complaint from the "*New Statesman*" (the *New Statesman*!) show. "Trades unionists we fear do not realize the peril in which they stand, with employers in nearly every industry steadily aggregating into larger and larger concerns and combining into closer and closer associations. The incoherency and multiplicity of eleven hundred separate trades unions, many of them opposing each other, is a fatal weakness. There are some seventy unions in the engineering industry alone."

What success could be hoped for in a political socialist movement resting on such actual conditions in the organization of labor? In the last analysis the socialist movement proper cannot be other than the political expression of the labor movement. It is obviously fatal to oppose to a highly organized body of employers the sectionalized and disintegrated groups of workmen.

The same thing can also be said of a political party which confronts a collectivist capitalist state, managed in the interests of the greater capitalism, with the negative conservatism of the smaller middle class.

But that is what the socialist political parties have been doing, and the only success they have had is in backward political countries where the socialist parties maintain the standards of early liberalism. Can it be denied that modern socialism has paid the penalty? It could not have been otherwise, nor can it be, for as long as the political socialists mirror the struggle of the small bourgeois against the ruling economic

lords and look to the development of the collectivist state, with its accompanying subjection of the working class, they do not reflect the aspirations of the sagacious part of the proletariat.

And as a natural and inevitable result of the foregoing it may be noted that the new thinkers, the new poets, the new organizers, and the men who go gladly to jail for the movement, are no longer to be found in the ranks of the politicals. Rosa Luxemburg was right. A change will have to come over the spirit of the parliamentary delegations before they can gain advantages for the proletariat.

ALONG THE LINE

By JACK PHILLIPS

ONLY a short while ago the cry, "We want food!" was heard from no quarter except among the poor people of the earth, among the desperate of the working class, among the proletarians.

The cry "We want food!" was one that went with a cry for revolution and was connected with revolutionary propaganda.

All this was before the world war came, before armies marshalling thirty million men took to the battle lines.

And now these armies, the most gigantic hosts of armed men that ever trampled the surface of the earth—these cohorts of proletarians thrust into uniforms on command of the master class—they have stripped the surface of the earth of all things to eat—and the governments of the earth have shared these things out—the governments have divided the food supply of the earth by a scientific system of so-called "rations"—by a food card system whereby, a so-called "rational" amount of food is apportioned to each individual.

From all the civilized nations of the earth comes the cry of the people, "We want food!"

No longer is the cry, "We want food!" heard only in revolutionary circles and as an accompanying cry to the watchwords of revolution.

From the American Federation of Labor comes word that its chief point of strategy

during the American participation in the world war shall be "food control."

If there is anything definite coming from the A. F. of L. Washington headquarters these days it is the pledge and promise that the food supply shall be watched and there shall be no over lord class of food hogs keeping and hoarding away from the people, the working class, the means of life.

If the high prices go higher without compensating higher wages—if hardships of insufficient food are imposed on the American workmen who in the shops and fields of America are fighting the war as literally as soldiers in the trenches—the responsibility and the blame will be laid in part on the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and the organized workmen who have it in their power to curb the overlords of meat and bread.

* * *

Was the drama of food production and distribution ever staged in such high lights as the present time?

Was there ever such world wide solicitude over a bushel of wheat, the worker who coaxes it from the soil, the worker who transports it by rail and boat, the dock hand who transfers it to elevators,—or the submarine that torpedoes it and sends it to the bottom of the sea?

Was there ever such wastage? Is not the fact true that wheat, beef and pork enough to feed the armies of Grant and Lee a year

has been sent to the green sea weeds of the English channel?

And has not this drama set the millions on millions of the world thinking about food supply, food shortage, food control—not only national but INTERNATIONAL—in a way and to a degree and extent never thought of before the world war broke on the horizon of human history?

Will this thought and action, this discipline and experiment, in handling the world's food supply from INTERNATIONAL viewpoints during the war produce democratic habits and instincts, that will outlast the war and be of service for the working class of the world after the war? In other words, is it possible that out of the world war will come a socialization of the food supply of the world? Or is such socialization the dream of a rarebit fiend and a pipe smoker?

What logician is there who can demonstrate by premise and syllogism that socialized internationalization of the food supply of the world will not eventuate from the world war?

Whatever happens, isn't this a strategic aim worth keeping in mind while the war is on? Isn't this precisely the thing that the workmen-soldier councils of Russia are megaphoning the world as one of their objectives?

CHICAGO bankers and manufacturers are raising a howl against conscription.

It's all right to conscript men, they say, and they want universal compulsory military service for the man-power of the nation.

But a tax on the excess profits of 1916—conscription of money-power—the drafting of dollars—universal compulsory military service for the swag and the loot of the munitions and food business of 1916—against this they are raising a loud, prolonged howl.

Banker George Reynolds and Banker James Forgan are leading the attempt to defeat the retroactive war tax which would mean the seizure of at least \$600,000,000 of stored-up fat fried out of the war game.

What is a slacker? And why are newspapers so ready to socially stigmatize the young mechanic who would rather get married than go to war while the banker and manufacturer who is unwilling even to send his dollars to war, escapes stigma?

CHARLIE SCHWAB, the big Bethlehem steel gazook, is in the newspapers again.

This time the famous Chas. of Bethlehem fame and notoriety, is recorded on the front pages as a true-blue, humped-up, guaranteed patriot.

The story starts with the esteemed mayor of Boston, a politician named Curley.

Curley, he says he was a-listening to somebody telling him something and the first thing he knowed he heard that the Kaiser of Germany offered Charlie Schwab one hundred million (\$100,000,000) dollars for to go ahead and junk the Bethlehem steel works and quit making munitions for the Allies.

And there the story ends. Curley doesn't say he thinks Schwab is a hero. And nobody says right out plain Schwab is a hero. But what everybody is expected to do is to think and think hard what a fierce big hero and what a fierce big patriot is this here Chas. Schwab of Bethlehem.

If you ask us about it—us what has seen one or two stunts in publicity pulled by Ivy Lee—the same Ivy Lee who used to do the publicity for the Pennsylvania railroad and who later was press agent for the Rockefeller fambly—the same Ivy Lee who got out a booklet for the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. with a printed lie in it, which lie he was caught in by the Walsh Industrial Relations Commission—why we make our guess that it's Ivy Lee again on the job making Charlie Schwab, or Chas. Schwab, if preferable, a famous hero and patriot.

THE junker spirit of Theodore Roosevelt showed when he was in Chicago. His touring party was cavalcading up the Lake Shore Drive. Some guy who didn't know Roosevelt was approaching, ran his motor car out from a side street and around straight in front of the T. R. cavalcade. The horse-teeth hero of San Juan hill called for police to arrest the nervy guy and keep him in jail. He didn't get what he wanted—T. R. didn't. The only result was a flash-light for the people of Chicago on the junker pride of the Oyster Bay nuisance.

LISTENING to some of the voices yammering loudly for "democracy" these days reminds us of a Philadelphia assignation house we used to pass where the sign read:

"Rooms for Respectable People."

Frank Munsey hollering for "democracy" is like Cassie Chadwick teaching a Sunday school class to never tell a lie.

GEORGE CLEMENCEAU, former prime minister of France, gets out a paper called "The Man in Chains." Discussing Russia and the struggling and striving of that people to break their chains, Clemenceau gives the viewpoint of a large number of French observers:

"Nobody ever doubted that the repressive regime of the Czars would end sooner or later, in an enormous volcanic explosion. But the when and the how was left in complete darkness. It was impossible that it should be otherwise, since nothing could be known of a systematically suppressed public opinion.

"Two conditions were evidently necessary to set the machine in motion: the establishment of a more or less definite mouthpiece of the national aspirations, and secondly, the simultaneous explosion of the popular energies in a general crisis, such as can only be brought about by a war of a nature to threaten definitely the existence of the country. Then only do the demands for independence become merged into the elementary victory of freedom, as was seen in the days of the French Revolution. It has been the fate of Nicholas II, as it was that of Louis XVI, to bring about the inevitable and to fall victim to it."

While in the foregoing Clemenceau undoubtedly stresses the "freedom" gained by the French Revolution too strongly, he does make an analysis worth looking at. All who are thoughtfully trying to penetrate the future of the United States in the present war might well do some hard thinking about whether there is a chance for the labor movement of the United States to utilize "a more or less definite mouthpiece of the national aspirations" or to bring about "the simultaneous explosion of the popular energies in a general crisis."

The overturn of the Czar and the whole Romanoff bureaucracy and the establishment of a provisional government closely watched by a workmen-soldiers' council came to the world with the sharpest surprise of any event in centuries. What revolutionists in the United States are trying to fathom is whether there is any possibility for the workmen and soldiers of this coun-

try to bring a surprise out of the participation of the working class of the United States in the world war. With this view in mind, further comment of Clemenceau on the Russian Revolution is interesting. He writes:

"I heard it said on all sides that the Russian Revolution was adjourned until after the war by common consent. That was folly, since it was from the war itself that the revolution was to spring, less because of the necessity or good government, than owing to the fatality of human laws which, in Russia as in the France of former days, was going to prove that a bad government is necessarily composed of bad patriots."

Certainly in the United States, political and industrial, as it exists today, there is plenty of evidence that it is a "bad government" with a large percentage of "bad patriots." In fact, "the New Freedom," a book by Woodrow Wilson, analyzes and depicts the forces going to make a "bad government" of "bad patriots." One of the questions to be answered by this war is whether the working class of a nation is able to make headway against the low wages, long hours, and oppressive conditions established by "bad patriots."

* * *

Will the completion of political democracy thru establishment of industrial democracy ever come about in the United States by any other route than "an enormous volcanic explosion," similar in its elements to that of Russia? In other words, will the chaos of this war result in any situation where the government or military power will co-operate with the working class of the nation toward the job of throwing off the yoke of industrial autocracy? To be specific, will the brutal autocracy of the United States Steel corporation, every whit as ruthless and tyrannical in its treatment of an army of 300,000 workers as were the Romanoffs of their millions of serfs, will the U. S. Steel corporation see its despotic power over the lives of a vast domain broken during this war? If the war ends with U. S. Steel holding an absolutism that inflicts a 12-hour day and a 7-day week at low wages for 300,000 men—with the right to organize forbidden—with the plant at Gary designed for the quick military repulse of rebellious workmen—if the war ends with these autocratic indus-

trial conditions unchanged—then what becomes of the slogan that this is a war for democracy as against autocracy?

In Petrograd there were revolutionists who stood by cool and canny and watched their chance. They waited for the right time to throw the hooks of revolution into the Romanoffs. They kept hope. In the darkest hour when the world over Russia was thought hopeless for democracy, there were revolutionists keeping an eye for their hour. Long they had waited. At last the clock struck.

* * *

"Word received today indicates that nearly 150,000,000 acres of land have been seized by the peasants thruout Russia," writes W. G. Shepherd for the United Press, May 12th, "the peasants could not wait for the promised breaking up of vast estates, under pledge that such a distribution would come soon after the constituent assembly had definitely mapped out Russia's future. Confiscation and distribution of land has in

many sections of Russia been formally decided on by vote of popular assemblies. The movement has become so general thruout the land that German agents have succeeded in stirring up great dissatisfaction among soldiers at the front by insinuating that unless the soldiers deserted and went home to participate in the confiscation, they would lose their share. Numerous desertions have come from this report."

The foregoing paragraph of news fairly trembles, glitters and coruscates with the chaos of what is doing in Russia. It tells of a portentous movement among the mass of Russ peasants. What is doing in the city proletariat is told in this paragraph:

"The Russian workmen, too, are taking matters into their own hands. Thruout Russia workmen are placing representative officers of their organizations with various manufacturing companies and refusing permission for any shipments without their official vise."

"PRUSSIAN" MILITARISM AND "FREE" RUSSIA

By JOHN MILLER

IT is gratifying to learn that the allied entente has become a bitter foe of "Prussian" militarism! Particularly since we are told that since the Russian revolution Russia has become "free," its new government being ultra-democratic and revolutionary, the red flag of revolt flying high above the dome of the Russian capitol. So great is the hatred of the bourgeoisie that they are ready to rally the whole world and abandon all the remnants of their liberties in order to crush out "Prussian" militarism.

It is surprising to learn, also, that this story of fighting "Prussian" militarism has permeated so many of the American newspapers. But let us consider the present situation in the light of a materialist conception of history.

"PRUSSIAN" MILITARISM

It is a fairly well established fact that Prussian militarism represents the most perfect and dangerous military machinery of the modern capitalist state. But it is also

a well known fact that the military systems of Russia, France, Italy, Turkey and Japan are cut from the same pattern and are almost as dangerous and as brutal. None of the anti-Prussian militarists have ever tried to dispute this fact.

Furthermore, since the beginning of the present war England, the traditional home of freedom and voluntary military service, has retrograded so far that she now possesses universal and compulsory military service and an army of three million men. Now it looks as tho the United States were going to go the same way. In order to fight "Prussian" militarism we are to be driven into militarism ourselves.

Here we come to the truth, that in the very nature of imperialism, the present state of capitalism, where financial capital has become the dominating world factor, lies the economic necessity of establishing and protecting the "spheres of influence" on the world markets. That is, new territory must be found wherein to reinvest the huge

amounts of surplus value (profits) realized by the present merciless system of exploitation of the working class by the monopolistic rule of financial capital.

Since, however, the old world has already been divided, the only way to secure new "spheres" is by crushing out competitors, the financial capitalists of another state or coalition of states. This cannot be done without a strong army and navy. Hence the blessings of universal military systems.

This condition was made so plain during the past thirty months that we fail to understand socialists who seek to prove one sort of militarism more dangerous than another. Thus we have the Scheidemanns of Germany, Hyndman of England, Plechanoff of Russia and Russell and Benson of America.

In spite of the fact that at the very beginning of the war, Vandervelde tried to persuade the Russian socialists to support the Czar and that Plechanoff published a manifesto to the working class of Russia asking them to cease their class struggle and support the Government, urging the socialists of the Duma to vote for military credits, the social patriots of the allied coalition were ashamed of the Czar's militarism. They were silent about it. But then came the Russian revolution and they imagine the Russian people are "free."

"FREE" RUSSIA

The ninth wave of the Russian revolution was well on its way before war was declared. There were strikes, street demonstrations and barricades on the streets of Petersburg and the ramshackle structure of the Czar's throne was fatally shaken. The despair of the Czar's government was one of the factors that hastened the war. The thunder of roaring cannon, the dreadful rule of military dictation, the rule of white terror and death, the predatory appeals of the head of the second International, the collapse of the International itself and the collapse of the German Social Democratic Party surprised and appalled for a time the most revolutionary champion. The Russian proletariat and the barricades fell under the sudden attack of patriotically strengthened reaction.

But only for a moment. And again the mighty voice of the revolutionary giant was heard from the tribune of the Duma all over the world. The worthy representa-

tives of the Russian proletariat were court-martialed and bravely met their fate; they went to Siberia to serve life terms in prison. Silent remained the officialdom of the second International and the parliamentary socialists of the "democratic" allies were too busy voting war budgets and maintaining the "burgfrieden" to voice their protest against the brutality of their friend, the Czar's government.

But stronger and stronger grew the revolutionary movement of Russia and the popular cry for "peace, liberty and bread" echoed over the land. The workers of Russia resorted to mass action. Strikes were called in various industries. Suppressed in one place they burst out with new force in several other places, until in February and March they assumed the character of general, successive strikes, in the munition factories, on the railroads, on the telephones and telegraphs. The production of munitions, as well as the supplying of the army with food, was almost paralyzed. The Czar's government made its last attempt to clasp hands with its old reliable friend, the reactionary German government, to make it appear that the Czar's government was responding to the popular cry for peace. But the Russian imperialists would not give up their hopes of Constantinople, Galicia, Poland and Courland. They were for war to their own victory. So the Czar's government was caught.

Again in despair the Czar's government tried to survive by sacrificing the interests of the financiers of Russia and those of the allied coalition. Between the millstones of the opposing interests of the struggling classes it was crushed. The strong arm of Russian imperialists clutched the balance of power and declared a provisional, revolutionary government. So progressive is this provisional government that it is already looking for some one else to occupy the throne. So Russia is not yet free.

A few words about the provisional government. The premier, Lvov, is a member of a reactionary party like the Republican party of the United States. Gutchkow is well known as the 1905 organizer of the black hundreds that organized to beat the Jews and students. Milukoff represents a liberal party and holds the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs. Kerensky, a socialist of the type of Allen Benson, is the minister of justice. Under him the editor

of a socialist paper in Petersburg has been arrested.

Whatever liberties the Russian workers now have are *in spite* of the provisional government.

What is the attitude of the revolutionary Russian socialists toward the war? The same as it used to be before the revolution. It is not *our* war, but a war of capitalists. The overthrow of the Kaiser will not be

accomplished by any capitalist government or coalition of governments, but must be done by the working class of Germany, with the assistance of the workers of other countries where the working class has risen to control. This has not yet happened in Russia. Therefore, our slogan remains:

Down with Imperialistic wars!

Long Live Socialism!

Labor, Lloyd George and the War

By W. M. H. and L. W.

AN ACCOUNT of the personal activities and influence of Lloyd George and Lord Northcliffe would form a story of profound interest to students of mob-psychology, but it is sufficiently correct for our present purpose to regard these two leaders merely as straws indicating the direction of the political wind in the United Kingdom. The ideas and actions of these two men are so closely identified with the general current of politics that it is not necessary to treat them as individuals at all, but to consider them simply as part of the general movement of the political events of today.

The essential characteristics of pre-war political development are of considerable significance in connection with the present subject, for the result of the war has been an intensification of these underlying principles, rather than the establishment of new ones.

The more intelligent class of socialists have long realized that their case against the present social system was best expressed in terms of the class war, and support is given to this view by the trend of modern "social" legislation in several of the leading countries of the world. In England, the name of Lloyd George is closely associated with a mass of legislation which directly works for the legal establishment of class slavery. The recognition by statute of classes of society differentiated by the fact of possessing or not possessing capital is an important step on the road that leads to the social condition known as the servile state. In such legislation as the Insurance

Acts and the Workmen's Compensation Act before the war this division of society was legalized and confirmed; by the Munitions Acts, the Military Service Acts, and the proposals for industrial conscription, the process has been continued and extended. The framers of this legislation have realized (perhaps subconsciously) the existence of the class-war, and have tried to resolve the problem of conflicting class interests by reducing the proletariat to a position of inferiority recognized and enforced by statute. Such legislation clearly constitutes a definite step forward on the road of slavery, and is the utter negation of all Labor's ideals of freedom and self-expression.

In the light of this view of the nature and effects on Labor's status and prospects of the principal social legislation of recent times, let us proceed to examine the policy which Labor has adopted to counter this attack on its stronghold.

It should be noted that, altho the bonds handing over Labor as a docile servant to the Capitalists for the duration of the war were sealed in the halls of politicians and were ratified by statute, the essential bargains made related to matters industrial. The class war is based on an economic cleavage in society and the victories won over Labor have been almost all economic in their nature.

To meet attacks on their economic position, common sense would suggest that the industrial weapons of Labor should be employed. In fact, however, the rights which Labor has surrendered have been bargained away by politicians restrained to some ex-

tent only by fear of a revolt on the part of the Trade Unionists. The concessions given by the Government in return for Labor's sacrifices have been nugatory. They have, in the main, taken the form of promises to return to a "status quo," which can never be regained, and Labor's sacrifices have tied its hands and weakened its power to frame a policy to meet the new conditions. The reward to Labor for surrendering its right to strike, its right to leave its employment, if dissatisfied, its right to express its opinions on matters of public policy, its right, in short, to oppose the hostile policies of the employers, and the malicious activities of reactionary politicians—all these have been ceded in return for promises that can never be fulfilled, or, what is even worse, for seats on Commissions of Enquiry, seats in the Cabinet (\$15,000 p. a.) and all the other corollaries of a complete subjugation to the aims of the imperialists and capitalists.

It is easy to see where and why Labor has failed not only to secure advancement, but even to hold its own, during the war. It has failed thru having no united policy, by failing to use its brains and draw a distinction between patriotism and support of capitalistic dodges, and by allowing its leaders to get out of hand. Labor has never realized the danger that lay in the servile legislation described above. Against its doctrines of class differentiation, with the workers occupying the inferior status, it should have set its ideal of the emancipation of the proletariat by economic weapons. What was needed was that Labor should have realized the possibilities of success for a strong policy of "direct action." For every right that Labor yielded in the interest of efficient war waging, a concession should have been wrung from the capitalist. Not a vague promise of return to an irrecoverable "status quo," but an immediate share in control over the conditions of production. This should have been the demand, and it could have been gained, had Labor realized the full import of the economic power which, already, it possesses. Labor could have made the war an opportunity for moving forward on the road of real freedom.

Such, in general terms, is the policy we suggest that Labor should have adopted. How, in practice, would such a course have worked out? The primary object of La-

bor's activities is clearly the abolition of the wage system and the substitution in its place of a co-operative commonwealth in which the conduct of industry shall be in the hands of independent producing associations, responsible in the last analysis only to a joint committee representing both producers and consumers. In such an ideal state of society there will be no such thing as the separate ownership and "reward" of capital in the hands of persons other than those who use it, and there is thus no sort of compatibility between the aims of Labor in the state of today and those of the present owners of capital. It follows from this that all schemes of co-partnership and joint responsibility for the conduct of industry within the limits of the existing industrial organization are utterly opposed to the interests of Labor, and proposals for "industrial reconstruction," which contain such schemes, must be repudiated. The fact of the class war must never be forgotten, and specious appeals for increased economic production in the interests of national advancement after the war should be taken at their proper value as capitalistic poppycock.

These merely negative cautions may be supplemented by the following propositions for a Labor policy in the conditions set up by the war:

(a) Having in view the fact that Labor's everlasting battle with capital must be intensified after the war, and the struggle for the expropriation of the capitalist a supreme climax in that war, it is Labor's first and constant duty to perfect its industrial weapons. The means to this end are familiar enough to all industrial unionists. The reorganization of the Trade Unions on industrial lines, with representation of craft and other sectional interests, is a reform that has been advocated for many years, but so far with too little result. Trade Unions must centralize and consolidate their forces to meet the ever growing power of employers' organization, while the particular needs of sectional groups must be respected and allowed for.

(b) Side by side with this reform, Labor may well direct its highly critical attention to such proposals for a development of conciliation boards and other joint committees as may offer some prospect of developing capacities in the Unions for industrial self-government and the management of the economic machine. Such schemes are

dangerously liable to lead, however, to a partnership between the Unions and the employers in the conduct of profiteering enterprise, which would tend to stereotype a form of industrial organization in which Labor occupied a position of junior partnership and shared the responsibility for carrying on the commercial malpractices that are the basis of the socialist indictment of the present system. In any case, the time for any sort of joint action with capitalists is not yet arrived; as Mr. G. D. H. Cole says in a recent article in the *New Age* (22, 3, 1917):

"The first and most important task for the workers is that of perfecting and completing their control of labor, which will, at the same time, place in their hands the power of conquering and democratizing the state; but if at any point it becomes necessary for the control of labor that they should assume any measure of ownership or control of capital, they should not hesitate to fight for this also in the industrial field. * * *

"This way clearly lies a danger; but the danger is less in the suggestion itself than in the possibility of its acceptance as an immediate plan of campaign. For it is certain that the time for such a partnership is not yet."

(c) A brief reference may be made to the threefold problem that will confront the Unions when peace is declared. The problem will relate to (1) the repeal of all the repressive legislation which the war has brought upon us; (2) the restoration of T. U. Rules, and (3) proposals for the reconstruction of industry.

On the first head there can be no doubt of the true policy to be followed. All the legislation which has turned England into a land of serfdom and forced service in the interests of profiteering must be swept away. Organized Labor must demand this from the Government of the day as the essential price of any support that it may accord in the political or economic affairs of the country.

The restoration of T. U. Rules is a more controversial matter, and it is difficult to say in any detail what Labor's demands on this point should be. It is probably true that complete restoration would be impossible, and that, in any case, Labor might, with advantage, bargain away some of its restrictive regulations in exchange for more permanent benefits. What is beyond doubt is that for every concession to the employing classes, Labor must demand its *quid pro quo*. Schemes of industrial reconstruction can be considered in the same light.

The very phrase "reconstruction," however, begs the question. It is not a renovation of the present social structure that is needed, but a new order with basically different ideals and values. Once more, Labor must not enter into any joint proposal for rebuilding the rotten fabric of capitalism. If capital chooses to set its house in order, Labor may watch the proceedings in a spirit of detached criticism. If capital approaches Labor and invites co-operation, bargains may be struck whereby Labor supports this or that item in the capitalists' program, and in return is granted powers which constitute a definite step forward on the road to that freedom in industry which is National Guilds.

In adopting an attitude to the State and any reconstruction proposals put forward by the Government, Labor will need very carefully to consider the dangers of increasing the authority and power of the national central executive. The seeds of collectivism have borne bitter fruit during this war. Power has been continuously added to the central organizations of the State till we have reached a condition of pure absolutism. Nor is this confined to the political world: the Government has assumed functions in industry which have given it enormous economic power, and the military machine which it now has at its command crowns the strength of an association always prone to assume the role of supreme sovereignty. Any extension of the State's economic powers, therefore, will be accompanied by a further lessening of the freedom of individuals and such social groups as Trade Unions. Let the Unions beware of alliances with the State, which are more dangerous even than those with employers, because the strength of the State exceeds that of any employer or group of employers.

All these are but various aspects of the fundamental question of Labor's ultimate aims and its methods of attaining those aims. Let Labor bear constantly in mind its unalterable hostility both to Capitalism and to the political organization which co-exists with Capitalism, and let all its activities be conditioned by that hostility. Thus and thus only can Labor hope to maintain unimpaired its existing economic weapons and in the end to reach the goal of industrial and political self-expression which we urge as the main object of its activities.

London, 20-4-'17.

Advertising Democracy

By MAX EASTMAN

THE greatest gain to the world from this war will be its advertising of the idea of democracy. To secure publicity for true and great ideas is the primary task of those who would liberate the world. And as a carrier of publicity at least, this war is a success.

It is not a war for democracy. It did not originate in a dispute about democracy, and it is unlikely to terminate in a democratic settlement. There is a bare possibility that a victory of the Allies will hasten the fall of the autocracies in Central Europe, but there is practical certainty that in trimming for such a victory the Allies will throw out most of the essence of their own democracy. We will Prussianize ourselves, and we will probably not democratize Prussia. That will remain, as before, the task of the libertarians within the Prussian Empire. But three-quarters of the world will say it is a war for democracy, will convince themselves that democracy is a thing worth fighting for. Some day, then, they may fight for it.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

A document better calculated to sweep along the sentiments of the people could hardly have been penned, than Woodrow Wilson's address to Congress demanding war. It contains less unction and more active heat than most of his eloquences. It seems profoundly confidential and sincere. It bridges the chasm between the actual occasion of war and the ideological mirage toward which the war will be fought, with so serene a confidence, that we must think the President himself is unconscious of its width.

The beginning of the speech is a *justification* of war as a defense of our own national rights. It is almost apologetic in its length and carefulness of explanation:

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence.

But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. . . .

The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend.

The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making. We will not choose the path of submission.

We have endured many violations of our rights, it seems, without being driven to war, but at last even our exaggerated patience is exhausted, and tho we still *make no declaration of war*, we are compelled to recognize that *war is being made on us*, and we must defend ourselves.

Just how the President passes from this statement of fact, which he so deliberately emphasizes, to his conclusion, in which America is presented to our dramatic admiration as donning her armor of knighterrantry and going with voluntary heroism into the arena, to battle for the cause of liberty thruout the world, and for political democracy, is a problem that mental integrity demands we should look into. And looking we find that the chief circumstance which enabled the President to accomplish this rhetorical sublimation of motive, was a historic accident—the occurrence a few days before of a revolution in Russia. One can hardly pretend that the President would not have recognized a state of war with Germany if Russia had remained under the Czar, and one can hardly believe that Providence timed that revolution in Russia with a special mind for this piece of eloquence, and so we are forced to conclude that a mere happy coincidence combined with a facile talent for idealistic emotion, enabled the President to pass so plausibly from the *defense of self-interest* which was his occasion and elaborated justification of war, to the *crusade for democracy* which is the

ideological form under which it will be fought.

DEMOCRACIES AT WAR

Of course President Wilson and the patriots whom he sweeps along are entitled to the opinion that if Germany *were* more democratic, she would not try to starve England by indiscriminate submarine warfare, and so the self-interested impulse to war would never have arisen in this country. Considering, however, the peculiar provocation of our ammunition trade with Germany's enemies, and considering the general character of human nature at war, we are warranted in regarding this proposition as not only academic but highly dubious. It will be remembered, by those who wish to remember it, that during the Napoleonic wars between England and France, the severe commercial neutrality of Denmark irritated England, and filled her commanders with dread of opposition from a Scandinavian alliance. So desperate was their determination to win war at any cost, that on September 2, 1807, the British fleet under Sir Arthur Wellesley bombarded the neutral port of Copenhagen, captured and took possession, like a highway robber, of the entire Danish fleet. I quote this comment upon that incident from Brodick and Fotheringham's *Political History of England*:

"The seizure of the Danish navy in time of so-called peace roused great indignation throuout most of Europe and in some degree strained the conscience of the British parliament itself. . . . It was defended, however, by the Marquis of Wellesley, as well as by Canning and other ministers, on the simple ground of military necessity. . . . Napoleon himself never ceased to denounce it as an international outrage of the highest enormity."

So much for democracies, the "conscience of parliaments," when nations are put to it in a war. Reports have it that the German people are almost united in supporting the submarine war; I find democratic Germans even here in New York who support it; I see no reason to believe that a revolutionary government in Germany would suspend it so long as war lasted. And war would last as long as the Allies clung to their present declared war-aims, whether Germany were imperial or republican. It would last until her fighting power was crushed. Therefore

I believe it is pertinent to ask the President these questions:

(1) Would you make peace with a popular provisional government in Germany, regardless of its attitude upon submarine war and our munition-trade with the Allies? If the war is about democracy, you would.

(2) Would you revoke, at least in the present instance, the suggestion contained in your inaugural address of last March that it should be the duty of each nation to see to it that "all influences proceeding from its citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented?" Would you give your public sanction to a Society of Friends of German Freedom, whose avowed object would be to promote revolution in that country, and spread in all the allied countries the news and understanding that such a revolution *really is* the object of the war? If the war is about democracy, you would.

(4) Will you state your terms of peace with Germany, making a settlement with the Reichstag and not with the Imperial Government the essential and only indispensable item in those terms?

In asking these questions, we are only asking whether the President means the end, or means the beginning of his speech. We are asking whether the war is about democracy, or about our national rights. We are demanding that if our country commits itself, as apparently it will, to the full purposes of the war on Germany, it take the ideal and only acceptable part of those purposes down out of the general air and locate it where it can be perceived and handled by a realistic intelligence.

I call for some *proof* that this is a war for democracy.

EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY

A man who was willing to lead a hundred million people into a planetary conflagration for the cause of human liberty would hardly demand in his very battle call that these people be tyrannically forced into that conflagration. If you can not raise in our population a volunteer army of one million men for this war, then the American democracy does not want this war; and to call it a democratic war, or a war for democracy, while you whip them to it, is an insult in their faces. My emotion when I read among all those fine words of free-

dom that little phrase *universal liability to service*, was as though someone had cried, "Come, boys, get on your chains, we're going to fight for liberty!"

And when a few mornings later I read this news-item in the *New York Sun*, describing so vividly the heroism and peculiar pecuniary bravery of this war for liberty, as outlined by the war department at that date, I felt as tho, however irritating it might be to the kings in Europe, a democratic crusade might prove of considerable cash value to the kings at home:

"Washington, April 9.—The correspondent of *The Evening Sun* is in position to state on high official authority that the war policy of the United States, for the first twelve months at least, will be to concentrate the principal efforts of the nation toward the task of supplying the Entente Powers with funds, food and fighting equipment.

"Immediately, it may be assumed, the navy will co-operate with the navies of the Entente Powers to the extent of taking over the patrol work *on this side of the Atlantic* and doing its bit toward combating the submarine peril *along the mid-Atlantic lanes* of commerce. But with the problem of the exact method of combating submarines still to be solved and with the German fleet locked up in Kiel Harbor there is not much prospect of spectacular naval engagements in the near future.

"The proposal of the Administration to extend an immediate credit loan to the Allies of \$3,000,000,000 will have the effect, if passed, of *stimulating the munitions manufactories* of this country to an unprecedented activity. As the principal need of the Allies, besides food, is war munitions and as it is the proposal of the Administration to *make the loan contingent upon its expenditure in this country* the result, officials point out, will be to make the United States a huge workshop turning out war supplies."

It is ungracious to harp upon these things just at a time when the nation is united in a ceremonial emotion of self-esteem. There is something so strident about this kind of

bad manners that they seem almost treasonable, and men have already been sent to jail since April 6th upon the theory that it is treason to tell an unpleasant truth about one's country. But we believe that our purpose in pointing to these things is too serious and too closely related to the historic ideals of our country to be so regarded. We wish to persuade those who love liberty and democracy enough to give their energy or their money or their lives for it, to withhold the gift from this war, and save it to use in the sad renewal of the real struggle for liberty that will come after it. We want them to resist the war-fever and the patriotic delirium, the sentimental vanity, the sentimental hatred, the solemn hypocrisies of idealists, resist the ceremonious installations of petty tyranny in every department of our lives, resist conscription if they have the courage, and at whatever cost to their social complaisance *save themselves* for a struggle of human liberty against oppression that will *be* what it says it is.

Meanwhile they can take courage from the fact that a war engendered fundamentally by commercial self-interest and the organic passions of nationalism, *has to justify itself* in our day by an appeal to the ideals of freedom and democracy—as tho those ideals were indeed royal. And they can watch with a very real, if somewhat ironic, satisfaction the great military advertising campaign of democracy. Russia *did* have her revolution, and the idea of a mighty war between democracy and autocracy has become plausible, has become in very literal fact "the talk of the world," and that is a portentous fact. Even in the Central Empires the tendency of the elect is to boast of the degree that they are democratic, rather than to defend their autocracy. A year more of such war, or the rumor of such a war, and we shall see the word *democratic* established in all languages and even in remote dialects of the earth with a savor like the word *excellent* itself. Few things that might happen would so secure and promote the progress of human freedom.—From the June Number of *The Masses*.



EDITORIAL

The Class Struggle Disguised

By MARY E. MARCY

SOME of us have been talking these days as tho there were now two great issues before the working class of the world—the class struggle *and* war. This is because we do not understand just what the present imperialistic war means. We imagine it to be something *outside* the class struggle, a great conflict that may interrupt the growth and development of the militant working class movement, which we may resume again when the war is over.

But this is not true. While this war is essentially a mighty struggle among the world's most powerful industrial and financial groups for world supremacy, it is necessary that the entire nations become involved; that the whole people imagine the struggle to be their own; that the press and all other social institutions subordinate their own aims to further the victory and the cause of the home capitalist group or international alliance of groups.

And so *their* war becomes "*our*" war and men are *forced* into the army and navy to establish freedom in the dark places, or to establish the rights of small nations and carry Democracy to the peoples who are compelled to work and to make war when they do not wish to do these things.

THE BARS LET DOWN

And here is where the bars are let down and the small gains we have for years fought and struggled to attain in the labor world are wiped out over night as a war measure and in the name of war efficiency. And the capitalist classes have involved you and have involved me and are forcing us to fight their great financial and economic wars of conquest, just as the Kaiser and the German capitalists are forcing millions of Germans to wage war in the interests of the German Junker; capitalist class.

And Samuel Gompers comes out with the

statement that the members of the A. F. of L. will not go out on strike but will remain faithfully on the job in order to do their share toward making the war a success. Laws are passed prohibiting Free Speech (in the name of that Democracy we are going to force on Germany). Members of the I. W. W. in Kansas City who refused to enlist are arrested and given long jail sentences, and socialists and pacifists are thrown into jail for speaking and lecturing against the war.

All reform Labor Legislation is stopped at the beginning of war and old laws beneficial to labor are abrogated. Here is an example of the way the legislation and agitation against Child Labor in England was affected by the war.

We are told that in May, 1916, 15,753 children had been formally exempted from school to go to work and that in 1915 probably 45,000 children between twelve and fifteen in excess of the usual number (450,000) left school for work with or without formal permission, while between 150,000 and 200,000 children of eleven and twelve are said to have gone into industry. Most of the younger children appear to be working on farms, but there is no possible way of estimating the actual number in munition works. That the health of munition workers, however, is not England's only problem is clear from Cecil Leeson's analysis of the reasons for the increase of juvenile delinquency during the war. "Had we set out with the deliberate intention of manufacturing juvenile delinquents," he said, "could we have done so in any more certain way?" Many schools were taken over for military purposes; about 300,000 little children five years old or under who had been in school were turned out by a change in school age limits.—*New Republic*.

People asked why the "children should not do their bit, too." Dr. S. Josephine Baker of the New York Bureau of Child Hygiene says that fifteen out of every one hundred children in New York City suffer from malnutrition in times of peace. What, we ask, will become of these while we are trying to force the blessings of American Democracy upon the Central Powers?

In Chicago alone several thousand high school boys have been forced to quit school and go to work on the farms. Freedom of speech, of the Press, the right to assemble are wiped out by one stroke.

Congress has bestowed upon President Wilson powers that make him one of the great dictators of the world. Almost—he may say what every citizen shall do, what he shall make, at what price such product shall be sold and what he must pay for what he buys. Congress along with the French Chamber and the British Parliament has become of just about as much importance in the war program as The Ladies' Aid Society of the First M. E. Church of Otter Creek.

In his article on "Labor, Lloyd George and the War," elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW, L. W., in writing of England since the war, says:

"Power has been continuously added to the central organization of the state till we have reached a condition of pure absolutism. Nor is this confined to the political world, the government has assumed functions in *industry* which have given it enormous *economic* power, and the military machine which it now has at its command crowns the strength of an association always prone to assume the role of supreme sovereignty. Any extension of the State's economic powers, therefore, will be accomplished by a further lessening of the freedom of individuals and such social groups as the unions."

We believe it is soon intended to make "Selective Conscription" in this country *industrial* as well as military conscription whereby a man may be put to work designated and at the pay named by the Government. And, the *New Republic* very aptly comments in a recent issue:

"The organization which we must now create to administer the vital supplies of the Alliance will persist after peace is established. It will control the resources of

the world except Central Europe. It will have become an economic as well as a military league of (the capitalists of; the insert is ours) nations * * * Economic association will precede political. The statutory machinery of the League will rest upon an economic basis. * * * A supernational government is being forced into existence."
* * *

Social institutions reflect and represent the interests of the ruling class—today of the capitalist class and so we are persuaded into hurrahing for and sacrificing for and fighting and dying for, the interests of the great American capitalists; for the purpose of carrying Democracy into Germany we are to forego that which our college professors have been accustomed to *call* American Democracy.

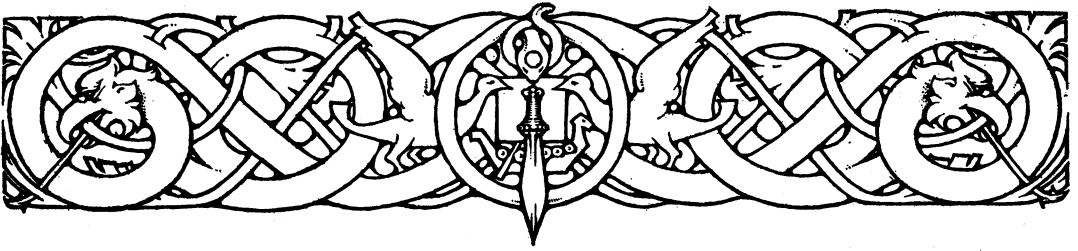
CLASS WAR

But this *is* the *class war*. We are asked to fight and to deny ourselves to strengthen the financial and industrial giants in America who have grown rich from the unpaid labor of the working class.

Every time we promise to forego a strike for improved conditions, or to work longer hours, to accept a cut in wages, or a new speeding up process, every time we acquiesce in war conditions and deprivations, every time we wage a capitalist war—we are strengthening the enemies who exploit us and riveting our own chains of wage slavery.

In England while young girls work in munition factories for \$2.00 a week; the factory owners have increased their profits 3,800 per cent. And the dividends coined out of the war by the American capitalist class have been still higher. We believe we are perfectly safe in saying that this class will be richer *in capital* even if the Central Powers win this war than *if there had been no war*. We know they will be stronger economically and strategically, so far as the class struggle is concerned.

In order to win *their* war all bars for the protection of labor are on the way to being let down; production is being systematized; waste is being eliminated, whole middle class groups wiped out, and democracy in a fair way to becoming more remote than ever. We defeated the southern aristocracy in the Civil War only to build up an oligarchy of finance and industry and speculation which is today operating at the Old Stand on a more colossal scale.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

A New Spirit

Here in America we are in the early flag-waving stage. In Europe they have got beyond all that. At least Socialists have. They are thinking about Democracy and peace terms. The Russian Revolution and the American war declaration brought on the change. Despotism Russia was a bitter handicap to French and English Socialists and Liberals. Liberated Russia seemed to put all the despotism on the inside of the steel ring. Then America joined the Entente Allies and all the world's great democracies were joined to crush Teutonic autocracy. The French Socialist hailed Wilson as a new saint. Making the world "safe for democracy" and wanting no good thing that might not be "shared by all," became flaming watchwords. For a time victory seemed sure. For who would distrust embattled democracy?

Modest Democracy

In the Prussian Diet a Socialist rose to demand why all the world hates Germans. There are many who would have paid for the chance to give an answer. But they were not present. All the answer the inquisitive person got was the fierce announcement that he was a traitor. But soon after this a committee of the Reichstag went to work on a revision of the Imperial Constitution. Scheidemann is the chairman, and his fellow-workers are nice, mild gentlemen. Thus far they have ventured to suggest that the Kaiser's appointments should be endorsed by the Premier or other minister. But there is as yet no hint of making ministers responsible to the Reichstag. Cromwell's Parlia-

ment of 1642 could give an excellent lesson to Bethmann-Holweg's Reichstag of 1917. But at least the Germans realize that the great show of democracy beyond the enemies' lines puts them at a disadvantage. So the new war-spirit is distinctly visible in Germany.

Russian Soldiers and Workingmen

In Russia there is the old revolutionary struggle. We know now in detail how the liberation was achieved. The Douma had next to nothing to do with it. The parliamentarians stayed inside with their windows carefully closed. The workingmen and soldiers elected representatives to a council. Our good Comrades Karenski and Scheickze were of them. This council assumed control. The soldiers took the old autocrats into custody, opened jails and made Russia free. Then the Parliamentarians set up a government. The council remained in session to keep an eye on things.

In all revolutions the working people do the fighting and then somebody else comes along and gets most of the benefit. The Russian workers seem bound to make an exception. That is why we have had all these tales of conflict between the Douma and the Council. Thus far the Council has the real power behind it.

To Fight or Not to Fight

The provisional government hastened to notify the Entente Allies that new Russia would carry out old Russia's war contract. This was not the soldiers and workingmen's idea of things. They are willing to die for free Russia—just as were the French revolu-

tionists. But they do not want to fight for Constantinople. Russia has resources enough for them. What they want is a chance to live in peace and develop their country. So they notified the government of their will, and what they said went.

Socialists as Catspaws So-called Socialists have done many low-down things during the last three years, but the lowest-down of all was what Scheidemann and his friends did at this juncture. The German government sent them in all haste to Sweden to fix up a peace with the victorious Russian workers. It even took tender care of Lenine and other Russian Socialists and saw to it that they landed safely in Russia—on condition that they would agitate for a separate peace. Russian working people are starving and weary of war. It must be easy to persuade them that all they need is peace for themselves.

But the German government and its Socialists had a surprise for them. The Russian Socialists and workingmen want peace, but not for themselves only. They want it for all of us. So Scheidemann and his friends went back empty handed. Even Lenine has thus far not achieved any degree of success. We read that Russian generals have great difficulty in persuading German and Russian soldiers that they are enemies. Those men who have fought nearly three years are bitterly weary of the whole business. But Russian workers, as a whole, see, it appears, that a separate peace would merely prolong the war and the suffering. And they have a chance of imposing their fair terms of peace on all the combatants. What President Wilson saw as a beautiful dream, peace without annexations and without indemnities, they are making into a practical program. The workers of the world have a right to be proud of their Russian comrades.

Socialist Bureau Meeting As the REVIEW goes to press the International Socialist Bureau is slowly gathering at Stockholm. Its business is to draw up peace terms. Members already on the ground find it hard to agree. When the Germans get there the difficulties will be increased. At present the general idea seems to be the Wilsonian-Russian one of peace without annexations or indemnities. But Camille Huysmans explains that German contribu-

tions toward the rebuilding of Belgium and the devastated parts of France would not be considered indemnities. His general idea seems to be that people should pay for what they destroy in war. A beautiful idea.

America's Terrible Blunder In view of Europe's present state of mind our entry into the war appears in the light of a cosmic blunder. If America were busy looking after the welfare of her own people Russia's chances of forcing sane conditions of peace on the contestants would be bright. England and France would not dare to fight without Russia. Germany already knows herself beaten. Europe is weary of war and would welcome a way out. But America is now war-mad. And England with America at her back is willing to fight to a finish—at least, the English governing classes are. So by entering the war America really prolonged it.

Uncertainty of These Times Great things have happened in the last two months. Equally great ones may occur in the near future. This whole great war-world may come crashing down at any moment—and leave us blinking. A Socialist who journeyed all over Germany under official protection writes from Switzerland that the "morale" of German troops is kept up with difficulty. We know not how many strikes and riots there have been over there. Things may break at any time.

English Strike In the last week of March, 50,000 men struck on the Tyne. They were munition workers serving under regulations fixed by the government. A year ago, when they were toiling seven days a week, their pay was comparatively high. Since then the government has discovered that seven-day work does not pay. So the Sunday off has been re-introduced. In the meantime the cost of living went up 27 per cent. On August 1st the men complained. Their complaints were unnoticed. In March they struck. The Minister of Munitions promised to adjust their claim. They went back. It was understood that they would walk out again if the settlement was not satisfactory.

Conscription in Australia The Federal conscription law was defeated in Australia. Then the Laborites in favor of conscription left the party and combined

with all the various sorts of conservatives they have out there. The result is called the National party.

The first fruit of this alliance was a "National victory in New South Wales. Here the Laborites were in control. Their premier was Holman, an old labor union man. He was expelled from the party because of his stand on conscription.

Early in April he went into a general election at the head of the Nationals. On the first ballot the new party controlled 47 seats and the Labor party only 32. So Labor lost on the conscription issue.

In the Federal government Mr. William Morris Hughes is, of course, the leader of the National party. To attain this leadership he has had to go in with his old enemies, Joseph Cook, John Forrest and William Watt. He has, in the course of a few months, become an anti-labor leader. In the Senate, even with his coalition in good working order, he has lacked a majority.

On May 5th there was an election to the Federal Parliament. According to early returns the Nationalists elected 50 members of the House and the Laborites only 25. In the Senate the proportions are even worse: Hughes has 23 and the Laborites only 10.

There will now be another struggle over conscription. The Nationalists announced during the campaign that they would introduce compulsory service outside the country as a matter for legislation. No doubt they will attempt to put their program thru without going again to the people. It looks as if the voters had been fooled into accepting indirectly what they refused to take directly.

Swedish Socialists in Convention

Early in March the Social Democratic Party of Sweden met and drew up a statement about its attitude toward the war. It bases itself on the statements of the international congresses. "The Socialist Party of Sweden," it says, "can agree neither with those who recognize the right of conquest nor with those who maintain that Socialists have no interest in the solution of national problems." In another passage there is a declaration against the Zimmerwald conference, for "it is in direct opposition to the conception of the international as it was developed by the various international congresses."

Children in War Time

It is the children who suffer worst. Both minds and bodies suffer. In all the warring countries elementary education is disorganized. In France alone 30,000 teachers are serving in the ranks. Most of their places are unfilled. Pupils are crowded together in immense classes and taught by inexperienced teachers. Many school buildings are turned into hospitals and factories. In England thousands of children under thirteen are at work on the land. Child-labor laws count not at all. What all this will mean to the next generation can easily be imagined.

In France there is a record of accelerated infant mortality. Paris reports 1,100 deaths a week as compared with 800 during peace times. And the extra 300 are, according to *l'Humanité*, largely children. Fathers are at the front; mothers are in the factories. Children have to look out for themselves. They are irregularly fed and live in cold rooms. Tuberculosis or pneumonia soon appear to take them out of their misery.

From Germany comes a record of juvenile criminality. Dr. Albert Hellwig, a police court judge, has written a book called *The War and Crime Among the Young*. I hope he sent a copy to the renowned Bernhardt.

A writer in the London *Daily Mail* summarizes the facts thus: "In Berlin in 1915 there were twice as many crimes among the young as in 1914. Munich reported that during the first three months of 1915 the number of young criminals equaled the total for 1914." Dr. Hellwig himself concludes: "From all these figures it is evident that crime among the young diminished in some places during the first few months of the war. But afterward the increase was all the greater, at least in the larger towns."

He is convinced that this outburst of crime was partly due to the campaign of hate. There was, he tells us, an effort on the part of educators to spread better, more civilized influences in the schools. This effort was cut off by a decree of the Prussian government: "No opportunities may be permitted for such endeavors, which are inspired by the feelings of universal brotherhood and international peace-piffle."

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

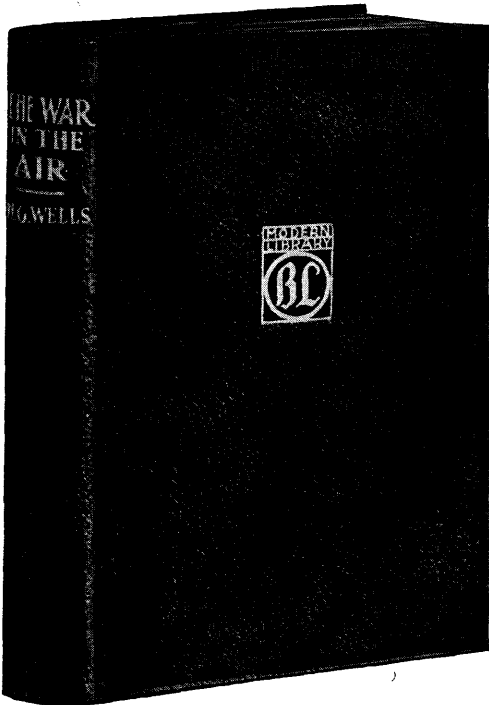
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allow one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working

class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



The Modern Library of the World's Best Books. We have secured a worth-while bargain for the book-lovers who read the **Review**. A New York house has started the publication of a new series of the world's best books, in which preference is given to books that are too revolutionary to suit the average publisher or bookseller. They are hand bound in "Limp Croft Leather," making a beautiful and convenient volume for either the pocket or the library shelf. The titles thus far published are as follows:

- Oscar Wilde.....Dorian Gray
- Strindberg Married
- Kipling Soldiers Three
- Stevenson Treasure Island
- H. G. Wells.....War in the Air
- Henrik Ibsen—Plays: A Doll's House, Ghosts, An Enemy of the People
- Anatole France.....The Red Lily
- De Maupassant.....Mademoiselle Fifi
- Nietzsche.....Thus Spake Zarathustra
- Dostoyevsky..... Poor People
- Mæterlinck.....A Miracle of St. Anthony
- Schopenhauer.....Studies in Pessimism

We will mail these books to any **Review** reader for 70 cents each; five to one address for \$3.25; the set of twelve to one address for \$7.20. Ask for descriptive circular. Address **Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio Street, Chicago.**



NEWS AND VIEWS

May Day in Cleveland.—It is unnecessary to wise up REVIEW readers to the fact that there is no yellow streak in the Socialist Party of Cleveland, Ohio. Therefore, we are not surprised to find the following account of a May Day celebration in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

Cleveland Socialists, protesting war in speech and printed message, yesterday splashed a streak of revolutionary red across the city.

May Day was the opportunity of Cleveland Socialists to preach international brotherhood and to register their determination not to be "cannon fodder."

Teuton and Slav, Finn and Lett joined with their American brethren late yesterday afternoon in the longest and most representative May Day parade the Socialists of the city have yet staged.

Swinging along to the inspiring air of the "Marseillaise," nearly 5,000 Socialists, men, women and children, marched thru the Public square and downtown streets at an hour when thousands of workers were pouring from offices and stores.

Side by side with the Stars and Stripes, red silken banners were carried at the head of the contingents. In the lapel of every coat was either a red carnation or a red tag.

There were three bands and scores of printed signs denouncing the war. "Who'll pay the war debt—H. C. L. The Rich—Like H—," "Thou shalt not kill—God," "War is Hell; who wants Hell," "If this is a popular war, why conscription?" "We refuse to fight our masters' war," "We demand conscription of wealth" and "Why shoot a man you never saw?" were characteristic messages.

At Bohemian hall last night the principal speakers were C. E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht.

Local Elkhart, Indiana, has a suite of club rooms and reading rooms open to the public, and the comrades are also running an up-to-date barber shop. Comrade Mallory, secretary of the Local, orders a bunch of sub-blanks and is enthusiastic over the prospects for carrying on propaganda among the factory and rail slaves.

Local Toledo, Ohio.—Increases their standing bundle order. There are a bunch of factory slaves over there who need the REVIEW and with the co-operation of one live Comrade in each factory, the literature agent will soon be boosting the bundle up again.

The I. W. W., Detroit, Mich.—Orders a fine bunch of books to add to their already well stocked library. Also an extra bundle of 100

May REVIEWS, as the boys sold 300 copies on May Day.

From a Nebraska Wobbly: "We are getting busy here, and I think that the REVIEW is the best all-around exponent of the principles of the class struggle that can be secured, tho I am personally all I. W. W.—Howell."

Four Per Cent and Safety

Chicago banks pay savings depositors three per cent; country banks, which are not so safe, pay four per cent. The banks make a profit by using this money. If you are depositing with them, you are helping your enemies.

But there is a way in which you can keep your money safe and still be helping the revolutionary movement instead of capitalism.

Our publishing house was established in 1886; it has been paying its bills regularly ever since. Our capital stock is \$42,000; our total debts less than \$5,000.

We can pay you four per cent on any sum, large or small, that you leave with us to be withdrawn on thirty days' notice. In most cases we shall not insist on the notice but will repay on demand, but we reserve the right, as savings banks do, to require notice when we pay interest. We also receive loans without interest, returnable on demand.

If you wish additional information before deciding, write us.

Charles H. Kerr & Company

341 East Ohio St., Chicago

A Journal of Revolutionary Socialist Reconstruction

Here is a paper that is waging a war on two fronts,—a war against reactionary Capitalism and a war against reactionary Socialism.

It is alive, vigorous, uncompromising—it throbs with the revolutionary spirit—it dares to say what it thinks, aggressively and without fear of the consequence to itself.

We need this paper—YOU need it—it is a paper that the Socialist movement of America has needed these many years, and needs NOW more than ever.

"The New International" is revolutionary without being hysterical, sane without being conservative. Among its contributors are:

ARTURO GIOVANNITTI, LEON TROZKY, JUSTUS EBERT, S. J. RUTGERS, J. C. ROVITCH, AUSTIN LEWIS, LUDWIG LORE, LOUIS C. FRAINA and others.

Its editorials are scholarly without being academic, and revolutionary without being verbose. The editorials are a fundamental Marxian interpretation of current events, and a call to action.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Published by the

Socialist Propaganda League of America

"The New International" is always on the firing line. It is of the fight, fighting. It has the proletarian "punch." It is vigorously and fearlessly fighting the reaction of war. It is organizing the conscientious objectors to war. It is preparing the working class for action!

The great task of the Socialist Propaganda League and its official organ is to organize the revolutionary minority in and out of the Socialist party into an active organization worthy of the revolutionary principles of Socialism.

Are you in the fight? Are you a red? Then subscribe to "The New International!" Get your friends to subscribe! It is YOUR Cause. It is YOUR Paper. And remember—your Cause and Paper Need You!

**Enlist now in the Army of the
Social Revolution!**

EDITOR

LOUIS C. FRAINA

Every Two Weeks—5c a Copy; \$1.00 a Year

ADDRESS:

3246 Kingsbridge Avenue
New York City

Word from the Rock Island Reds: "Our May Day meeting was all to the good. Had a street parade and demonstration followed by a mass meeting at Turner Hall. Successful meetings were also pulled off at Davenport and Moline, where thousands of anti-war proclamations were distributed.

As an illustrated parade ours was 100 per cent efficient as a couple of comrades who are good with water colors and charcoal prepared the banners.

We have arranged for a monster anti-conscription mass meeting on May 15th and are putting out 10,000 posters that read as follows:
**THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF
DEMOCRACY**

Is Stated in the Declaration of Independence
Thus:

"Governments Derive Their Just Powers from the Consent of the Governed."

The principle of Conscription is the absolute negation of this principle of Democracy.

When the people of the United States had opportunity to express themselves they voiced their opposition to war by casting their votes by the millions for Mr. Wilson because "he kept us out of war," and the implication that he would continue so to do.

For nearly three years we have observed the war in Europe. We have seen that it was caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the several countries involved.

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast the enormous profit of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American foodstuffs and other necessities.

We therefore proclaim our unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the Government of the United States.

We proclaim our unalterable opposition to all measures employed for the purpose of carrying on this war.

We proclaim our unalterable opposition to conscription.

We proclaim our unalterable opposition to registration for conscription.

We call upon all people who are opposed to conscription to join with us in our efforts to make such militaristic programs ineffective.

Ours is a struggle for Democracy—for the Industrial Democracy.

Down with war. Down with the insane social system that makes war inevitable. Long live peace. Long live the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

Signed: **SOCIALIST PARTY OF ROCK ISLAND COUNTY.**

BRANCH, ROCK ISLAND—Edgar Owens,
D. C. Hendrickson, W. O. Olson.
BRANCH, MOLINE—Victor Lindquist.

TOBACCO HABIT Conquer it
happily in
8 days, improve your health, prolong life, avoid stomach
trouble, nervousness, foul breath, heart disease. Regain
manly vigor, calm nerves, clear eyes and superior mental
strength. Whether you chew; or smoke pipe, cigarettes, cigars.
Get interesting Tobacco Book. Worth its weight in gold. Mailed
free. E. J. WOODS, 242 S. Station E. New York, N. Y.

Who Gets \$200,000,000 Tire Profits

An amazing condition revealed in the tire business. Terrible waste shown by methods of selling automobile tires. How one tire man plans to cut the cost of tires to the consumer

Tire Chain Stores Will Cut Tire Cost

NOTE.—The following article outlines plans for a national chain of tire service stations and stores which, it is predicted, will greatly lower automobile upkeep costs by a unique cooperative plan which has been tested out and found successful. Output of splendid factory already secured, more to follow. The success of other chain stores and the tremendous growth of the automobile industry—consequently of the tire business—makes this one of the most attractive and interesting enterprises. We have made every effort to verify the statements made here and to the best of our knowledge the statements are accurate and the estimates conservative.

The famous Philadelphia Experimental Tire Service Store that proved to President Feist of the National Rubber Company the practical possibilities of tire chain stores. Located at the corner of North and Broad streets.



By M. E. PHILLIPS

Who gets the \$200,000,000.00 A YEAR TIRE PROFITS?

Do you know that the cost of producing a tire is possibly ONE-THIRD of the price you have to pay? That a small tire you pay \$15.00 for costs about \$5.00 to manufacture? That the tire costing about \$20.00 to build has to retail for about \$60.00?

Do you know that the tire manufacturer is satisfied to sell his tires for very little over the cost, and at only a fraction of the retail price?

Where does the balance go?

Who, then, gets this enormous "cut in" on the tire you buy?

DO YOU? Of course not.

Who, then?

Well, the **JOBBER** gets a **BIG** slice. **THE WHOLESALER** gets another **BIG** slice.

The **RETAILER** gets **HIS SHARE**.

The rest goes into advertising, dealers' helps, adjustments, selling costs, etc.

Meanwhile **YOU**, Mr. Tire Buyer, pay the 100 per cent price and worry about the high price of upkeep of your motor car.

There is a chance for you to share both directly and indirectly in the enormous tire profits. This article outlines a plan which must appeal not only to the automobile

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National Speedway tires are made by hand. The strips across this page and the next one show one section of the department in the making and perfecting of these wonderful tires. This picture, reproduced

owner but also to the *investor* who would like to get a chance to win a share of the *big profits* which the tire industry is *making every day* for its fortunate owners.

Study the OPPORTUNITY shown here. Read *every word* of this article, and when you have finished it *draw your own conclusions*.

It is a BIG IDEA, born in the fertile brain of a *genius of industry* who has already PROVED his quality by SUCCESS.

Will Cut Tire Costs

A clever tire man, a man with intimate knowledge of the tire industry, a man with breadth of vision and economic principles, has seen this enormous WASTAGE in the tire business and has evolved a PLAN that will revolutionize the tire selling business.

He argues that TIRES COST THE CONSUMER TOO MUCH.

He says there is no reason on earth why the tire buyer should have to pay this enormous burden of profits and selling costs. If tires can be made for ONE-THIRD of the present retail prices they can be sold FOR LESS than prices now charged for them and still pay legitimate profits, LARGE PROFITS, because of

the volume of business a company offering such savings is bound to achieve.

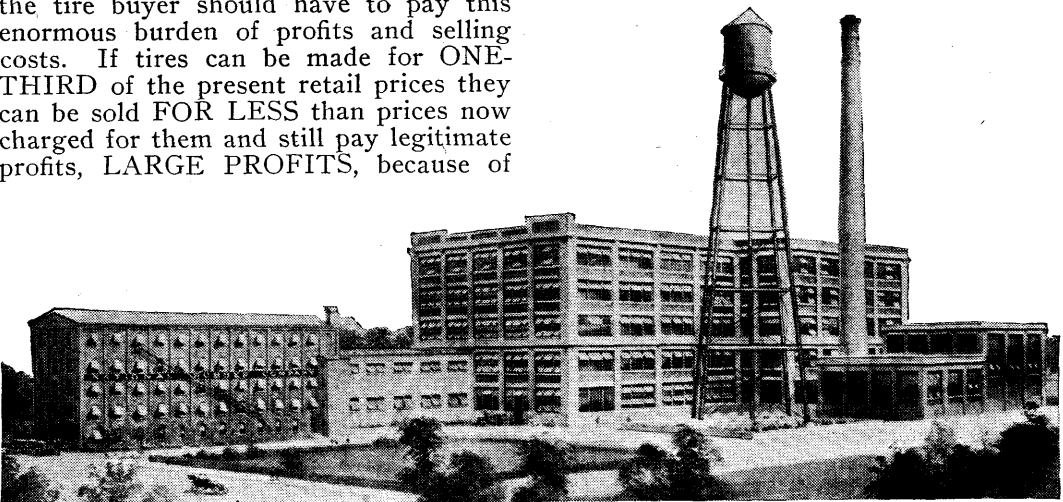
This far-sighted man is a PRACTICAL TIRE MAN. As a manufacturer he has MADE GOOD. He is a PRACTICAL BUSINESS MAN, with all a practical man's dislike for waste. He has proved his genius for organization and big things.

This man is Mr. J. G. Feist, President of the National Rubber Company of New York.

Plans Chain of Stores

Mr. Feist's plan is to establish a chain of tire service and store stations from Maine to California, and Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.

The National Rubber Company of New York has been organized with strong men behind it and it has already secured the output of one entire factory as the nucleus of this chain store plan. More factories will be added as the chain extends and the need of more tires becomes evident.



The magnificent Pottstown, Pa., plant of the National Rubber Company, where National Speedway Redwall tires and National Red Tubes are made. Two floors are finished and occupied. This is a strictly modern steel, concrete and glass construction factory building of the highest type.



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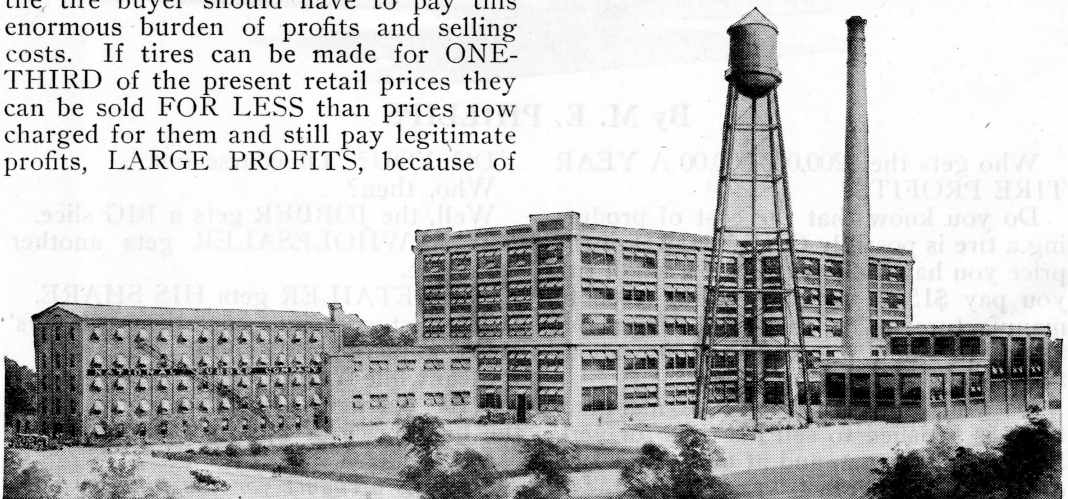
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ment where National Speedway tires are built up by hand. In this department dozens of expert tire makers are employed from an actual photograph, shows the modern equipment of the splendid Pottstown plant.

The first factory whose product has been secured is the National Rubber Company of Pottstown, Pa., manufacturers of the famous National Speedway Tires and National Red Tubes.

The NATIONAL SPEEDWAY RED-WALL TIRES are so GOOD that they are sold under the strongest GUARANTEE to be had.

This company now has a capacity of 1,000 tires a day and is being enlarged to a much greater capacity. When the distribution exceeds the capacity of this plant, new plants will be started or bought in different sections of the country, or factory outputs contracted for in order to bring up the production to the necessary number of tires.

Mr. Feist proposes to sell tires at a MUCH LOWER PRICE than is now being charged for good tires elsewhere.

He plans to give SUPERIOR SERVICE to tire buyers.

He will give them a BETTER TIRE. He anticipates that in doing this his company will prove the greatest profit maker in the tire field.

Experimental Plant a Success

Mr. Feist is not building his company's future on imagination or theory. Before maturing his plans he opened in Philadelphia a station such as he proposes to establish elsewhere.

This is what his Philadelphia service station and store does:

It sells tires below the average price of high class tires of equal size and quality.

It delivers tires PUT ON YOUR CAR.

You phone in that you need a 34x4 tire and give your address. A mechanic picks up the required tire, puts it in the carrier of a motorcycle and speeds off to your address. On arrival he takes off your old tire and puts on the new one. No trouble, no mess.

If you want your old tire repaired he takes it back with him and it is delivered as soon as repairs are made.

You have saved time, labor, worry and money.

The success of this first service station PROVES what REASONABLE PRICES, HIGH QUALITY GOODS, EFFICIENT SERVICE will accomplish. Profits are large because of volume. The Philadelphia service station already has 11,000 CUSTOMERS. (Not tires, but CUSTOMERS.)

With this established PROOF of the value of this new departure service plan, Mr. Feist has organized a company to establish National Rubber Company SERVICE STATIONS and stores all over the country. His plan provides for opening 500 stores the first year, if possible, and more stores year by year as the company grows.

Offers Great Opportunities

The OPPORTUNITIES offered by this chain of tire service stores are self-evident.

CHAIN STORES of all kinds have been enormously successful. They have built up some of the greatest fortunes in the country. They have made their original investors enormously rich. And this in spite of the fact that most chain stores have dealt only in articles selling for a very small sum. HOW MUCH GREATER should be the profits of a chain of stores selling a product whose every SINGLE SALE equals the sale of HUNDREDS of the articles sold in most chain stores?

THE UNITED CIGAR STORES, selling cigars, cigarettes and tobacco, average LESS THAN 20 CENTS PER SALE. The National Rubber Company averages MORE THAN \$20 PER SALE, with proportionate profits.



ment where National Speedway tires are built up by hand. In this department dozens of expert tire makers are em-
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The WOOLWORTH STORES sell 5 and 10 cent articles. Yet they have made many millions and the highest office building in the world was built out of these nickels and dimes.

The reasons for this uniform success are numerous.

In the first place a chain of stores reduces the operating cost—what is known as OVERHEAD EXPENSE—to the



J. G. FEIST

President of the National Rubber Co. of N. Y. and director and treasurer of the National Rubber Co. of Pottstown, Pa. Mr. Feist founded the great tire company and is one of the very successful men of the rubber industry.



JAMES A. MURRAY

President of the National Rubber Co. of Pottstown, Pa., and director of the National Rubber Co. of N. Y. One of the biggest and best known rubber men in the U. S. For 23 years with the Seamless Rubber Co. of New Haven, Conn., as officer and director.



THOMAS KEDWARD

Thomas Kedward of Philadelphia is the treasurer of the company. Mr. Kedward is president of the William Kedward Dye Co. and one of the prominent manufacturers of Pennsylvania.

The REGAL SHOE COMPANY, with its chain of hundreds of shoe stores, has made its owners rich. So have the Walk-Over Shoe Stores, the W. L. Douglas Shoe Stores. All chain stores.

The TRULY WARNER Hat Store chain has accumulated wealth for its owners.

The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Stores, the Jewel Tea Stores, the Acme Tea Stores, all chain stores, have made millions.

The several chains of drug stores, of grocery stores, of cheap restaurants, have all made fortunes.



W. J. DUGAN

Director and mechanical engineer in charge of all buildings and construction work of the National Rubber Co. of N. Y. A brilliant, brainy, successful man.



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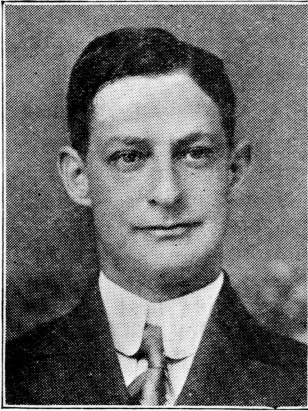
Secondly, the purchasing power of the buyer who buys for hundreds of stores is so enormous that he can pretty nearly make his own price. He gets ROCK BOTTOM costs on everything. Woolworth can sell for 5 and 10 cents articles that often retail at from

25 to 50 cents because he buys outright entire factory productions. The manufacturer who sells his whole output to one man for cash eliminates all selling expenses, salesmen, advertising, collections, etc., and can sell for a quick turnover, and will yet make more profit in the end. That's how the

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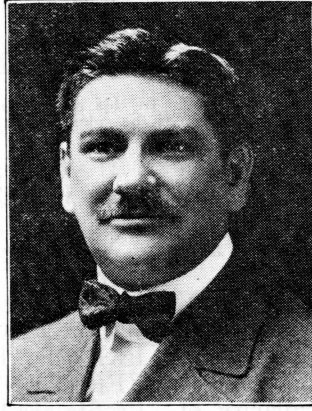
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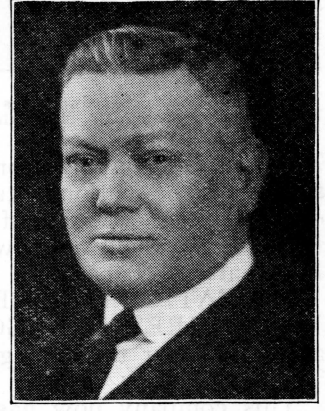
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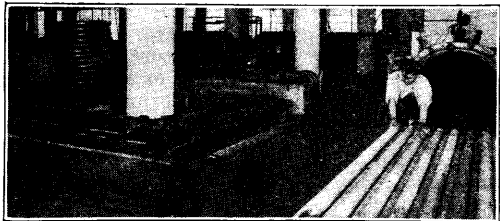
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chain store buyer can buy at such a low figure that he can sell goods that retail generally for 25 cents for 5 and 10 cents.

If these chain stores, selling articles that retail for such a small price, can earn such fabulous dividends, what will a chain of tire service stores earn with the big



Tube-making department. Here are made the famous National Red tubes. The factory is producing about 1,000 tubes a day.

sales it will make; sales averaging \$20 a piece?

It isn't hard to foresee what the earnings of such a chain of stores can pay in say ten years from today. By that time the chain should extend to every city of any importance in the country. This may mean thousands of such stores, because there are in the United States 1,442 towns of 5,000 or more inhabitants and over 100 cities having a population of 55,000 or over. The small towns, say the towns under 10,000, would require only one such service station, while the larger towns would require a number of them.

Thousands of Chain Stores

To give you an idea of how many stores some of the big chains have, it is enough to mention the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, with over 1,500 retail stores; the United Cigar Stores, with over 1,000 retail stores; the Woolworth Company, with over 1,000 stores, etc.

The tremendous growth of the automobile industry—a growth that is gathering size and importance every day—makes this projected chain of tire service stores all the more important.

At the beginning of 1917 there were approximately THREE MILLION autos in use in the United States. According to the last census, figures show there were in 1910 (date of last census) 91,972,266 inhabitants in the U. S. It is calculated that there are now at least 110,000,000 people in the U. S. At this rate, there is one auto in the U. S. for every 40 people. In many of the states, the ratio is higher than one for every 16 people. This means that **THERE IS A TREMENDOUS POSSIBILITY FOR MORE MACHINES.**

According to the best informed automobile authorities, it is calculated that there will be

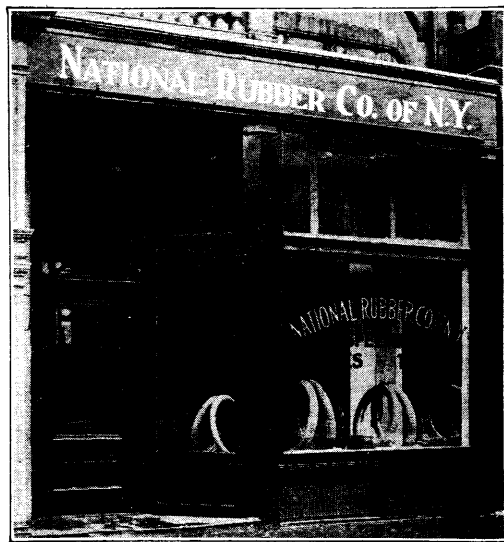
added at least 1,000,000 auto users during the year 1917, bringing up the total close on to **FOUR MILLION AUTOS in actual use in the U. S.** With such an *enormous* distribution of cars, and all the automobile factories of any account way behind in deliveries, an enormous supply of tires will be required to keep these autos running.

24,000,000 Tires Needed

Very moderate estimates place the number of tires required on each car at **EIGHT PER YEAR.** Each auto **MUST HAVE FIVE TIRES**, four on the wheels and one spare tire. It is an ultra conservative estimate, therefore, that places the required number of tires to meet the needs of 1917 at **SIX PER CAR PER ANNUM.** At this rate 4,000,000 automobiles will require 24,000,000 tires. This is truly AN **AMAZING FIGURE** for an industry that is only a little over a dozen years old.

The distribution of these cars is centered at present in certain sections. When the other sections have awakened to the advantages and uses of the automobile and its economy for travel and commercial purposes, it is more than likely that the distribution will be much more even.

It has been estimated by statisticians that there are **OVER TEN MILION men in the U. S.**



BOSTON BRANCH

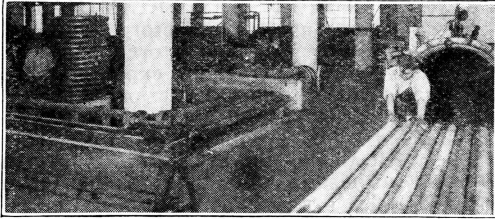
This was the second branch store of the National Rubber Co. to be opened after the success of the experimental store in Philadelphia. It is doing a wonderful business in National Speedway tires. It is located at 557 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.

who should be, and probably soon will be, auto owners. These are men who, because of their business, their financial conditions and their position, should become automobile owners.

There are upwards of seven million farmers in the U. S., and of these a large percentage will probably become owners of automobiles. Just now only about 7 per cent of the prosperous farmers own automobiles. The

chain store buyer can buy at such a low figure that he can sell goods that retail generally for 25 cents for 5 and 10 cents.

If these chain stores, selling articles that retail for such a small price, can earn such fabulous dividends, what will a chain of tire service stores earn with the big



Tube-making department. Here are made the famous National Red tubes. The factory is producing about 1,000 tubes a day.

sales it will make; sales averaging \$20 a piece?

It isn't hard to foresee what the earnings of such a chain of stores can pay in say ten years from today. By that time the chain should extend to every city of any importance in the country. This may mean thousands of such stores, because there are in the United States 1,442 towns of 5,000 or more inhabitants and over 100 cities having a population of 55,000 or over. The small towns, say the towns under 10,000, would require only one such service station, while the larger towns would require a number of them.

Thousands of Chain Stores

To give you an idea of how many stores some of the big chains have, it is enough to mention the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, with over 1,500 retail stores; the United Cigar Stores, with over 1,000 retail stores; the Woolworth Company, with over 1,000 stores, etc.

The tremendous growth of the automobile industry—a growth that is gathering size and importance every day—makes this projected chain of tire service stores all the more important.

At the beginning of 1917 there were approximately THREE MILLION autos in use in the United States. According to the last census, figures show there were in 1910 (date of last census) 91,972,266 inhabitants in the U. S. It is calculated that there are now at least 110,000,000 people in the U. S. At this rate, there is one auto in the U. S. for every 40 people. In many of the states, the ratio is higher than one for every 16 people. This means that THERE IS A TREMENDOUS POSSIBILITY FOR MORE MACHINES.

According to the best informed automobile authorities, it is calculated that there will be

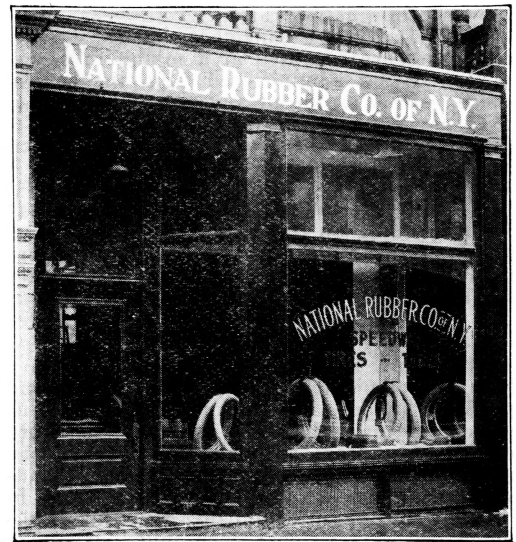
added at least 1,000,000 auto users during the year 1917, bringing up the total close on to *FOUR MILLION AUTOS in actual use in the U. S.* With such an *enormous* distribution of cars, and all the automobile factories of any account way behind in deliveries, an enormous supply of tires will be required to keep these autos running.

24,000,000 Tires Needed

Very moderate estimates place the number of tires required on each car at EIGHT PER YEAR. Each auto MUST HAVE FIVE TIRES, four on the wheels and one spare tire. It is an ultra conservative estimate, therefore, that places the required number of tires to meet the needs of 1917 at SIX PER CAR PER ANNUM. At this rate 4,000,000 automobiles will require 24,000,000 tires. This is truly AN AMAZING FIGURE for an industry that is only a little over a dozen years old.

The distribution of these cars is centered at present in certain sections. When the other sections have awakened to the advantages and uses of the automobile and its economy for travel and commercial purposes, it is more than likely that the distribution will be much more even.

It has been estimated by statisticians that there are *OVER TEN MILION men in the U. S.*



BOSTON BRANCH

This was the second branch store of the National Rubber Co. to be opened after the success of the experimental store in Philadelphia. It is doing a wonderful business in National Speedway tires. It is located at 557 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.

who should be, and probably soon will be, auto owners. These are men who, because of their business, their financial conditions and their position, should become automobile owners.

There are upwards of seven million farmers in the U. S., and of these a large percentage will probably become owners of automobiles. Just now only about 7 per cent of the prosperous farmers own automobiles. The

farmer is today the RICH MAN of the U. S. He has been getting the biggest prices ever paid for crops, he has by scientific farming increased the yield of his acres, and he has been fortunate in getting big crops when the price was highest.

For these reasons, **THE FARMER IS UNUSUALLY PROSPEROUS** and he is putting some of his riches into the comforts and conveniences of an automobile.

With such prospects, with such a tremendous field to conquer, with the **SUCCESS THAT** has attended the **FIRST UNIT** of the National Rubber Company chain of service stores, it is not hard to visualize the **ENORMOUS POSSIBLE PROFITS** from this enterprise.

How Profits Pile Up

Even a casual consideration of the subject makes the figures run into such amazing columns of profits that the very thought is staggering.

The great earnings of chain stores of all kinds has been in the aggregate.

When you take 1,000 stores and pile their profits in one great heap, you have a formidable aggregate—an aggregate which doesn't have to be very large in the individual case to make up this magnificent total.

Let us take into consideration one unit and then see how it works out.

Firstly, we must remember that these service stores are operated at a minimum of expense. Being administered from the central office, whose costs of operation are spread over the whole chain, the local stores require only inexpensive help. The man who operates a store of his own expects to make **A GOOD LIVING** out of it for himself **AND A GOOD PROFIT** besides; he has to pay for everything on the high price of individual purchases. He has to have efficient help, has to advertise and, of course, he has fixed charges for rent, light, taxes, insurance, etc.

Chain Store Savings

The chain store hires only the necessary help, it eliminates the owner's living and profits. It buys in enormous quantities at prices that make the prices the individual store owner pays seem preposterous; it pays the minimum for taxes, for insurance and the advertising expense of operating is carried in bulk by the parent company, and this is divided pro rata so that each individual store pays only a small sum as its share of the advertising expense.

Tires are bought at actual contract price from the manufacturer, which is lower than the average price the jobber pays.

We then have **EXPENSES PARED DOWN TO THE BONE**, probably **HALF WHAT THEY WOULD BE UNDER ORDINARY CONDITIONS**. And we have the most attractive kind of a proposition to offer to the tire buyer—**THE BEST TIRE ON THE MARKET AT MUCH LESS** than he would have to pay elsewhere; **A SERVICE NO OTHER TIRE CONCERN GIVES** or can give. **GUARANTEED. SATISFACTION**

backed up by a company operating a nationwide chain of stores.

With so much to offer and with such splendid profit-making advantages it is not hard to look into the future and see every store paying a big profit and the company earning dazzling dividends.

What may one store earn, you may ask?

Let us do a little figuring:

FIRSTLY, the **ENTIRE FACTORY SELLING EXPENSE** is **ELIMINATED**. The entire output of the factory being sold to one customer—the chain store.

The saving of the traveling expense and the salesman's salaries and commissions. The saving of advertising and promotion expense. The added office accounting and credit expense. All these are **SAVED** by the chain stores. In these items alone is found a selling cost of at least 30 per cent.

On top of that the **JOBBER'S DISCOUNT OF 40 PER CENT IS WIPED OUT**.

Because of the **TREMENDOUS OVER-HEAD** selling and distributing expense, the enormous discounts demanded by the jobber, the wholesaler and the retailer, if the manufacturing cost were **TOO HIGH** or even over his competitors, then the added charges as described here, increase out of proportion and the consumers' prices would be prohibitive.

Hence, in National Speedway Tires most of



In this department National Speedway tires are moulded. After the tires are completely built up they are encased in these moulds and cured for three hours by special process. Most tires are cured for only half to three-quarters of an hour. Three-hour curing gives them their great toughness and resistance.

the factory selling cost is put in the tire in **ADDED QUALITY AND QUANTITY**, and the usual trade discounts are divided with the consumer.

Profits of Chain Stores

We now come to the question of the profits of the chain stores—of each unit and of the chain in the aggregate.

After a careful scrutiny of costs of manufacturing, of operating the chain store—each unit—and figuring a retail price on the tires at a sensible reduction over average price of tires of equal size and quality, we find that there is still possible an average margin of \$5 per tire. This is **"AVERAGED"** because some of the tires will pay more profit while some will pay less, but the average has been shown to be about \$5 per tire sold.



In this department National Speedway tires are moulded. After the tires are completely built up they are encased in these moulds and cured for three hours by special process. Most tires are cured for only half to three-quarters of an hour. Three-hour curing gives them their great toughness and resistance.

This is evidently a CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE.

If each chain store sells ONLY 10 TIRES PER DAY, we have each store earning a profit of \$50 a day or \$50,000 a day profit for 1,000 stores.

\$50,000 profit per day for 365 days in the year—tire service stations are busier Sunday's and holidays than other days—FIGURES OUT THE ENORMOUS TOTAL OF \$18,250,000 A YEAR PROFITS.

You will realize that an estimate of only ten tires per day is very small. When you consider the tremendous advantages of dealing with National Rubber Company service stores, the high class of the product, the low price, the good service given in the way of



CHICAGO BRANCH

Chicago had the third branch store to be opened, and it is fast acquiring a splendid trade in National Speedway tires and tubes. The store is located on "Automobile Row," at 2112 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

instant special deliveries, placing the tire on the car and taking away the injured for repairs, it is not hard to understand why these stores should do an enormous business.

Ten tires per day is a very low estimate of the possibilities, but to be even more conservative, let us cut down this estimate by half. Let us suppose that the stores only AVERAGE FIVE TIRE SALES PER DAY. Let us see how this figures out.

FIVE TIRES A DAY, showing an average profit of \$25 per day per store, one thousand stores will, therefore, pay an estimated daily profit of \$25,000. For 365 days in the year THE ENORMOUS TOTAL WOULD BE \$9,126,000, and it would be a mighty poor store that couldn't sell five tires per day.

These figures are staggering when you analyze the accumulated profits of hundreds of stores all over the country, each contributing its quota of profits from many sources.

A Gold Mine of Profits

You will note that no estimate has been made of profits from sale of tubes and from

the repair department, which should also be profitable.

It will, of course, take time to build up such a large chain of service stations, but in a few years, with the growth of the chain and the enormous increase in the automobile industry and number of cars in use, THIS CHAIN OF TIRE SERVICE STATIONS SHOULD BECOME A VERITABLE GOLD MINE OF PROFITS FOR EVERY STOCKHOLDER WHO BECOMES INTERESTED IN THIS COMPANY NOW, when its shares can be acquired at a low initial price.

The National Rubber Company, of New York, is incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, with a capitalization of \$5,000,000, divided into 500,000 shares of the par value of \$10 PER SHARE, ALL COMMON STOCK, SHARING EQUALLY IN PROFITS AND CARRYING FULL VOTING POWER.

THE STOCK IS FULL PAID AND NON-ASSESSABLE.

For the purpose of establishing the business on a right basis, the directors have set aside 100,000 SHARES OF THIS STOCK TO BE SOLD TO THE PUBLIC.

Their idea is that by obtaining a wide distribution for this stock they will enlist local interest in the local distributing and service stations of the National Rubber Company.

Underwriting Stock Offer

This UNDERWRITING SYNDICATE STOCK is offered in five different allotments.

The present allotment will be sold in lots of not less than TEN SHARES and not more than 100 shares at \$7.50 per share.

This allotment of 10,000 shares is the only stock of the UNDERWRITING allotment that will be sold at this low price.

It is desired—as nearly as possible—to place every share of this UNDERWRITING stock in the hands of owners, or prospective owners, of automobiles, who will become immediate patrons of the chain stores and who ARE ALSO OFFERED AN INDUCEMENT TO BECOME BOOSTERS FOR THE TIRE SERVICE STATIONS. THIS INDUCEMENT CONSISTS OF A CASH DISCOUNT OF 25 PER CENT UNDER THE STANDARD LIST PRICES FOR ALL TIRES SOLD BY THE NATIONAL RUBBER COMPANY TO ITS SHAREHOLDERS.

An automobile owner, therefore, has a double interest in buying this stock.

The saving alone in tire bills for a year should pay for this ten shares if he buys at this price and he will have, besides the savings in tire costs, the dividends which the company declares.

IS THIS INVESTMENT WORTH WHILE, you may ask?

What This Means to Autoists

Let us study it over. \$75 invested in ten shares of this underwriting stock will save the automobile owner 25 per cent on his tires. If his bill for tires runs to \$200 a year, he will be saved, therefore, \$50. That means that the



CHICAGO BRANCH

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stock will have paid him a big return on his investment or 50 per cent on the par value of the stock, which, computed on a stock's ability to earn 5 per cent, will make his **TEN SHARES REPRESENT AN INVESTMENT OF \$1,000** which cost originally only \$75.

Then if the company begins paying dividends, the stock should go to par and over if the dividends amount to more than 5 per cent.

When the company gets on a 10 per cent dividend basis, the stock he bought for \$75 should represent an investment of \$200. When it pays 50 per cent, it should have an **INVESTMENT VALUE OF \$1,000.**

So when the company is in a position to pay 50 per cent dividends, the stock should represent an investment to the automobile owner of about \$2,000, figured on the basis of dividends and savings it will give him on his tire purchases. And all from an original investment of \$75.

When the company reaches its full development and its 1,000 or more stores begin piling up big profits, such as we have already figured on, profits that mean exceptional dividends, **THIS ORIGINAL INVESTMENT WILL HAVE ACCUMULATED A PHENOMENAL VALUE.**

NO AUTOMOBILE OWNER CAN AFFORD TO OVERLOOK SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY.

A blind man could see the possibilities presented in this underwriting offer, an offer so liberal that the directors had to confine it to a small amount of stock.

An Exceptional Offer

The offer of the stock at \$7.50 per share (par \$10) is in itself a tremendous inducement, but when it is coupled with the offer of the company to extend a discount of 25 per cent on all tire and tube purchases made through the company it becomes so extremely attractive a proposition that **NONE CAN AFFORD TO IGNORE IT.**

The savings in tire costs should soon pay for the stock of those who accept this offer and should pay for the stock of those who buy at a higher price.

This, in itself, makes the proposition attractive. But when the future of this company is analyzed and the possibilities it offers are considered, the offer becomes immensely more attractive.

YOU NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE AN AUTOMOBILE OWNER today to accept this offer. Your stock in the National Rubber Company will entitle you to this 25 per cent discount on tires and tubes **JUST AS LONG AS YOU REMAIN A STOCKHOLDER.** Later, when you buy an auto, you'll be able to buy tires at this great saving.

You often hear it said that if you had a chance to invest with Ford, or Willys, of Overland fame; with Goodrich or Fisk or Firestone; with Westinghouse or Bell, or some of the others, whose companies have earned fabulous dividends, and made stockholders rich, you would today be **ON EASY STREET.**

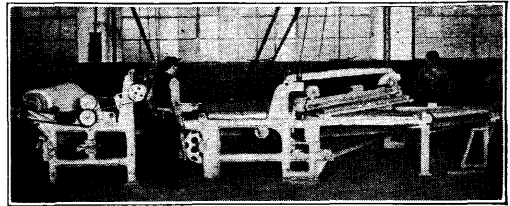
This is very true, but the pitiful truth is **YOU DID NOT HAVE THIS CHANCE. VERY FEW PEOPLE DID.** These companies were mostly close corporations with the stock held in the hands of a small group of men. These stocks were not offered to the public.

A Chance in a Million

BUT HERE IS A CHANCE. Here is a company offering **UNDERWRITING STOCK**, stock that can now be bought at the **ROCK BOTTOM PRICE**, that should in time become enormously remunerative. Stock in a company that promises to have tremendous growth.

Woolworth and Whalen and the others, who have made many millions out of chain stores, never gave the public a chance to come in on the organization. They have sold stock since, lots of it, to the general public, but it has been stock in the development proposition, stock that has been sold on the market **AT THE VALUE IT REPRESENTS NOW**, a value figured on the company's earning power.

LATER YOU MAY GET A CHANCE to buy National Rubber Company stock on the open market, but **YOU'LL PAY THE PRICE OF DEVELOPED STOCK.** If the company is earning 100 per cent on its capitalization,



Tire fabric cutting machine. This machine can cut the fabric for 1,000 tires a day, doing the work of 10 men.

you'll pay for it at that rate, which in that case would probably be \$2,000 for every \$100 par value, or \$200 a share for \$10 shares.

THIS IS THE PENALTY THAT SHORT SIGHTED PEOPLE PAY for not accepting opportunities that are offered them.

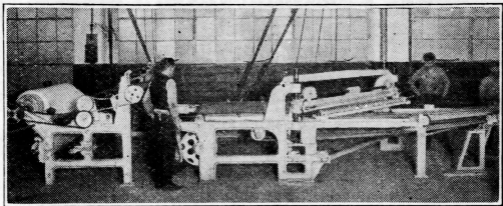
The poorhouse is **FULL OF SUCH PEOPLE, "THE MIGHT-HAVE-BEENS."**

They lacked the initiative and courage to back their belief with their money.

Those Who Have Courage

The others, those who are without fear, those who have courage to back their judgment with their money, they are those you watch spinning past you on the boulevard in luxurious limousines, whose homes line the fashionable streets.

MONEY MAKES MONEY, but it takes an exceptional opportunity to bring you big returns from small investments. You read, for instance, that \$500 invested in such-and-such stock has earned \$250,000; that \$500 invested in such other stock has paid \$200,000; that \$1,000 in other stock has paid \$200,000; that \$1,000 in Ford stock of the original company is now worth millions. **THAT IS ALL**

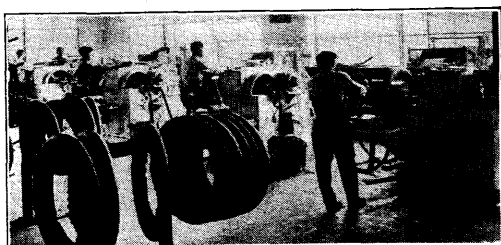


Tire fabric cutting machine. This machine can cut the fabric for 1,000 tires a day, doing the work of 10 men.

TRUE, gospel truth, BUT did YOU ever get a chance to invest in the original \$28,000 that started Ford on the highroad to his present millions? Did you get a chance to invest in the \$33,000 that John N. Willys has built up into the tens of millions of the Overland Company? Did you get a chance to invest in the \$33,000 house, or Bell Telephone, or Western Union or Wellsbach Mantles stock? Of course not. And very few people did, BECAUSE THESE STOCKS WERE RARELY OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC BEFORE DEVELOPMENT.

Fortunes From Tire Investments

Just as an instance of how even *small investments have grown into REAL FORTUNES*



Tire-Making Machines. A busy corner in this department. These four machines shown in the picture do the work of 40 men. This is the most modern tire-making machine built.

study the following table compiled from what are believed to be authoritative sources of information. This list shows how an investment of \$500 has grown when invested early in successful tire companies:

\$500 in Dunlop Tires is now worth and has returned.....	\$250,000.00
\$500 in B. F. Goodrich Tires has become worth	349,500.00
\$500 in Republic is now worth.....	60,000.00
\$500 in Fisk Tire & Rubber is now worth	60,000.00
\$500 in Diamond Rubber Co. is now worth	75,000.00

That the growth of tire companies has been phenomenal is proved by the fact that the Goodyear Company has already distributed 1,820 PER CENT IN STOCK DIVIDENDS among its stockholders in addition to 554 PER CENT CASH DIVIDENDS. Last fall the Firestone Tire Company declared a 1,000 per cent stock dividend to its stockholders in addition to its large regular cash dividends distributed since 1910, when the company was organized.

There's a Reason

This stock is offered for a reason.

It is offered by the UNDERWRITERS of this company to start it with a nucleus of interested tire buyers and boosters in every locality.

The directors set a MINIMUM OF TEN SHARES AND A MAXIMUM OF 100 SHARES on this offer. It would doubtless be more profitable to the company if every subscription for this stock was for \$75 (10 shares, par value \$100), because that would

mean that the greatest number of people possible would be holding this stock and boosting for the company.

Ten thousand holders of stock scattered throughout the country would mean a veritable army of boosters, helping build up the business IN WHICH EACH ONE HAS A SOLID, SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST.

Ten thousand boosters, working to popularize and make known the high quality of National SPEEDWAY RED-WALL TIRES and National Red Tubes—boosting this way because it is TO THEIR INTEREST to boost this way—would save the company tens of thousands of dollars per annum in advertising expense.

That's the principal REASON WHY THIS STOCK IS OFFERED TO YOU AND EVERYONE WHO BUYS TIRES OR EXPECTS TO BUY TIRES.

It is WORTH IT to the company to make you EVERY INDUCEMENT to buy this stock, AND IT IS CERTAINLY WORTH WHILE FOR YOU TO BUY IT.

Are You Waiting for a Miracle?

Every man hopes, some day, that by some wonderful miracle he will be lifted out of the life of drudging toil he leads into one of affluence, comfort and independence. It is our nature to live in this HOPE. But the day of miracles is past. Good fairies do not run around with bags of gold and drop them into the laps of the worthy.

YOU'VE GOT TO HELP YOURSELF TO FORTUNE. You've got to save to get a nucleus of money to invest where the opportunities for profit are large. BUT YOU'VE GOT TO INVEST YOUR SAVINGS, if you want them to pay big returns.

One of the world's greatest bankers has said that NO MAN WILL EVER GET RICH FROM THE SAVINGS OUT OF A SALARY OR WAGES. He must accumulate wealth by PUTTING THESE SAVINGS TO WORK, INVESTING THEM TO ADVANTAGE.

Of course, it takes COURAGE to invest money that you have worked hard for, that has been slowly and laboriously accumulated by privations and sacrifices. But IT IS THE COURAGEOUS WHO WIN THE EARTH.

DON'T INVEST ALL YOUR SAVINGS. That wouldn't be the wise course. Keep a reserve of your savings for eventualities, for sickness or loss of position or unexpected calls, BUT INVEST PART OF YOUR SAVINGS WHERE THEY CAN EARN YOU SOMETHING WORTH WHILE.

Invest Future Savings

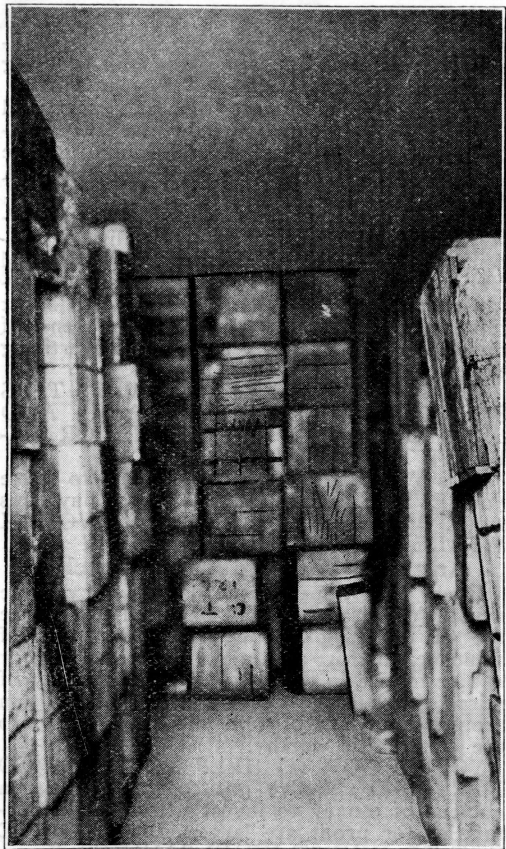
Or better still, HERE IS A PLAN BY WHICH YOU CAN ACQUIRE THIS STOCK WITHOUT TOUCHING YOUR SAVINGS.

BUY WHAT YOU CAN AFFORD TO PAY FOR OUT OF YOUR NEXT SAVINGS.

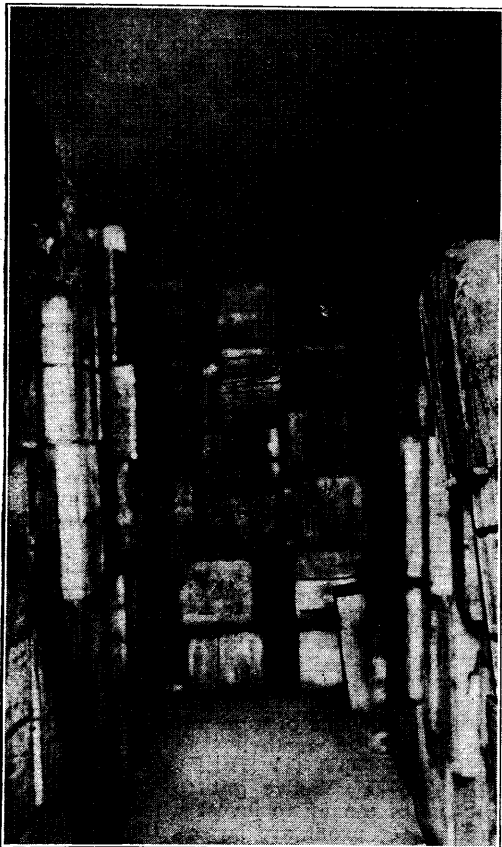
The directors have made it EASY FOR YOU TO GET THIS STOCK AND PAY FOR IT OUT OF YOUR FUTURE SAVINGS.



Tire-Making Machines. A busy corner in this department. These four machines shown in the picture do the work of 40 men. This is the most modern tire-making machine built.



Rubber vault. In this vault are stored thousands and thousands of pounds of uncured rubber for tire and tube making. It is stored here just as it comes from the ships.



Rubber vault. In this vault are stored thousands and thousands of pounds of uncured rubber for tire and tube making. It is stored here just as it comes from the ships.

You can pay down \$15 ON EVERY TEN SHARES OF STOCK YOU WANT AND PAY THE BALANCE IN FOUR EQUAL PAYMENTS OF \$15 A MONTH for each 10 shares, making the total of \$75 for the ten shares, par value \$100.

This liberal plan makes it possible for you

to buy this stock and pay for it WITHOUT TOUCHING THAT PRECIOUS CASH RESERVE you have been accumulating in the bank so carefully.

BUT WHATEVER YOU DO DON'T OVERLOOK THIS OPPORTUNITY. The next offering of shares will be at a HIGHER PRICE.

Don't delay unless you want to pay the HIGHER PRICE.

Fill out the convenient coupon attached. Mail it with your first payment, which will RESERVE the stock you want at this LOW PRICE. Then you can take fifteen days to investigate, to make sure that all the facts are just exactly as represented to you. If you, for any reason whatever, are not satisfied, you can release your reservation and your money will be returned to you, but if you find out that you have invested wisely—as we are confident you will find out—then you can either pay the balance in full or you can take advantage of the easy method of paying for it a little each month. Either plan is equally satisfactory to the directors of the National Rubber Company of New York.

IF YOU WANT ANY OF THIS UNDERWRITERS' STOCK, YOU'VE GOT TO WRITE NOW, AT ONCE, OR YOU WILL LOSE YOUR CHANCE.

How to Buy National Rubber Co. of N. Y. Stock

10 shares (par value \$100)	
\$15 down, \$15 a month for 4 months....	\$ 75.00
15 shares (par value \$150)	
\$22.50 down \$22.50 a month for 4 months	112.50
20 shares (par value \$200)	
\$30 down, \$30 a month for 4 months....	150.00
30 shares (par value \$300)	
\$45 down, \$45 a month for 4 months....	225.00
40 shares (par value \$400)	
\$60 down, \$60 a month for 4 months....	300.00
50 shares (par value \$500)	
\$75 down, \$75 a month for 4 months....	375.00
100 shares (par value \$1,000)	
\$150 down, \$150 a month for 4 months..	750.00

NATIONAL RUBBER COMPANY OF (N. Y.) POTTSTOWN, PA.

Broad and North Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

F. M

557 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass.

2112 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Date....., 191....

The undersigned hereby subscribes for.....
 shares of the Common Stock of the **NATIONAL RUBBER COMPANY** of New York, full paid and non-assessable, and tenders herewith.....
 to the order of **NATIONAL RUBBER COMPANY** of New York for \$.....
 at the rate of \$7.50 per share in ^{full—}part— Payment.

It is understood that in consideration of this subscription that as long as I remain a shareholder of record on the books of this Company I am to receive a Net Cash Discount of not less than Twenty-five Per Cent (25 per cent) from the Company's regular Printed Price List, on any goods listed therein which I may buy for my own use. I am to have 15 days from date in which to investigate all statements made by the Company.

Subscriber's Signature.....

(Address) (Town and State).....

Price of these shares subject to advance without prior notice.