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THE TOILER

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"The Republican platform will be a sacred contractual obligation between the party and the people"—Chairman Hays.

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The Domination of Capitalism the Working - Class and the Poorer Peasantry

— By N. Bucharin —

In all countries, except Russia after the October Revolution, but until October in Russia too, the power and the authority has been in the possession of capital. Let us take any country at all—the half-autocratic Prussia, republican France or the so-called democratic United States of America—everywhere big capital has the whole power in its hands. A small group of people—big bankers, landlords and manufacturers—keep millions and millions of workers and poor peasants in slavery and in servitude, force them to exert their strength to the utmost and drive them into the street when they are no longer of any use, when they are exhausted by the strain of work, have lost their strength, and can no longer earn profits for Mr. Capitalist.

It is wealth which gives this terrible power over millions of the toilers to the bankers and the manufacturers. Why must the poor man die of hunger when he is driven out upon the streets? Because he possesses nothing but a pair of hands and feet which he can sell to the capitalist when he needs them. Why can the rich banker or manufacturer spend his days doing nothing and rake in a sure income, why can he live in superfluity—and, every hour, every day, every moment heap up fresh profits? Because he not only possesses a pair of hands and feet, but also the means of work with out which one cannot work: factories, machines, railroads, mines, land, sailing and steam vessels, all possible apparatus and different instruments. This accumulated wealth belongs, the world over, with the exception of Russia, only to the capitalists and the landlords, who have become capitalists also. In such a condition of affairs, it is no wonder that a small number of people who hold all the necessities in their possession, should rule the remainder who possess nothing. The poor man goes from the country to the city in order to seek work. From whom? From the propertyholder. From the possessor of a factory or a foundry. The owner can discipline or favor. When his faithful servants—the directors and the bookkeepers—calculate that it will be more profitable to take on new workmen than to keep the old, then he will "give work." If the calculation turns out otherwise, he says to the worker: Go your way! The capitalist is a God, a Kaiser in his own factory. Everyone is subject to him, everyone obeys his orders. The factory is extended or curtailed at his order. At his order, the management discharges or takes on workers. He decides how much the workers must work, how much wages they are to receive. And this is the case because the factory is his factory, the foundry, his foundry, it belongs to him, is his private property. This right of private possession of the means of production, is precisely the cause of this fearful power, which is in the hands of the capitalists.

The same thing happens in reference to land. Let us consider the most free and the most democratic country—the United States, which the bourgeoisie is always dimming into our ears. Thousands of workers there cultivate land that is not their own, the land which belongs to the biggest proprietors, capitalists. Everything is arranged on these farms as in an enormous factory: tens and hundreds of tractor plows,

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BRUTALITY PROVEN AGAINST PALMER'S AGENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—While Attorney General Palmer is branding as "utterly false" the charges of Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound, P. Walsh, Jackson H. Ralston, and eight other well-known lawyers, of gross misconduct in the Department of Justice, the committee of twelve continue to place before the American public facts and figures in substantiation of their contention.

How Russian workers in this country were treated by agents of Mr. Palmer appears from the following summary of the committee's findings on this point:

Affidavits by persons arrested in or about the Russian People's House, 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York, on Nov. 7, 1919, when a classroom was entered by Department of Justice agents, charge the use of clubs and black-jacks by the agents, who "beat up" every one in the place and broke all the furniture. Several hundred prisoners were taken to Department of Justice headquarters, 13 Park Row, where they were put through the third degree of a secret inquisition, and four-fifths of them then released for lack of evidence.

Affidavits charging unjust arrest and persecution, prison cruelties, denial of prison rights, denial of opportunities to prove innocence and refusal of right to communicate with relatives of friends, by persons in Detroit, New York, and Jersey City are included in the report.

An affidavit by Alexander Bukowetsky, Detroit, arrested Nov. 9, 1919, at a concert given by the Union of Russian Workers, says that he and ten others were confined incommunicado for ten days, then taken to the Department of Justice headquarters, remained to jail, and held until January 21, 1920, taken to another prison, where there was no cell room, and slept on the floor for two months; sent to Fort Wayne prison, and later to Pontiac prison, where all the prisoners were robbed of their money and personal belongings, and still later returned to Fort Wayne. At Fort Wayne Bukowetsky said his wife and daughter, Violet, 12, and son, Robert, 4, came to see him with a permit. He was taken from his cell and as he was about to greet his family he was intercepted by a guard, and his wife and children were pulled out of the room before his eyes. The guard struck his wife several times, and when Bukowetsky protested, she was thrown to the floor and the guards rushed at him, one with a rifle beating him over the head. He called to his fellow prisoners to help

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Necessity for Trade Admitted -- War "Unthinkable"

LONDON, June 7.—Premier Lloyd George, after a second conference this afternoon with Gregory Krassin, Soviet envoy and minister of trade, delivered a speech in the House of Commons which clearly indicated that Great Britain intended to enter upon immediate trade relations with Soviet Russia.

He replied to the numerous criticisms which have been made against the policy of resuming trade. It was clear that the premier intends to carry the negotiations with the Russian representative through to a general declaration of peace.

He derided the notion of refusing to trade with Soviet Russia because of the British dislike of the Soviet form of government and the belief in "Bolshevist atrocities."

War is Alternative.
The premier warned the House that the only alternative to peace and trade relations with Soviet Russia was active military operations to overthrow the Soviet Government.

This, he said, would require the whole armed force of the British Empire and was "unthinkable" in view of the state of Britain's finances since the tremendous losses from the war with Germany.

"It appalls me to think of what might happen unless peace is restored," he declared.

The Premier's speech, needless to say, met a hostile reception on the part of the representatives of the banking interests and the fanatical ir-reconcilables, but the Premier asserted that he was well aware that the great masses of the country were in favor of peace with Russia.

It was seen today that while opposition may be strong to the opening of trade relations, peace with Russia is certain.

"Beginning of End," Herald Says.
"It is the beginning of the end and Labor has won its big victory," said the London Herald today.

The conference with Krassin today met an organized opposition in foreign comment. Press dispatches from France were especially hostile. They were seen, however, as efforts on the part of French financiers to embarrass the conferences.

For the most part, they contained announcements of discoveries of the usual plots of Lenin and Trotzky to overthrow the governments of Europe.

Trade developments are sure to follow, however, the settlement of the political questions, chief among which are the Polish war and the Asiatic question.

Before the matters are settled, Krassin has declared that Russia must have

GERMAN ELECTION VIEWS

BERLIN, June 7.—"Germany, as in the year 1919, is again faced by chaos." Such was the swift verdict of the Berliner Tageblatt while yet the German general election returns were coming in.

Though the final outcome may not perhaps completely justify such a depth of despair, it certainly looked as if the maintenance of stable government was being jeopardized. Two of the three coalition parties—namely, the Democratic and the Majority Socialist—have suffered defeats almost approaching a catastrophe, and as anticipated the consequent gains stand to the credit of the extremists at both ends. The Berlin workers have voted in the proportion of about three to one for the Independents as against the Majority Socialists, though the latter have done better in some other parts of the country.

The avowed reactionaries of the National People's Party have gained considerably, but the most sensational victories have fallen to the People's Party. Before it adopted the name, after the revolution, of the People's Party it was called the National Liberal Party. Under the new name, as under the old, it represents wealth. Just before the latest election the party underwent a complete reorganization and with the unlimited money at its disposal it conducted a campaign of propaganda whose intensity and enthusiasm seems to be justified by the present success.

In the late National Assembly, with only about a score of members, it was a negligible quantity. Now it is the new factor in German politics and the man behind the scenes is Hugo Stinnes, millionaire owner of all kinds of industrial enterprises, including sixty-four newspapers. His recent buying up of a number of leading journals was the first sign that the German capitalists intended making a great bid for political power.

Vorwarts, organ of the Majority Socialist, bewails the election result as meaning "the sharpening of class war." Vorwarts points out that while the whole Socialist movement—even assuming eventual unity between its various sections—has reached a standstill, reaction is advancing.

the guarantee of the Allies that attacks on Soviet Russia will cease.

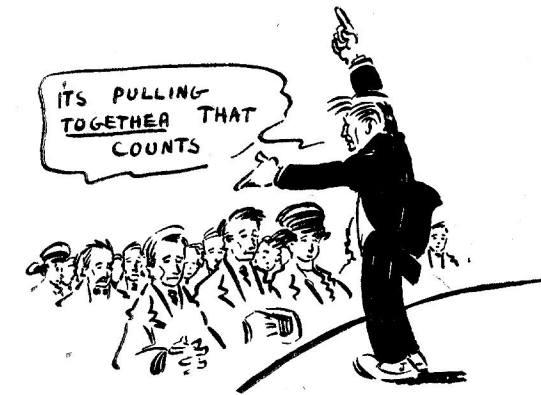
Among the assurances which England asks is that Russia will not invade Southern Asia.

The exchange of such guarantees are thought to be the first step toward peace and perhaps diplomatic relations. These are the chief questions of the preliminary debates.

Jimmy Higgins Gives His Views On How to Do It

The truest bit of philosophy on the face of the earth is that contained in the five word statement of our illustrious orator—Jimmy Higgins, depicted in the accompanying drawing. Jimmy is not much given to oratory, he is generally too busy DOING to have time to TALK. HE knows that it is far better to DO a thing and talk about it afterward—if it has to be talked about, than to just talk and talk without deeds. But when James is forced to talk he says something worth listening to—as witness the wisdom in this speech.

It is only because of the necessities of the present emergency in which The Toiler is involved because of the print paper situation, that we were able to prevail upon Jimmy to say a few words in these columns. Even at that it required some coaxing. Says Jimmy, "while I'm shooting off to these guys, telling them what they already know, I could be out rounding up a few dollars to get paper for the next issue." "But", we remonstrated, "folks have to be reminded occasionally to do even the things they want to do. They need to be told how and when to do them. You tell 'em", we said, and he did. And we pass it on to you because Jimmy nor any one else ever told the truth in better form.



And you know that Jimmy is right. We know it—every body knows it. It is one of the facts of human history that can't be gotten around. Co-operation IS the biggest single fact of human history. Because of it, and for other reason—you and we are here instead of being non-existent; positive proof of the truth of Jimmy's statement.

And because we are here and because we HAVE to, we must apply the logic of history to present problems. Whether these problems be big ones or little ones, the application must be made if they are to be solved advantageously.

We never knew of a better chance to apply the philosophy of Jimmy's statement than the present appeal of The Toiler to its readers for donations of dollar bills to help it purchase a supply of print paper for the ensuing months. If there was ever a better chance to prove that statement than is here offered we are not aware of it. And we are proving that PULLING TOGETHER does pay. That is, you are proving it, proving it by your one, two five and in some cases, ten dollar donations. We believe you will accept your own proof as good proof.

As we told you last week we were going to purchase 200 reams of print stock believing that our promise to pay very soon would be backed up by our readers. We have bought it and this issue is printed on part of it. Because of the PULLING TOGETHER of so many Toiler readers, because of the dollars they have sent us for print stock, we got that paper, \$750.00 worth. Because we have been PULLING TOGETHER, we have accomplished this. Pulling together still more will enable us to keep The Toiler in the field in spite of any and all difficulties.

A comparative few of us have made The Toiler and kept it on the job by pulling together. We can keep it on the battle front by continuing the same good policy of pulling ALTOGETHER until we have secured enough to meet its needs for print paper.

You can prove that you are pulling in co-operation with us by remitting a dollar, or more, TODAY!

MEXICO NOT ASKED TO RETURN SLACKERS

WASHINGTON, June 7.—The United States Government has made no representations to Mexico for the return to this country of American draft evaders who took refuge in that country during the war. It was declared at the State Department today that this Government has had no dealings with the new regime in Mexico nor with any individuals claiming to represent the Mexican Government.

Although Salvador Diego Fernandez, the Charge d'Affaires of the former Carranza Government, has advised the State Department that he has withdrawn from that office and has turned the Mexican Embassy over to representatives of the new regime, it was stated that the Department had not concerned itself with the matter further than to note the Charge's retirement from authority.

Neither formal nor informal transaction will be carried on by the State Department with the Mexican Embassy until the matter of American recognition of the new Mexican Government shall have been definitely settled.

MEXICO EXPELS REDS

New Government Takes Step to Check
Bolshevist Propaganda.

MEXICO CITY, June 7.—Five Bolsheviks have been expelled from Mexico City and taken to Tampico, where they embarked for Havana.

Three Russians, formerly living on the east side in New York, who arrived here during the war to escape military service, were arrested last week. A search of their rooms revealed Bolshevist propaganda. One of them named Stech was identified as the man who was working with the strikers in Tampico last November. President de la Huerta ordered the expulsion.

Chief of Police Amieva of Mexico City has received orders to arrest all Bolsheviks and extreme radicals, who will be deported. The Government is determined not to permit Mexico to become a centre of propaganda.

Lenin Urges Farm and Shop Unity on Union Congress

Third Labor Congress of Russia Links Crafts With
Moscow International in Class Solidarity.

The Third Union Congress of Soviet Russia, according to Finnish newspapers just received by the Federated Press, convened at Moscow in the middle of April. Delegates, 1,588 in number, from all parts of Russia, Turk-estian, Ukraine and Don were present, representing 4, 328,009 members.

The congress was opened by Tomskij, president of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, who, in his opening address, emphasized that this congress, on the experiences of two and one-half years, must call the attention of the unions to the solving of the important economic problems facing the workers of Russia during the transition period to peaceful reconstruction. As to international relations, he said, the Russian appeals to the workers of the world will receive a response that will create a basis for a strong trade union international under the banner of the Third International.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by Kalinin, Bucharin, Rukoff and Radek, and by representatives of various parties. Greetings were sent to the German workers.

Unite Farm and Factory—Lenin.
On the second day Nicolai Lenin welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Soviet Government.

"Transition from military to economic problems is characteristic of the present period," he said. "The purpose of Communist policy is to abolish classes as well as the distinction between workers and peasants. Only through the united efforts of the workers and peasants can Socialism be realized. The proletariat must create a new system.

"It is impossible to gain freedom only through loyal solidarity and enthusiasm. It requires work of long duration; it requires a moral and organizing strength of all workers created by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship is rightful because the peasant masses are without the bond of unity and discipline. These qualities brought the victory over the capitalist states which have more cannons and dreadnaughts.

"Soviet Russia is powerful on account of this strong voluntary unity. This unity is strengthened by the congresses of the workers and peasants. No country has in a hundred years had so many congresses as Russia during the last few years. No country has gained such a spirit of democracy. Our congress are marked by enthusiasm and unanimity. This incomparable spirit of voluntary association is the basis of the strength of Soviet power. The orders of the Soviet Government are obeyed without reluctance by the workers and peasants.

Calls for more discipline.

"The proletariat which so far has been organized by trades, is now organizing itself as a class. The question is to help this class to reach its aim. This will be realized before all by discipline. Now, in the first place, organizing unity and moral education are necessary. We need more discipline, more personal responsibility, more dictatorship. These conditions are essential for victory.

"The Communists form the advance guard to the worker's army. If all organized workers and peasants will follow the decisions of the Communist congresses are marked by enthusiasm and unanimity. This incomparable spirit

Following Lenin's speech, the congress adopted a resolution favoring:

1. The publication of an appeal to all workers of Soviet Russia to begin a united struggle against economical disorganization;
2. The immediate adoption by every union of a thorough and firm labor discipline;
3. Renewed efforts to induce all workers to take part through their unions in communistic policy under the leadership of the Communist party for the benefit of the Russian working class.

Unions Join Third International.

The congress further decided, upon hearing the report of the Commissar of Labor, that it is the duty of the commissar to see to it that the decisions arrived at by the various congress and other workers' organs concerning labor questions are really put into effect. Further, that unions must have more controlling power in the Commissariat of Labor. The members of the executive committee of the Commissariat must be elected by the trade union congress or by local congresses or by their executive committees. The factory committees, it was also agreed, must work in accordance with the decisions of the organizations of their trade. The factory committees are under the control of the unions.

After the speech by Radek, the congress adopted a resolution by which the Russian Trade Union movement joins the Third International. An appeal will be sent to the organized workers of all countries to follow the example of the Russian Trade Union movement.

The congress regarded trade education as the most important part of the educational work of the workers' state in order that every branch of industry may have competent workers. Education must be developed to embrace all phases of the life and illiteracy must be fought with vigor.

To the Workers of Toledo
Wm. D. Haywood

Will Speak At

The Labor Temple
Toledo, Ohio

SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 2:30 P.M.

Subject

"The Need of Workingclass Solidarity"

All workers are cordially invited. If parasites insist on attending we shall not turn them away.

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION --- Bertrand Russell

II.

(In the first part of this article, which appeared in *The Liberator* and subsequently in *The Toiler* last month, Bertrand Russell discussed the possibility of realizing mankind's dream of freedom. Capitalism has begun to fail as a method of production, and by arousing the discontent of the workers has raised up a power sufficient to overthrow it. But will Socialism secure freedom for mankind? And ought we, then, to seek to promote its complete success—or should we refrain because of the evils involved in a conflict of classes?—"For my part," says Bertrand Russell, in answer to this question, "I feel convinced that any vital progress in the world depends on the victory of International Socialism, and that it is worth while, if necessary, to pay a great price for that victory. . . . When I speak of Socialism, I do not mean a milk-and-water system, but a through-going rot-and-branch transformation, such as Lenin has attempted. And if its victory is essential to peace, we must acquiesce in the evils involved in conflict, in so far as conflict is forced upon us by capitalism." With these words he concludes the first part of his article, upon which this present installment immediately follows.)

There are, however, some things which must be borne in mind as qualifications of this conclusion. One point of very vital importance is that Socialism should not lose its internationalism. It is perfectly possible to imagine Great Powers, each organized communistically on a national basis, coming into conflict for the possession of raw materials. The oil in the Caucasus, for example, might well afford ground for such a conflict. Nor is there anything in Socialism, so long as it is merely national, that is incompatible with a new kind of Chauvinism. The contempt for the rule of the majority during the revolutionary period which the Bolsheviks inculcate, and their belief in winning over the majority through the temporary dictatorship of a class-conscious minority, obviously justify wars for the spread of the socialist idea, and such wars would easily become nationalistic when waged between a socialist and a capitalist Power. The abolition of exploitation at which Socialism aims, and which would make it a guarantee against war, is of course not complete so long as exploitation by nations continues. It is only secured when the raw materials of the world are dealt with by an international authority. It may well be doubted whether Socialism will be strong enough to overcome nationalist interest and feeling so completely as would be involved in this method of dealing with raw materials, yet until it has achieved this, it will have done little by way of affording a safeguard against wars.

And, apart from raw materials, there is another question, which might well cause wars between communistic national States: I mean the question of the right of immigration. In Australia and throughout North and South America, this question may be of paramount importance for many years to come.

Against international socialism there stands, except in America, only one really strong popular force

—the force of nationalism. By nationalism I mean the determination to secure the interests of one's own nation at no matter what cost to other nations, and the belief that the interests of different nations are essentially antagonistic, or rather the hatred of other nations of which this belief is a rationalized expression. In all the new States which have been created by the Peace Treaty, nationalism in this sense appears to be absolutely dominant. Most of them would rather kill their neighbors and starve, than live in plenty, at the cost of friendly relations with races whom they hate. This attitude of mind is partly instinctive, partly the result of education, and propaganda, which probably cannot be eradicated at all quickly, except by the use of force, in preventing hostilities, promoting freedom of trade, and setting up a new kind of education. The League of Nations, with its legacy of war hatreds, is quite incapable of performing this work. International Socialism alone, of all the forces now in the world, can really alter the mentality of bellicose populations. I do not say that even International Socialism can achieve this quickly, but I do say that, if it were in power, it could achieve it in the course of a generation, since what it has to combat is instinct and tradition, very palpably contrary to self-interest, and what it has to substitute is a generous ideal from which the enormous majority of the population would derive material benefit.

In spite of the serious difficulties and problems which Socialism will have to face if it becomes dominant, I am firmly convinced that it is the necessary next stage in the world's progress, if the things for which Western civilization has stood are to survive in any degree. I believe, also, that the degree of good it can accomplish depends upon the degree of generous hope in those who bring it about. If the evils that flow from economic exploitation are thoroughly realized, and the new world that can result from its complete abolition is vividly desired, a new force will be generated, sufficiently strong to dethrone nationalism from men's hearts; and it is nationalism alone, in Europe and Asia, that enables capitalism to preserve its power for evil. With nationalism removed, idealism and self-interest alike would prompt the enormous majority of the civilized population of the world to adopt International Socialism, and once adopted, this system would be stable through its palpable advantages, and through the fact that there would be no class with an obvious interest in overthrowing it.

Freedom, democracy, peace, efficient production and economic justice, can come through International Socialism and cannot come, so far as I can see, in any other way. But although Socialism may bring these things, it is not certain it will do so. Whether it brings them or not will depend largely upon the manner of its advent, upon the fierceness of the struggle, and upon the temper of the victor.

I think that our own country, especially through the guild idea, has a very definite contribution to make in the transitional time. I think that we can effect the transformation without violence and that we can do more than any other country to keep alive,

during the struggle, those ideals of individual liberty without which a socialist society, if created, would be stereotyped and unprogressive and lifeless. Liberty and war are not compatible, yet an extension of liberty is one of the professed aims of socialists: collective liberty in work through self-government in industry; individual liberty outside work through the shortening of hours. The relative merits of different forms of socialism, and of different tactics for securing socialism, can be judged by capacity to secure these ends.

Socialism, no doubt, like capitalism, will be a phase in human development, succeeded by something of which we do not yet foresee the nature, perhaps by anarchism. It would be fatal to future progress if Socialism established itself, like the Church after Constantine, as a persecuting orthodoxy, fettering the human spirit, and delaying progress for a thousand years. Such a result is not impossible, especially if the victory of Socialism is brought about by military means at the end of long and disastrous wars. For this reason, if for no other, the victory of Socialism by peaceful means is immeasurably to be desired.

Every strong conception of human life tends to pass through three phases. In the first, it is amiable, humanitarian, persuasive, seeking to convince by argument rather than by force. In the second phase, having acquired a certain strength, and roused an opposition of a certain fierceness, it ceases to be amiable and becomes militant, justifying its militancy by the belief, inherited from the amiable phase, that its victory will bring the millennium. In the third phase, having acquired power, it becomes oppressive and cruel. Christianity exhibited the first of these phases down to the time of Constantine; in the Crusades it exhibited the second; in the Inquisition it exhibited the third. Capitalism has passed through similar phases. In Adam Smith, Cobden and Bright, we see its amiable phase. In its overthrow of feudal institutions it exhibited its militant phase. In the exploitation of inferior races, and the anti-socialist reign of terror, we see its third, tyrannical phase. The same thing has happened as regards Nationalism, though here the rate of development is different in different nations, according to their strength. Mazzini exhibited its amiable phase, Bismarck its militant phase, and modern Imperialism its tyrannical phase.

Socialism has passed, with the accession of Lenin, from the amiable to the militant stage. In so passing, it has lost much of its attractiveness for certain types of mind. There are those who feel acutely the evils of the existing world, and desire ardently the existence of a world free from these evils, who yet shrink from the stern conflict which is involved in getting rid of them. I confess to a very strong sympathy with such men. I observe that, in the course of a conflict, every ideal becomes degraded, and that the forcible victory of a party is invariably accompanied by loss of the greater part of what made their victory desirable. And violent conflict in itself, especially when it is pro-

longed and wide-spread, tends to degrade the societies which indulge in it. I cannot believe that a socialism which would achieve victory after a lengthy and world-wide civil war, would retain the kind of temper necessary for a happy and progressive society. Progress after its victory would probably depend upon those who would oppose it in its victorious form, in the interests of some freer, less castiron set of institutions, embodying once more something of the old ideals of Liberalism—not, it is true, the economic ideals, such as free competition, but the social ideals, and the intellectual freedom which no party engaged in a life and death struggle can permit.

Socialism has many forms, and it is not improbable that the victory in different countries will be for different forms. Subject to the paramount claims of order and efficient production, the most important thing that any socialistic system has to aim at is freedom. National Builders have always remembered the importance of freedom, far more than their Collectivist predecessors. Their system of balances between the rival powers of Parliament and Guild Congress is designed to secure political freedom. Their system of self-government in industry, as opposed to bureaucratic management by State Socialists, is designed to secure freedom for the collective workers in any industry, both nationally, in the general problems of the industry, and locally, in all matters that can be decided locally. The system of devolution, not only geographically, but industrially, is of great importance for creating the sense of freedom, the possibility of personal initiative, and the opportunity for beneficial experiments.

Self-government in work is the most important of all the forms of freedom that have to be conquered, because his work is what touches a man most closely, and because, owing to this, it is the best way of arousing his political consciousness. Freedom in work was the chief aim of syndicalism, and it is the aim of guild socialism. I believe that it is secured by means of the national guilds than by any other economic organization of production. I believe that the sense of self-direction and independence, which will be thus secured, will entirely alter the outlook upon work of ordinary workers, and will, at any rate while it is new, stimulate production enormously more than the old capitalist incentive of terror.

But in addition to freedom in work there is of course freedom outside work, in leisure hours, and this will be secured by the shortening of hours, which more efficient methods will render possible. At present, more efficient methods are viewed with suspicion as rebounding only to the advantage of the capitalist. Under the new system, the whole advantage of them will be obviously derived by the workers, and technical progress is likely to be enormously accelerated by this change. This is illustrated by the Bolshevik adoption of the Taylor system of scientific management (See "The Soviets at Work," by Lenin.)

There is, of course, another kind of freedom,

applicable to rather few individuals, and yet of very great importance to the progress of mankind, and that is the freedom to refuse to occupy any place in the organized system of the community. The man who wishes to teach a new religion, to invent a new science, or to produce a new art, may find no guild ready to receive him. All fundamental innovations must necessarily go against the will of the community, no matter what the economic system may be. For the sake of such men it is highly desirable that complete emancipation from the system should be possible for anyone willing to endure sufficient hardships. Exceptional behavior which is probably slightly harmful, but may be very beneficial (such as painting pictures which the experts consider worthless) may rightly be discouraged, but should not be made physically impossible for those who believe in it enough to incur sacrifices rather than discontinue it. Loopholes and exceptions are absolutely vital if society is to remain progressive. We, in this country, if we adopt socialism at all, are sure to adopt it in a piecemeal and unsystematic fashion, which gives a far better chance than systematic Bolshevism for the toleration of loopholes and exceptions. We may hope that Continental socialism, when once it has become secure, will be strong enough to admit the advantages derived from such failure of systematization. In this respect, I believe that we have something of importance to contribute to the ultimate outcome.

Capitalism can no longer make a tolerable world, or preserve for us the heritage of civilization. International Socialism can do these things, provided it can achieve power without too prolonged or ruthless a struggle. Those who oppose the advent of Socialism take upon themselves a very grave responsibility. It is impossible to believe that the old system will be preserved, and all that the opposition can effect is to rob the new system of much of its merit. We who stand for Socialism have to remember that it is not enough to defeat our opponents, if in so doing we defeat ourselves, and that we shall defeat ourselves if the new society which results from our efforts does not embody more of freedom for the creative human spirit, and for the lives of ordinary men and women, than has ever existed in the world before. I do not believe that it is possible to dispense wholly with the use of force, though I do believe that, in this country, the necessary force can be acquired without violent revolution. Force, if it is to succeed in its ultimate purpose, must be always subservient to propaganda. It must be employed in ways which help to persuade, not in ways which alienate the ordinary citizen. And at every stage, everything possible must be done to make it clear that the use of force is temporary, and that the goal is a society where force shall no longer be needed. It is only through the inspiration of a great hope, through the vivid realization of the better world at which we aim, that we can prevent our aims from degenerating in the conflict, and that we can secure the victory, not only of our party, but of our ideals; the ideals of freedom, economic justice, and international co-operation, which the world needs, and which only Socialism can achieve.

Bertrand Russell.

The Domination of Capitalism

(Continued from 1 page)

mowing machines, harvesting machines, sheaf binders, at which, from morning to night, wage slaves are working. And just as in the factory, they are not working for themselves but for the proprietor. Because the land, the soil, the machines, the seeds—in one word, everything except the hands of the workmen themselves is the private property of the capitalist-proprietor. He is the boss here. He commands and manages the business in such a way that sweat and blood are changed into ringing gold. The workers obey him, occasionally grumble a bit, but continue to earn gold for the proprietor because he has everything—and the worker, the poor country man, possesses nothing.

It occasionally happens that the landlord does not hire any workers, but rents out his land. With us, in Russia, for example, the peasants with their small plots of land hardly large enough to feed a chicken, were forced to rent land from the landowner. They worked there with their horses, their plows, their harrows and drags. But in this way, also, they were mercilessly exploited. The bigger the need for land, the larger rent did the landlords demand, forcing the poor peasants to actual slavery. Why could he do it? Because the land belonged to him, the landlord, because the land was the private property of the landlord-class.

Capitalist society is divided into two classes: into those who work much and eat little and poorly; and into the class which works little or not at all, but which eats much and well. This does not accord with the Holy Bible which says: "Who works, shall eat." But this fact does not hinder the priests of every religion from praising the capitalist system, for, to be sure, everywhere the priests receive their golden reward from the capitalists (except in the Soviet Republic).

Now arises a second question: How can a small number of parasites maintain the right of private property in all the most necessary instruments of labor? How has this private property of the parasitical class existed so long? What is the cause of it?

The cause of it is the excellent organization of the enemy of the working people. At the present time, there is not a single country in which the capitalists work separately. On the contrary, each of them is a staunch member of the propertyholders' organization. And these very organizations of propertyholders have all the power in their hands, they have tens of thousands of loyal agents who do not serve them

through fear alone, but because their conscience tells them to. The whole economic, business life of the community is at the complete disposal of special combinations of property owners, syndicates, trusts, and large associations of banks. These combinations control and rule everything.

The most important combination of all is the bourgeois State. This organization of propertyholders holds all the reins of government and of power in its hands. Here everything is discussed and calculated, everything is considered and prepared so that at the first attempt of the workingclass to rise against capital, the attempt may be nipped in the bud.

The government has at its disposal harsh material force (spies, police officials, courts, hangmen, drilled and soulless soldiers) and the spiritual force which gradually corrupts the workingmen and the poor morally, educating them according to false ideas. For this purpose, the bourgeois State has schools and the church, to which must be added the capitalist press. Everyone knows that pig-breeders can breed pigs that are so fat that they can hardly walk, but are extraordinarily fit for the slaughter. Such pigs are artificially bred by giving them a particular kind of food every day, from which they grow fat. Just so does the capitalist deal with the working-class. He gives the workers, to be sure, very little real food—for fattening the body. But every day he serves to the workers a special sort of mental food which makes the brain of the workers fat and unfit to work. The bourgeoisie would like to turn the working-class into a herd of swine, which is obedient and fit for slaughter, which does not think and which willingly subordinates itself. On that account, the bourgeoisie begins even with the children in the schools and in church, inculcating the idea that one must be obedient to those in authority because they are ordained by God (only the Bolsheviks are honored by the Church's ban instead of its prayers, because they refused to pay the deceivers in monks' hoods out of the treasury of the government). And for the same reason, the bourgeoisie is very solicitous for the successful dissemination of its lying press.

The admirable organization of the bourgeois-class makes it possible for it to maintain private property. There are very few millionaires, but next to them is a sorry mass of their most trusted, submissive and brilliantly paid servants: ministers, factory directors, bank directors, etc.; next to them are their helpers, who get less but are absolutely dependent on them, are educated in their spirit, and intend to get positions of the same variety, and if they succeed, to mount higher; they are followed by still smaller officials and agents of capital,

etc. In rows they follow each other and are bound together by the centralized organizations of the bourgeois State and other combinations of propertyholders. These organizations cover each country like a net, in which the working-class struggles in vain.

Every capitalist government becomes really an enormous Association of property owners. The workers work—the possessors enjoy; the workers execute—the propertyholders command; the workers are deceived—the possessors deceive. That is the system which is called the capitalist system and to which the Lord Capitalists bid us submit.

Notes of Interest to Workers

MOSCOW.—A recent report of the Moscow municipal food administration shows that the most strenuous work of the bureau has been that of furnishing necessities of life to the children.

MILWAUKEE.—The appeal for clemency for Carl Haessler, former instructor in the University of Illinois, serving a term in Alcatraz prison, California, as a political objector, has been denied and he will have to serve his full term, according to word received here by his wife and friends who recently appealed in his behalf. Haessler's term expires about June 15, 1921, but it may be commuted for good behavior to permit his release Sept. 16.

GENEVA, Switzerland.—A plan to launch a simultaneous attack on British imperialism was developed at a recent conference here of delegates from India, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Algeria and Russia. Paver Pasha of Turkey was the president of the conference.

The Indian delegates asserted that the British military occupation of Constantinople was only a "bluff" and that its real purpose was to obtain British prestige in India. They assured the conference of the hearty cooperation of the revolutionists of India in the dismemberment of the British empire.

TIFLIS.—Official newspapers in Persia are energetically demanding immediate alliance with Soviet Russia, which, they say, is the only country in the world which is not imperialistic and which will honor the rights of Persia.

The revolutionary movement in Persia is growing. The bread masses are impatiently waiting for the best mo-

wonderful spirit of human solidarity displayed in this relief work would form a bright page in future history.

KRIEGER, I. W. W., IS FREED BY JURY.

Man Charged with Bombing Oil Head's Home Acquitted in 2 Hours.

TULSA, Okla., June 8.—Charles Krieger, I. W. W. under prosecution since December 28, 1917, in two different trials, was acquitted today of the charge against him, after the jury had been out for two hours.

Krieger was held on a charge of conspiring to dynamite the home of J. Edgar Pew, an executive of the Standard Oil Company subsidiary. He was first arrested in Tulsa December 28, 1917, without warrant, and held in prison for more than six months without being informed of the charge against him.

His first trial started on October 6, 1918, and resulted in a hung jury—six to six. His second trial started a number of weeks ago. In the interval he was released under bail. The jury which acquitted him today was composed of a majority of farmers. Judge Raymond S. Cole officiated in the district court where Krieger was tried. ENGLAND BENT ON RUSS TRADE.

BRUTALITY PROVEN AGAINST PALMER'S AGENTS.

(Continued from 1st page.)

him and an Inspector, Brodnick, opened fire, shooting a prisoner, Zuba, in the leg.

That night Bukowetsky was sent to Wayne County prison, but not before he was robbed of what possessions he had saved from the last robbery. Next day's papers said the prisoners had tried to escape. Bukowetsky swears the Department officials have offered him freedom if he will report occasionally. He says he refuses freedom except as a free man, and that if he is an outlaw he wants them to prove it and punish him. He is still in prison.

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THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

The recent German elections indicate that the workingclass of that troubled Republic have at least learned a little during the past two years of travail due to the war and the peace, which is almost as bad. They have turned leftward for their representatives in the national assembly.

While reports of Communist strength are disappointing, Left elements there and elsewhere may content themselves in finding sufficient reasons therefor in the slow and methodical Teutonic manner of arriving at a certain point. If Communists find little consolation in the elections, no less can capitalism and the reactionaries find comfort therein.

The outstanding features of the incomplete returns are that the governmental machine, the Majority Socialists, broken down and been scraped by the voters. Class lines have been drawn tighter and are sharply defined. Gains have been made almost entirely by the Left and Right, the not by the extreme Left and Right.

The Independent Socialists, representing the Left group have won great strength in the industrial centers which figured so prominently in the recent rebellion. These gains are directly attributable to that revolt and indicate the progress made in the German industrial mind in the past few months.

The German Peoples' Party or Populists, figure in the role of business man's party, a party of capitalism which speaks the mind of German capitalism taking the offensive. There are other parties in between these two and the Nationalists and Communists at the extreme Right and Left. The in between parties lose to both Left and Right and there seems little possibility that any sort of a working agreement will come about between any groups.

The exasperating slowness of the development of the German proletarian revolution strikes a chill upon communists generally. Nevertheless, we may be satisfied of the fact which these elections prove: that there is to be no settling down to apathy of the German workers. German workers are slowly reacting to the economic necessity and spirit of the times. The rest we must leave to time.

The German revolution can only develop along lines governed by racial characteristics, politico-social development and industrial growth.

THE POWER OF PRINT

The trebling of the German People's Party vote and representation in the elections has brought to light news of interest regarding the influence of the press in molding public opinion.

The People's party, previously the National Liberal party, went into eclipse when the monarchy collapsed. It has been revived principally thru the tactics employed by one of Socialist (?) Germany's biggest capitalists and exploiters of labor, Hugo Stinnes. Stinnes represents aroused German capitalism making a determined stand against the rise of communistic thought. The increase of representation gained for the People's party indicates how effective were the means employed.

Stinnes is now Germany's newspaper king. He is also a king in other financial and industrial enterprises. Besides owning sixty five newspapers and magazines he also controls mines, steel mills, ship lines, paper factories and hotels. It would be hard to conceive of an existence for even a day in Germany without paying tribute to Hugo Stinnes, so universal is his control of necessities.

He is the power behind the People's party, supplying the necessary funds. For months he has been quietly buying influential newspapers and periodicals. Thru control of these means of information the public mind was largely molded along the lines indicative of the best interests of Stinnes and capitalist interests generally. The tremendous vote gained by the party in the elections is the direct result.

However, there is a certain artificiality in influence gained in such manner. Tremendous as is the power of the public press, there is a fundamental and basic cause of human activity which in the end will rule the mass and which no public press can turn aside or controvert. This is the economic needs of the people. Their very miseries provoke them to thots and measures which are elemental in their nature and over which the veneer and conventionalities of civilization have no influence whatsoever.

The rise of the People's party (capitalist party) is indicative of a last determined struggle of capitalism to erect a machine for the self perpetuation of capitalism in Germany. The class lines are now more tightly drawn than heretofore. The miserable, makeshift, compromising Majority Socialist power has been broken. The battle henceforth lies between predatory capitalism and a developing working class-consciousness.

A capitalist controlled press is on unequal weapon in that battle. The masses will eventually win.

THE CARDINAL'S PRAYER

"Grant that the proceedings of this convention may be marked by wisdom, discretion, concord, harmony and mutual forbearance worthy of an enlightened and patriotic body of American citizens".

With the above pious wish, Cardinal Gibbons closed his prayer to God Almighty at the opening of the Republican Party convention at Chicago. Presumably the Cardinal believed then in the efficacy of prayer. We don't. We wonder now, in the light of later convention developments if the Cardinal does—any more. If his faith remains unshaken we congratulate him upon having a 100 percent proof skull. Nothing that he prayed for has come about. It seems that the Cardinal picked an entirely impossible feat for even omniscience to perform. So much the worse for the Cardinal. To expect such accomplishments from a Republican party convention is preposterous in the extreme; to pray for them is appropos to an insult to the intelligence of the power which the worthy Cardinal seems to believe rules this mundane sphere and all therein, including the rotten political conventions of putrid politics.

Everything emanating from the convention smells to heaven of the decayence that marks present day capitalist politics. From the "keynote"

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

speech of one of the party's fossils to the latest reports of intrigue, bribery and chicanery, it has been shot thru and thru with every evidence of the coin, has steam rolled out of existence all opposition in its path. There have liberal and vicious use of money as against principle and consideration of the wishes of the people as voiced at the primaries. The wishes of the primary voters have long since been forgotten. The machine, the one which carries the been open confessions of votes bought and sold at a price indicating that coin, will steam roller out of existence all opposition in its path. There has the holders realized their value. While the Cardinal sought with closed eyes divine guidance, the delegates had their optics glued upon the trough from which they have since swilled their full. The glitter of the coin was guidance enough for them—to the devil with the Cardinal and the Almighty!

No political convention ever sounded the gavel with less of principle, less of integrity, less social purpose in its program than this miserable affair at Chicago. However it is not surprising that this is true. When a political party becomes a mere puppet in the hands of predatory capital, a tool with which to keep from the people at large their just and worthy dues, it cannot at such a time maintain a front of deceptive purity. Its rottenness seeps thru the thin veneer. This is what has happened to the Republican party. Rotten at the heart the pus has at last soaked thru and rotted the whole fabric. The "Party of Lincoln" has become a putrid mass fit only for burial.

But it will not be buried—yet. The American voters, for whom the Cardinal has such high hopes, will march to the polls as to a holiday and put those who have been out, IN, and those who have been in, OUT. To expect more at this stage of the American workingclass voter's social and class consciousness, is to expect the impossible—which is no less than is embodied in the Cardinal's prayer.

POLAND'S DAY

Governor Cox of Ohio has joined the Polish White Guard. Well,—not exactly. That is, he has not gone to the Polish front to back up the Red Bolshevik army—by no means. He has found a means of serving the imperialistic, land-hungry Polish bourgeoisie in a perfectly safe—the insane manner.

Last Lord's Day was Polish day according to Cox. A perfect day to upon which to launch a "drive" to carry on an imperialistic war! The Polish White Guard drive in America for 50,000,000 dollars has been lagging. It closed last Tuesday. "Polish Day" was calculated to put it over the top.

While Polish nationalists in America and American bourgeois supporters are anxiously boosting the cause of imperialism, a glance at internal Poland would not be amiss. For many weeks past internal affairs of Poland have been assuming a threatening attitude. The miseries and suffering of the people, due to the imperialistic war have resulted in serious strikes and social disturbances. A schism has developed in the government resulting in the resignation of the cabinet on June 10th. The immediate cause of the quitting of the cabinet was opposition to the policy of the government in seeking to establish a buffer state between Russia and Poland. Also the National Democrats say they will refuse to participate in a government made up largely of socialists who insists upon peace with the Bolsheviks.

Another significant occurrence is that due to the fact that the communist railroad workers of Cecho-Slovakia siezed 36 carloads of war amunitions in transit from Italy to the Polish front, Poland has retaliated with an embargo on petroleum and benzine to Cecho-Slovakia. The Cech government is reported to be inclined to yield but the railroad workers have served notice of an immediate general strike if it does so. Late movements on the war front credit the Bolsheviks with important victories. In view of these facts we would advise Gov. Cox that Poland's day, insofar as its imperialistic designs are concerned will soon be enshrouded in blackest night.

OUR SCHOOLHOUSES

In 1828 the school board of Lancaster, Ohio, authorized the writing of the following letter:

"You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions; but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the World of God about them. If God had designed that his intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam he would have clearly foretold it through his holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell."

The above historical document is evidence that there was at that date a very close connection between Church and State. While they were supposed to be separate, in fact they were by the religious opinions then prevalent in close connection. We have practically completed the separation since that time and it may be said that the development of the steam engine was instrumental in establishing that condition. The school Ma'am no longer (except in very isolated communities) opens school with the Lord's Prayer or a reading from the New Testament. To do so would in all probability provoke a neighborhood row in these days.

We no longer gage the possibility or utility of a new invention by what is said or not said in the Bible concerning it. We have gotten at least that far on the road to a sane conception of life. As is readily seen in the foregoing letter, there was a test case at hand between the new and the old—between science and superstition—between the conception based upon ideas handed down from the dark ages and the budding science developing from discoveries in nature's ways and means. As usual the new won. The telegraph worked, the steam engine actually run—at better than "15 miles an hour". That was the test and right there the Bible began to fall into disuse as a guide for human life.

But we have not yet set the schoolhouse free from the grasp of anti-deluvian ideas. Practically all subjects which agitate the minds of men may now be discussed freely in the school houses of the country — except one—that dealing with the right of the capitalist class to extract profit from the workers thru their ownership of industry and control of the State. This subject—workers' control of industry—Socialism, is taboo in our centers of education.

Lancaster youths and maids may now look up from their text books of science as the snorting, hissing monsters of steel fly past without thot or fear of any Biblical injunction against them but the sacredness of the system of exploitation is still taught them. Nevertheless, evolution of industry still continues. That which began in the discovery of the use of steam power and electricity must and will evolve in its natural order into workingclass control of these machines of production.

This will come about in spite of capitalist control of the schoolhouse—Capitalism cannot put a curb on evolution!

MAY DAY IN BRITAIN

Our May Day for 1920 has come and gone. In Britain millions of workers from John o' Groats to Land's End stopped work. The Red Flag of the Internationale was unfurled in great parks and on tiny village greens.

Our demonstrations were both serious and gay. We strove to enter into the spirit of May, and sometimes, with the exuberance of youth or with an assumption of it, let ourselves go with dance and song.

In every great center it was a record day. Manchester vied with Bradford, Glascew with London. Bournemouth in the west with Ipswich in the east. Everywhere the keynote of all the speeches and of all the singing was that line of William Morris—"The Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth the banners go."

In every great town it was a glorious sight to see the women and children marching and riding to the meeting places with red flags, red rosettes, and—for us greatest joy of all—nearly everybody wearing our "rouster," symbolic of "The Herald of the Dawn."

That was in Britain. But perhaps the most significant of all things about May Day is that it is international. The capitalist press has been sneeringly telling us that May Day as Labor Day isn't an English festival, that it came to us from abroad. That is true. It is true of other things than May Day. It is true, for instance, of Christmas Day.

So, not in this country only, but the world over, men and women of the working class kept Saturday as their festival, the day sacred to their vows and their hopes for the future of the world.

And at every meeting our minds went to our Comrades across the seas—most of all to the workers of Russia, now once again called upon for a supreme effort and a supreme sacrifice for their ideals, which are also ours.

Today we send to our friends everywhere a message of love and good cheer, especially to the women who, giving up a day's rest, marched with their men, some of them many miles; and to the mighty host of Co-operators, who decorated motor car and wagon, cart and van, with such wonderful taste.

May Day for the moment is past and done. Yet it never passes. Every day is labor's day, for without labor there would be no life. So each day let our determination grow stronger, our faith more clear. Owen and Morris, Liebknecht and Jaures, Hardie, Rosa Luxembourg, and a million others passed out before the coming of this May Day, but they shared in its triumphs, and we, too, on the day the workers of the world have forever shaken the shackles of capitalism to the dust, will share in the shout of triumph, from a thousand million throats, will herald in the International Commonwealth.

Communism in Mexico.

There is only one magazine published in English in Mexico and it is a Communist monthly. Every Communist should read it and know, first hand, what the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. are doing, and what is the real significance of the Obregon revolution that has just triumphed. This magazine is "Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism". Typical articles have been: "Made in the U. S. A.—the Civil War in Mexico"; "Who is Financing Pancho Villa"; "The Communist Party of Mexico"; "Open Letter to the Devil."

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The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2nd)

sociology, not from an extensive knowledge of actual shop conditions, but from books and observation of life phenomena in the natural world. He did not realize that while there is

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such a thing as comparative anatomy between man and animals as well as comparative physiology and psychology, that in the very nature of the thing there could be no such comparison in economics. Man's industrial problems are not biologic in their nature, but economic. It was this point that he did not see. He looked thru the eyes of a naturalist, while his friends looked at the world from the industrial angle.

Both Rudolph and Collins were agreed that as far as historic and biologic fact was concerned, Jack was right, but they insisted that he lacked a clear understanding of the materialist conception of history. "You are tainted with high brow psychology," said Collins. "You look at life like an abstract philosophy. Wait till you have been in the working class for about five or six years and you will have the viewpoint of the bindle stiff ground pretty well into you. The mental angle from which a man views things is to a great extent determined by the condition of his stomach and his hands." Collins asserted.

While Collins was speaking Jack had been looking for his note book in order to return to the fray. He noticed that several pages had been cut out but he said nothing altho he suspected that several pages had been cut out spring some surprise on him. He did not dream however that Collins had sent these notes to Olive Anderson, nor the effect that this sending act would have upon his subsequent career, for while they were arguing the problems of life, life was setting a snare that ultimately entrapped Jack in the radical movement as an active factor.

After a few more desultary remarks Collins said, "Let's take a trip to Harrison and see if there is any mail for us. I feel it in my bones that one of us is going to have some welcome information."

(Continued next week)

Some Informative Facts About the American Negro

In the early years of American colonies 50,000 men were exiled here from England and sold into slavery ranging from a few years to life. The colonists also made slaves of some Indians, but found them hard to manage. The first African slaves were sold in Virginia in 1619, by a Dutch man-of-war, in exchange for provisions. Subsequently Newport and Bristol, R. I. became centers from which regular raids on the African coast were made, and vast numbers of Negroes were seized and brought here into slavery.

Although slavery was forbidden by the constitutions of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the capital for the Rhode Island slave raids was largely obtained in Boston, and slavery was common in both states. The old North Church in Boston still contains a gallery that was used by the household slaves of some of the families that furnished the capital for the raids in question. The treatment of the slaves varied greatly, depending upon the owner's benevolence and the development of the community's conscience. In 1780, in a certain American state, a Negro who killed a white man was found by Saint-John Crevecoeur, confined in a cage and left there to be devoured by the elements and by insects. He was still living when Crevecoeur saw him, although his eyes had been destroyed.

The development of slavery southward was due to the invention of the cotton-gin, which made cotton a profitable crop, capable of being tilled by slave labor. At this time objection to the evangelization of slaves was raised on the ground that a baptized slave might claim freedom as a Christian. Slavery in the North gradually became unprofitable; and between 1777 and 1800 Pennsylvania and the states north had abolished it. Those who found it unprofitable could see many reasons why it was unchristian. By 1850 there were 2,000 families in the South with 100 to as high as 2,500 slaves each, managed by white or colored overseers; and about 350,000 families had smaller numbers, generally managed by the owner himself. Three-fourths of the whites owned no slaves at all, but defended the institution. Owners and managers varied greatly in character, intelligence and temper, and treated their slaves accordingly. Occasionally the most kind-hearted and easy-going were the least successful and had to sell their holdings, thus causing the heart-rending breaking of family ties. By 1860 one-sixteenth of all slaves had been freed; and many were enjoying full citizenship.

For two centuries the American people as a whole profited by the unpaid labor of the Negro and then set him adrift, ragged, ungodly and unlettered, to assume the burdens of citizenship and to be further exploited by politicians, to his real injury. But "the chain that holds the slave has its other end fastened to the master".....

Negro Distribution

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Negro was 19% of the population; at the beginning of the twentieth century, 11.6% of the population; at the present time, 10% of the population. In every state in the union the proportion of Negroes is slowly decreasing.

Roughly speaking, the black belt is a strip 250 miles wide, beginning at Richmond, Va., and running through Raleigh, N. C., Columbia, S. C., Macon, Ga., Montgomery, Ala., Vicksburg, Miss., and Shreveport, La., into eastern Texas. The center of Negro population is in northeastern Alabama, near the city of Chattanooga, Tenn.

There are over 50% Negro population in South Carolina and Mississippi, over 37% in Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana, over 25% in Virginia, North Carolina and Arkansas, over 12% in Tennessee and Texas, over 6% in West Virginia, Kentucky and Oklahoma, over 1% in thirteen other states and less than 1% in the sixteen far northern and western states.

In 1910 there were living in the United States 473 Negroes who were born in Africa, 100 born in Asia, 94 born in Australia and 61 born in various Pacific Islands. At the same time the occupations of all Negro workers (and these comprise one-seventh of the total working population of the United States) were:

Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	2,893,375
Domestic and Personal Service	1,122,231
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	631,377
Transportation (including 37 railroad officials)	265,969
Trade (including 135 bankers and bank officials)	119,491
Professional Service (including 123 chemists, assayers and metallurgists, 237 civil and mining engineers and surveyors, 478 dentists, 798 lawyers and judges, and 3,077 physicians and surgeons)	67,245
Extraction of minerals (including 126 mine operators)	61,129
Public Service	22,382

Clerical Occupations	19,336
	5,192,535

Negro Migration

The Negro race is not migratory, and therein is much of its value and reliability. However, the World War, which disturbed everything else, also disturbed the Negro Immigration from Europe ceased former immigrants returned, and at the close of the war America was short three million immigrant laborers.

Northern employers were troubled by shortage of labor and high wage demands, and looked toward the South for a possible labor supply. They sent representatives South to find many Negroes whose earnings were small, due to the plant-destroying boll-weevil and to consequent unemployment of cotton acreage.

These employment agents promised the Negroes better wages, better housing, better education for the children, better treatment in the courts, and free transportation for themselves and their families if they would come North. One large railroad system operating in the South started special trains, notifying the Negroes at each stop that any who wanted to come North might do so without charge. As a result 500,000 migrated to a climate to which they were unaccustomed, and on account of bad housing conditions died in large numbers.

The factory doors which had hitherto been closed to the Negro opened wide, and to a large extent still remain open, and large numbers of the migrants who formerly worked in southern field were now engaged in all sorts of industrial occupations in the North. The plants of seven states, numbering 244 plants in all, into which Negro laborers were introduced during the war were investigated by the Department of Labor as to conditions prevailing during 1918 and 1919 and disclosed a good feeling between whites and blacks in all the plants, with the blacks showing equal attendance and supplying an equal quantity and quality of work.

However, the Northern social organism did not support the sudden influx. At first the new arrivals were crowded into certain sections long recognized as plague-ridden, disease-infected and vice-ridden; but when the new arrivals, as in case of Detroit, increased 500% in five years, those sections could not contain the newcomers, and other sections were necessarily occupied. Declines in real estate values followed; and although these declines were quickly succeeded by recoveries larger than the declines, due to the enormous rents collected from the new arrivals, racial prejudices developed and trouble ensued.

Southern Negro Prosperity

When the Negroes first began to go North not much attention was paid to their exodus in the South. But the size of the migration seriously affected the Southern labor market, increased the shortage of farm products, raised the prices of foodstuffs; and ere long the planters and Chambers of Commerce of the South were urging the Negroes to return South to bettered conditions, such as larger wages and gifts of land suitable for homes and gardens.

Meantime, those Negroes who remained in the more fertile parts of the South had fared far better than most of those who went North. Vast numbers of them work on a crop-sharing system; and where the farm superintendents and operators are honest men, the Negroes have made enough out of the high prices obtained for their products, to live there completely out of poverty.

There are vast sections of the Mississippi River delta land in the hands of Negroes who have become well-to-do. Many of these farmers have accumulated fortunes ranging from \$10,000 to \$175,000 and are permitted the full use of sidewalks, streets and thoroughfares.

These lands have produced as high as 500 lbs. of 51-cent cotton per acre, and under such conditions the making of money by an industrious and intelligent man is most natural. One such man, a Negro who had nothing eighteen years ago, now owns 1,600 acres of this land. Nine Negroes have recently clubbed together and bought a tract of 1,200 acres; and twenty-five others have clubbed together and bought a 3,000 acre tract for \$225,000, intending to cut it up into 100-acre farms. In one county of Mississippi Negroes possess more than \$5,000,000 worth of property and over 2,000 automobiles.

With improved economic conditions the Negro has improved otherwise, has organized an insurance company doing a large business, has employed a farm demonstration agent in one important agricultural center, and has organized various kinds of commercial enterprises in many places. Among these is a steamship line.

General Negro Advancement

The percentage of Negroes that own their own homes has increased from 18.7% in 1890 to 23.3% in 1910, and varied in 1910 in the different states as follows:

New York	7.8	Indiana	26.4
District of Columbia	10.8	Missouri	26.6
Pennsylvania	13.3	Colorado	27.6
Georgia	14.7	Florida	27.7
Rhode Island	15.3	Oregon	8.2
Massachusetts	16.2	Texas	28.5
Alabama	16.4	Idaho	28.7
Mississippi	16.9	North Carolina	28.7
Louisiana	17.1	Iowa	29.9
Connecticut	18.1	Ohio	30.1
Wyoming	18.4	New Mexico	30.3
South Carolina	18.5	New Hampshire	30.7
New Jersey	18.6	Kentucky	31.8
West Virginia	20.4	Washington	21.1
Vermont	21.2	Montana	32.1
Illinois	23.2	Nebraska	32.8
Nebraska	24.1	Oklahoma	35.3
Delaware	23.2	North Dakota	35.6
Minnesota	24.7	Nevada	35.7
Arkansas	24.6	California	37.8
Tennessee	25.3	Virginia	41.5
Maryland	25.6	Michigan	44.9
Wisconsin	25.6	South Dakota	45.1
		Kansas	49.6

In education the Negroes do not linger so far behind the whites as many suppose. In 1910 the percentage of native whites that spent some time in school was 22.9 and of Negroes 17.0. The percentage of illiteracy is rapidly decreasing; in 1890 it was 57.1; in 1900 it was 44.5 and in 1910 it was 30.4, while for persons between the ages of ten and fourteen it was 18.9. In cities of over 100,000 it was 6%.

Race Riots North and South

The United States has suffered deservedly in the eyes of intelligent people elsewhere because of the race riots that have disgraced New York City, Philadelphia, Chester, Coatesville, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston, Atlanta, Knoxville, Memphis, Springfield, (Ill.), East St. Harbor, Omaha, Longview, Houston, Bisbee and other places. At the riot in East St. Louis over forty Negroes were slaughtered, while at Washington and Chicago it is said that six hundred fatalities occurred. Outnumbered ten to one, the Negro stands no chance in a race riot, and resistance only increases the fury of the mob that has allowed race prejudice to sweep it off its feet for a time.

The temper of these mobs was shown in the nine-hour battle at Omaha in which a mob of thousands determined to lynch one negro offender, stormed the county jail, located on the fifth floor of the Court House, scaled the walls by rope ladders, burned the lower floors with all their precious records, damaged the building to the extent of \$1,000,000, forced the surrender of the prisoner, shot him to death, dragged his body by hand and by automobile through the streets, kicked, hanged and finally burned it. And all this time American churches send missionaries to China instead of Nebraska.

The mob seized \$50,000 worth of arms from hardware establishments, burned a patrol wagon, took the rope meant for the Negro and threw it over the mayor's head, dragged him a block, threw the rope over his head, and twice hauled him from the ground, and would have hanged him had not police officers cut the rope. It fired repeatedly at the 121 helpless prisoners assembled on the roof of the burning building, and was subdued only by the arrival of national troops.

Of a different nature was the trouble near Helena, Ark., having its origin apparently in the dishonesty of certain farm superintendents or operators who refused to give the Negro farmers the large profits which the high prices of cotton had enabled them to earn. These farmers work for a share of the crops; they furnish all the labor, the superintendent or operator of the farm furnished everything else. This arrangement works well or ill, depending upon the honesty of the supervising white man who has the farm in control.

In some places these white men have taken advantage of the Negroes, forcing them to turn over all their cash in payment for supplies which, in instances, have amounted to half a mere fraction of the value of the cotton, and refusing to give settlements or statements of account. For example, a case is cited where a Negro worked 27 acres for a year and produced six bales of cotton, his share of which was \$753. In lieu of a settlement he was charged \$50.60 for freight charges for removing nine small articles 100 miles and \$700 for groceries which could not have been worth more than \$150; and when he made objection was ordered off the place, penniless, with nothing for his year's work.

At a point below Helena where the Negro population is largely predominant, a number of Negroes, acting under white legal advice, formed an association for mutual legal protection, and were preparing to bring legal action against certain white landlords. It is admitted that these Negroes were hard-working farmers, considered the best class of Negroes in the

South. It is also admitted that their association, while organizing, had armed guards about the building or buildings where the meetings were held, or at any rate that in the meeting there were men who were armed.

While one of these meetings was in progress, an automobile containing a white deputy sheriff and others in search of a revenue violator had a tire burst in front of the house. This was probably mistaken for a shot and was answered by a shot from the house, the beginning of a small-sized war, in which, within the next few days, twenty-five blacks and five whites were killed, and others wounded.

Within a few more days forty Negroes were sentenced to death or penal servitude without any witnesses in their defense being called. Twelve of these were sentenced to death, and six of the twelve were sentenced to the gallows in a total of seven minutes time. Ten were sentenced to twenty-one years, and eleven were given one year for night-riding. It is claimed that the accused men were provided with the best available local white lawyers. They were tried before a white jury, blacks being excluded from jury duty in that section.

Negro-Lynching Problems

Ex-Attorney General Gregory of Texas said of lynching:

"Lynch law is the most cowardly of crimes. Invariably the victim is unarmed, while the men who lynch are armed and in large numbers. It is a deplorable thing under any circumstances." Henry Watterson, Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal says:

"Lynching should not be misconstrued. It is not an effort to punish crime. It is a sport which has as its excuse the fact a crime of greater or less gravity, has been committed, or is alleged. A lynching party rarely is made up of citizens indignant at the law's delays or failures. It often is made up of a mob bent upon diversion, and proceeding in a mood of rather frolicsome ferocity to have a thoroughly good time. Lynchers are not persons who strive from day to day toward social betterment. Neither are they always drunken ruffians. Oftentimes they are ruffians wholly sober in-so-far as alcohol indulgence is concerned, but highly stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when there is no fear that the grand jury will return murder indictments against them."

In the thirty years, 1880-1918, lynching mobs murdered 3,224 persons in the United States, of whom 2,522 were Negroes and 702 were white persons. Of the Negro victims fifty were women, and of the whites eleven were women.

What a lynching is like in Christian America may be gathered from the following account taken from the Chattanooga Times:

"Jim McIlherron, the Negro who shot and killed Pierce Rodgers and Jesse Tigert, two white men, at Estill Springs last Friday, and wounded Frank Tigert, was tortured with a red-hot crowbar and then burned to death here tonight at 7:40, by twelve masked men. A crowd of approximately 2,000 persons, among whom were women and children, witnessed the burning."

"McIlherron, who was badly wounded and unable to walk, was carried to the scene of the murder, where preparation for a funeral pyre was begun."

"The captors proceeded to a spot about a quarter of a mile from the railroad station and prepared the death fire. The crowd followed and remained throughout the horrible proceedings. The Negro was led to a hickory tree, to which he chained him. After securing him to the tree a fire was kindled. A short distance away another fire was kindled, and into it was put an iron bar to heat."

"When the bar became red hot a member of the mob jabbed it toward the Negro's body. Crazed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, and as it was pulled through his hands the atmosphere was filled with the odor of burning flesh. This was the first time the murderer gave evidence of his will being broken. Scream after scream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied to various parts of his body his yells and cries for mercy could be heard in the town."

"After torturing the Negro several minutes one of the masked men poured coal oil on his feet and trousers and applied a match to the pyre. As the flames rose, enveloping the black's body he begged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted his request. The angry flames consumed his clothing, and little blue flames shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness."

Of another Sunday morning lynching in the center of a Christian city of 7,000 population in the same state and not greatly unlike similar occurrences at Coatesville, Pa., and Springfield, Ill., the Memphis News Scimitar said:

"Not a domino hid a face. Every one was

unmasked. Leaders were designated and assigned their parts. Long before the mob reached the city the public square was choked with humanity. All waited patiently. Women, with babies, made themselves comfortable.

"At last the iron was hot. A red streak shot out; a poker in a brawny hand was boring out one of the Negro's eyes. The Negro bore the ordeal with courage, only low moans escaping him. Another poker was working like an auger on the other orbit. 'Swish! Once, twice, three times a red hot iron dug gaping places in Lation Scott's back and sides."

"Fetch a hotter one', somebody said. The execution went on.

"Now some one had another poker—jabbing its fiery point into the ribs of the doomed black.

"Then rubbish was piled high about the agonized body, squirming beneath its load. 'More and more wood and rubbish were fed the fire, but at three o'clock Lation Scott was not dead. Life finally fled at four o'clock. 'Women scarcely changed countenance as the Negro's back was ironed with the hot brands. Even the executioners maintained their poise in the face of bloody creases left by the irons—irons which some housewife had been using."

"Three and a half hours were required to complete the execution."

In the year 1919 there were 78 blacks and 6 whites lynched in the United States—23 in Georgia, 12 in Mississippi, 10 in Arkansas, 8 each in Alabama and Louisiana. Of the remaining number 9 were in Northern states and 15 in various Southern states. Eleven of these were burned to death, two beaten to death and one cut in pieces. Ten of them were soldiers in the World War. Thirty-four of them were taken from officers and jails in fourteen states. The causes of lynching were as follows:

Murder	27
Assault on white woman	14
Attempted assault on white woman	5
Insulting white woman	5
Intimacy with white woman	2
Attempting to pull white woman from horse	1
Shooting white man	7
Assault on white man	1
Altercation with white man	1
Beating and robbing white man	1
Found under bed in white man's house	1
Not turning out of road for white boy in auto	1
Misleading mob	1
Insulting white man	1
Boastful remarks re killing of sheriff	1
Result of race riot	1
Talking of Chicago Riot	1
Expressing himself too freely re lynching of Negro	1
Leader among Negroes	1
Circulating incendiary literature	1
Member of Non-Partisan League	1
Trouble between white and colored cotton mill workers	1
Abetting riot	4
Causes unknown	4
Total	84

Negro Characteristics

It is claimed by some that during the World War the Negroes though constituting but ten percent of the population, supplied fifteen percent of the soldiers, thus taking the places of others exempted. We do not know the facts of this assertion, but we do know that when the richest man in America would surround his home at night with the most trustworthy guards that his means could provide, he chose colored men for the task; and the faithfulness of Negroes has endeared them to true Americans in all ages. An instance of their reliability was brought to light in one of the Northern race riots in 1919, when a Negro policeman shot another Negro for firing at a white policeman.

The Negroes are peaceful and law-abiding. They have never been accused of night-riding and lynching. They have shown that they can suffer without becoming embittered, and can forgive those who have done them wrong. As a race they are happy, gentle, affectionate and humorous; and most of them are honest and industrious. To be sure they have faults; but so have others. Those who have had the freedom of the homes of the southland for a hundred years have seldom betrayed their trust.

Hopes of Negro Well-Wishers

The Negro educators of North Carolina met and proclaimed a platform condemning all advocacy of social equality with the whites, intermarriage of the races and all attempts to settle racial disputes by violence.

Dr. George Cleveland Hall, a prominent Chicago Negro, says:

"Our enemies always emphasize social equality. But you will notice we put the strong pedal on economic and political equality. Let us have these and social equality will take care of itself." From The Golden Age.

The Black Sheep.

CHAPT. XXXV.

The Mental Angle.

It was several days before Jack had occasion to refer to the notes he had made while on his work hunting and experience getting, trip. The occasion was an argument between him and his friends as to the possibility of organizing the working classes of all nations into one all embracing brotherhood, having for its aims the political and economic freedom of the race.

Jack, who had been taught socialism and economics by George and Herman in the harvest fields, and by Collins and Rudolph in jail and at the cabin failed to see any scientific evidence for such a faith. To him it appeared that amongst men as among the flora and fauna of the earth there were, and of necessity had to be grades and variations. He had felt instinctively that among human masses the tendency for some to climb up on the backs of others was an essential factor not only in the development of civilization but in the maintenance of the species as well. He had expressed these views to his friends in the harvest fields, and George had given them a Marxian interpretation. Since that time he had read omnivorously, not with the idea of justifying socialism, but rather to vindicate his biological views.

He had just finished reading the books of Drs. Blackford and Woodruff on the mental and physical qualities of blonde and brunette types, or as it might be more accurately expressed,

of the fogland types. These books had given him the idea that from time immemorial the blonde types had been the world's leaven of industrial development. That by virtue of their mental and physical makeup, which is a result of their development under particular telluric conditions, they had become a dynamic force for the spread of civilization. He contended that these types had from time immemorial been forced to do things, and to do them quickly. Their seasons were short. Their winters long and more or less severe, hence agriculture could play but an insignificant part in their economic life. They had to make their living either by battling the seas, or by braving the wilderness. Thus nature eliminated to a great extent the weak and the timid, and developed the Viking, the Goth, and the Vandal. He maintained that much of this was due not only to the pressure of necessity, but to the peculiar character of the light rays filtering down thru a fog laden sky. He said that it was a known fact that the slower light rays had a retarding and stabilizing effect on physiologic development. He stated that the women developed later in life and retained their virility longer in these countries than on any other part of the globe, and that what was true of the women was doubly true of the men.

At all this his companions smiled good naturedly, and teased him by saying that all he needed was a lit-

"Your views are crazy but interesting," said Collins. "Go on, let us have it just the way you see it."

"The particular environment of Northern Europe produced this blonde beast. It was a Spartan environment, fierce, merciless and relentless. The Northmen wove his environment in his blood; it became part of him; he made it his religion. Thor, hammer in hand rode the thunder, and Neptune ruled the deep. Thus, in order that the race might conquer its hostile environment. Nature evolved the blonde beast. Fair of skin, so as to easily absorb the water dimmed light; fearless of brain in order that he might dare to brave the terrors of land and sea; with clear and aggressive intellect by which he was able to take advantage of every opportunity the blonde beast became the terror, and the savior of the nations. The very necessity of their lives caused them to become bold, fearless, and predatory. It caused them to cross both land and sea, robbing, pillaging and ruling those who lived in warmer climes and under clearer skies. It was not infrequent that the natives were pleased with their rule, as is evident from the fact that they constructed their gods in the image of the Northmen, and depicted their angles as having golden hair."

Here Collins interrupted him with the remark, that it was not due to telluric or biologic factors that the northern races had played so powerful a part in the world's history. He maintained that the fact that Germany and England were rich in mineral resources had led to their becoming manufacturing nations, that goods manufactured out of iron or tin could not be equalled and hence developed the necessity for commerce with

other nations. That this built up a merchant marine which in order that it might be protected from piracy developed for England a large navy and for Germany in order that it might be protected from French and Slavic aggression had developed a powerful militarism, and with the development of her merchant fleets she would also have to develop adequate naval forces. He contended that industrial development depended on the presence of natural resources and the economic necessity, that they be used for the feeding, clothing, and shelter of the race. He maintained that any other race being situated in a similar position would have acted in a similar way as did Jack's fancy blonde beast.

But the boy, nothing daunted returned to the fray. He insisted that Holland, which is only a little patch of bog, facing the North Sea, without as much as a single mine or other substantial resource except agriculture for two centuries disputed with England the mastery of the seas, and conquered and held a goodly part of Polensia and other parts of the world. He maintained that the conquered parts had never freed themselves, but had been taken over by England after centuries of bloody war. He showed that the blonde Goths who had settled in Spain acted exactly like the similar types of England and Holland and conquered all of what is now Latin America. But when on account of the clear skies the blonde blood died out of Spain or became degenerated, her empire fell to pieces and she had to assume an inferior place among the nations. He further pointed out that the strongest south American republics were those into whom there was a great influx of

northern European blood, and that where that blood was dying out, as in Mexico, chaos and retrogression was the normal state of affairs. The human race only moves forward and upward under the stimulation of the blonde beast, and when he retires the progress of civilization generally dies down, and in many cases out. Even Japan, the wonder of the Orient, remained asleep for ages, until Dutch and American navigators brought her face to face with the menace of European civilization. He argued that it was doubtful if there ever had been a high order of civilization that was not directly attributable to the influence of blonde types.

"The Spanish historian Herrera tells us that the conquistadores, who were blonde Goths, found the pictures of bearded white men on the walls of the Peruvian temples, in the city of the Incas. The Peruvian priest still told legends of the white men who had come from the sun. But the originals of these pre-Columbian discoverers of America were gone. Doubtless the civilization of the Incas owed much to these early visitors. The white man goes out into the world as a dynamic force. But he cannot stay in an ungenial environment. There is no third generation of white men in India. Even in the United States with the exception of New England and the Puget Sound, the white stock will die out. It is already apparent among the mountain white of the Appalachian region. Many of them are descendants of the first colonists, and in their appearance are already decidedly Indianesque, as well as in their mental characteristics. Did you read about that McCoy-Hatfield feud they had a few weeks ago? The blonde types

have conquered America but in the course of a few centuries America will capture the blonde. Our descendants will either become brown or cease descending. Let us turn to the pages of history. The Greeks were fair, under the Ptolemyes they stimulated the civilization of Egypt.

"If I read the Ancient Lowly aright then the influence penetrated eastward into India, westward into Spain, and northward into England. When the blonde type died out that civilization fell, only to develop again further west among their ancestral types. Gothic blood made Spain an Empire, also Portugal. When they died out or degenerated they had to send to Austria for a king and to Ireland for a prime minister. And so I could go on citing example after example, but what is the use. I might cite one more. Take China for example. Their earliest traditions tell of blonde invasions. These died out and the chinamen fell asleep and remained asleep for five thousand years, or until Europe came and woke them up by trying to put them to sleep. Christian England said to heathen China, 'take opium or the sword.' China took opium, but there is enough white influence entering into that country that you may look for a kick back."

His friends laughed good naturedly. "Isn't it funny how hard a man will work to fool himself," said Collins. "How they will take the longest way around, in order not to knock down their hobby?"

brunettes have built the religion; blondes have evolved laboratories, brunettes monasteries; blondes brought about the renaissance, brunettes established the inquisition; blondes gave us the sciences, brunettes the metaphysics; blondes are the doers, of deeds, brunettes are the dreamers of dreams; blondes stormed the ramparts of nature, brunettes seek the throne of heaven. Remember I am speaking of race types, not individuals. Because I'm convinced that the faculty of aggression and construction, is most strongly developed in the blonde type, that is the reason I look to them for the solution of the economic problems of the world."

In one corner of the cabin, above a little shelf where they kept their tin wash basin was a piece of broken mirror. Collins reached over and took it down. Holding it before the boys face he said, "Behold the genesis of your ideas. Thru art a blonde." Jack could not help smiling at the revelation of his own egoism. He was silent for a few moments while his mind went back over all that George and Herman had taught him concerning the class struggle, and the mental view point developed in the mind as a result of participation in the class struggle. He realized that his knowledge of, and experience with it was really very small so that he became painfully aware that his views were not those that would be natural to an intelligent wage worker. He understood the theory of socialism, but did not live a socialized life in the industrial sense. To get the view point of a proletarian you have to be tied to the requirements of machine production. He built up his social

(Continued on page 4.)