



Western

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Comrade



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Your Gateway to Freedom

Llano's 16,000 Acre Plantation in the Highlands of Western Louisiana

THE Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony was established at Llano, Los Angeles County, California, in May, 1914. It attracted attention throughout the country because of the calibre of the men who were conducting it. Hundreds joined the colony and during the three years hundreds of acres of orchards and alfalfa were planted, a community garden was grown, and many industries were established, among them being the print shop, shoe shop, laundry, cannery, warehouse, machine shop, blacksmith shops, rug works, planing mill, lime kiln, saw mill, dairy, cabinet shop, nursery, rabbitry, hog raising, lumbering, publishing, transportation, doctors' offices, wood yard, vinegar works, bakery, fish hatchery, barber shop, baths, swimming pool, studio, commissary, hotel, drafting room, post office, Montessori school, commercial classes, library, and others as well as social features such as the band, weekly dances, instrumental quartets, musical societies, etc.

Not all were operating all of the time, but nearly all were successful. The social features of the Llano Colony at Llano were an unqualified success.

From the first, the intention was to form other colonies, extending the work as rapidly as possible. The first extension has been organized.

16,000 FERTILE ACRES

After a nation-wide search, it was finally decided to purchase 16,000 acres in the healthful highlands of Vernon Parish in Western Louisiana, at Stables, one mile from Leesville, the parish seat of Vernon Parish. This is about 15 miles from the Sabine river, about 40 miles from the Red river, (both navigable), forty miles from Alexandria, 100 miles from Shreveport, and about 200 miles from New Orleans. The highlands of this district are fertile, high, well-drained, healthful. There are no swamps, no malaria, no mosquitoes, no fevers more than are found in other states. Health reports show that this portion of Louisiana can compare favorably with any other section of the United States. There is an abundance of drinking water of excellent quality.

A most careful investigation was made regarding health conditions. Reports compiled by the Health Department of Louisiana were studied. Inhabitants of this district were interviewed. All agreed on the healthfulness of this portion of the State, and those who have heard discouraging reports from Louisiana are invited to make further and more careful investigation before arriving at conclusions.

The huge tract lies southwest of Leesville and has had most of the timber cut off. Remaining along the creeks, however, are scattered pines of the long leaf variety to supply the Colony with building material for many years to come. About 1200 acres of hardwood timber worth many thousands of dollars are also on the land and offer opportunities for the establishing of many industries. The timber is, beech, magnolia, white oak, cypress, walnut, post oak, red oak, sweet gum, and hickory. The trees are splendid ones, and this body of timber is not to be surpassed in quality.

A TOWN CAME WITH IT

When the purchase was first contemplated, and it was finally decided to buy the 16,000 acres near Leesville, it was found that the lumber hamlet of Stables stood on the property. This was acquired with the land. A hotel of 18 rooms, 27 habitable houses, 100 other small houses, one shed 130x300 feet, one shed 130x200 feet, one shed 80x100 feet, one store 30x90, one office 40x50, eight other sheds and structures. The lumber in these buildings, together with other lumber on the place, amounts to about 2 million feet. Ties for a railroad extend across the land. A concrete power house and 5 concrete drying kilns (cost to erect them, \$12,000) each kiln about 20x70 by 20 feet high, are also included. Stables is on the main line of the Kansas City Southern Railroad. This town will be occupied for a while, but later a more systematically laid out town will be built.

WHAT CAN BE PRODUCED ?

This is the first question asked. A careful investigation has been made. No chances of mistake were taken. It is found that a great variety of products do well here. Peanuts, sweet potatoes, melons, of all kinds, corn, cotton, and sugar cane, will be the best producers

and the best income-bringers. Vegetables of all kinds do well, and berries will yield great returns. This region is not sufficiently well developed for fruit to make detailed statements possible, but from a number of sources of undoubted reliability, assurance is given that figs, peaches, prunes, cherries, and similar fruits can be profitably grown. Cattle and sheep and goats can find forage during nearly the entire year, while the raising of hogs is profitable because of the abundance of corn that may be grown here.

PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

Farming comes first. The Colony thoroughly realizes the responsibilities and the necessities put upon it. Efficiency is insisted on, and once each week foremen are required to attend efficiency classes. The remaining workers are also given instruction. Records are kept showing use of time, achievement, results, costs. There is a systematic and orderly organization being perfected. Land is being cleared and plowed as rapidly as possible. With a complete understanding of the needs of agricultural production, every available man is being put into farm work. No department is exempt. Office workers and shop workers are required to put at least a portion of each day in working the soil. This work takes precedence over all else. Every avenue of waste is being closed as fast as discovered. Elimination of useless work and reduction of only partly necessary tasks is insisted on. The aim of the Colony is not only to support itself the very first year, but to have an ample margin left over. This will take careful and systematic planning. Through this care and foresight, the new Colony will be able to take care of all of its residents, including increase. Housing is simplified by the number of houses acquired with the property.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

A hotel, dairy, range stock, small laundry, store, blacksmith and machine shop, vulcanizing plant, gardens, hot beds, herd of goats, some rabbits, some chickens, hogs, printing department, offices, doctors, warehouse and material shed, are established departments now in operation. Machinery for the shoe shop is here, but not installed. This is true of the saw mill. A moving picture machine is already purchased, with chairs, and benches for a theater. Plans are drawn and material ready for the new theatre and dance floor, these to be separate. The school is giving practical instruction in grammar school subjects. Tremendous progress is being made in every department, and the organizing of departments is increasing the efficiency of the entire plantation.

WHAT ABOUT LLANO, CALIFORNIA ?

The California Llano Colony will be left in charge of a comparatively few men to develop according to a definite plan to which they will work. Orchards will be planted and cared for and the property at Llano made very valuable.

The work of transferring most of the population as well as the industries and the personal effects of the residents is a big task. The sawmill, blacksmith shop, farm implements, some horses, cattle, rabbits, and hogs will be left.

Residents and industries are being transferred in the order in which they are most required.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

More detailed information is given in the "Gateway to Freedom" which outlines the idea of co-operative colonization, the reasons for it, and what is hoped may be achieved, together with the methods to be used. The folder "Llano's Plantation in the Highlands of Louisiana" goes into more detail concerning the new 16,000 acre tract.

The new colony in Louisiana can support a population of perhaps several thousand persons. It offers wonderful opportunities to all who join. You are invited to write to the Membership Department for full information about any point not made clear, and answers to questions you ask. Address

Membership Department

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY, STABLES, LOUISIANA

The Western Comrade

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VOL. V.

LEESVILLE, LA., DECEMBER-JANUARY, 1917-8

No. 8-9

THE world kaleidoscope has shifted another scene.

The conservative ministry of the Kaiser has fallen and a radical ministry has arisen.

The government of Kerensky has gone down and the radical forces of Russia are in power.

The radical Russian government proposes hence forth to refrain from fighting.

The Kaiser refused to negotiate with any but the Czars or the Provincial government, while the Socialist forces of Germany, Austria, France, and Italy promise the revolutionary forces of Russia powerful aid.

There is now a profound and deep-seated civil rebellion against the Kaiser. The German Socialists will not fight the Russian Socialists. Upon this we may depend.

The same state of affairs exists in Austria.

The chasm between the government and the people of Germany and Austria is as wide as it was in Russia before the fall of the Czar, and the crisis is as imminent.

But the same crisis exists in England, France, and Italy.

The "Literary Digest," quoting from the "London News," says:

"The Labor party has demonstrated its aptness for the work to which labor aspires by producing the most constructive and the most statesmanlike draft of terms of peace yet published by anybody. But such considerations will have no weight with the privileged caste. The privileged caste will not argue, because it cannot; it will simply deny; it will simply block; it will simply delude; it will simply stick to what it has got—until it is forced to let go."

The governments of the privileged castes of all this world will wreck upon the same rock where the Czar met his fate and where the Kaiser's ship is now grinding,—before this war is over.

Editorials

By Job Harriman

How can the Socialists of the Central powers fight the Socialists of Russia?

They not only will not fight them but they will fight for them

and with them.

Around this fact will rally the constructive forces of the world.

Arrayed against them will be found imperialism and capitalism and militarism. And the greatest of these is capitalism.

The civil clouds of the world are dark and lowering. The nations may yet be rent asunder by civil strife arising out of the conflicting interests of the classes.

The rich are convinced that they are right and every additional burden confirms the in their conviction.

Being confirmed, the civil strife, once begun, cannot end until death of one or the other pays the penalty.

After all, may not the pacifist be right?

THE yellow peril is looming up like a great monster from the deep. It is more than 900,000,000 strong. It already has 8,000,000 soldiers in the various fields of war.

The Chinese, the Hindus, the Turks and all of the smaller Mohammedan countries, led to battle by the Japanese, will make a foe that Occidental civilization cannot withstand. Baron Okuma, in his magazine, "Shin Nihon," which has an enormous circulation and wields a tremendous influence, is already kindling the fire.

The Japanese hate the United States, hate England, and hate all Europe.

They hate them because of their commercial tyrannies of the past, and they hate them also because they believe that they will look to China as the only treasury that can "heal the wounds" inflicted by this terrible war.

Not only do Japan and China hate the Europeans for

their conduct in the past, but they hate them also because of their power to compete for the Eastern treasures in the future.

Their hatred will increase as their memories are refreshed by future losses.

Occidental civilization affords more astute, unconscionable merchants than the Orient, and for this reason, commercial success will fall on our ships. It is this fact that developed the Chinese opium trade, that gained control of India by England, and that is now winning millions annually from the Far East.

Facing and understanding this fact, and remembering the past, Okuma says: "As for Americans, they always raise a cry against the Yellow Peril, and insult the Hindus, the Chinese, and even the superior Japanese race, to whom they refuse privileges of mixed residence.

"They consider the yellow races unfit to receive the light of civilization and unable to assimilate with the 'superior' white races. . . . After the European war, all nations will co-operate in raising the cry of Yellow Peril. They will curse the Japanese Empire . . . and rush toward China—the treasury of the world—in order to find means of healing the many wounds received in this war."

There are two gateways between Oriental and Occidental countries: one is the Suez Canal; the other is the Panama Canal.

The one is owned by England; the other is owned by the United States.

The owners of these canals control the bulk of the world's commerce.

These two gateways will become the chief bones of contention when the armistice is called and the terms of peace are discussed.

All the East and the Central Powers will demand world-control of these canals. If Great Britain and the United States insist upon holding their advantages, the war will go on with new alignments, and the sun of Occidental civilization may begin to set.

Listen to Kawamura! He says: "There are 50,000,000 Mohammedans in China, who, if properly led, would present a formidable power. There are 1,500,000 trained arms in Turkey. There are 4,000,000 in Africa. There are 2,000,000 in India and Persia. Altogether, there are 8,000,000 outside China. All of them have a fanatical courage and would willingly sacrifice their lives for their religion."

He asserts that it is the mission of the Japanese to lead the Asiatics against the Whites.

The Lion of Asia is growling and showing his teeth.

Next, the roar,—and then the plunge.

He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

LA FOLLETTE! He has lived the life of a skyrocket. Apparently he is striking water and his fire is being put out.

What his future will be will not depend upon his being right. Right or wrong, he will continue to sink if the present war policy proves successful.

But if it should prove unsuccessful in the eyes of the people, then he will have a comeback with a kick to it that will beat a government mule a city block.

FORCE may be constructive or destructive. The world's name for constructive force is love, while brute force means destruction.

As well say that the life of an oak depends upon the thick, entangling undergrowth, as to say that the life of trade depends upon competition.

Clear away the undergrowth and the oak will grow more rapidly, with greater strength and vitality. The oak will grow with less disease and become more beautiful.

Eliminate the conflicting commercial and industrial interests from the business world and all our institutions would rapidly develop into large, powerful, harmonious engines for the common good.

Men compete in the economic field because competition is forced upon them and not because they believe in it.

No infant, however low in the animal scale, can best develop by competition with his fellows.

No wise horticulturist ever forced a fruit tree or a vine to compete with weeds and briars and thorns.

Man does not believe in competition. He has learned that competition is sheer blind brute force.

It is war. It is destructive in all its work. Nature builds in spite of competition and not because of it.

The curse of competition is limited only by its scope and power. It possesses no virtues but is surcharged with all the powers of destruction known to those involved in the struggle.

War is the climax of competition. What remains alive after it, is better than death, but far worse than might have been produced by the worst methods under peaceful conditions.

War murders men; ravishes women; slaughters children; destroys property in a hurricane of blood; crucifies the loving heart; abandons all honorable means for the end desired; rots character; and opens the way for the free play of inordinate ambition and the reign of wanton cruelty.

What an unspeakable calamity this war has been!

Will the world ever learn that brute force leads to the grave?

All intelligent, loving, constructive life is pacifist.

THE Spanish American war caused a considerable inflation of prices during which time an enormous amount of real estate changed hands, and for which payments were made, partly in cash, and partly in notes secured by mortgages.

After the war was over, the market was again overstocked with products, and prices of course went down.

Those who mortgaged their property while prices were high found themselves confronted with the necessity of paying high-priced debts with money received for low-priced products. For many, this was an impossible situation, and they lost their homes. Many were barely able to meet their interest and taxes and to eke out a miserable existence. Others, under more fortunate conditions, met their obligations.

The country is now confronted with a similar, but far worse conditions. Prices are from 100 to 300 percent higher than they were three years ago.

market will soon be again overcrowded with products.

The increased efficiency developed under government pressure, coupled with the extreme economy made necessary by the war, will quickly flood the markets and force prices of products down, but it will not diminish the size of the mortgages contracted when prices were high.

Again, there will be multitudes who can not meet such obligations with cheap money and vast numbers will be sold under foreclosures, while others will be able to barely pay their interest and to make a miserable living.

In addition to the burdens that followed the Spanish American war, we will be compelled to bear the burdens of billions of dollars of bonded indebtedness. The interest of the bonds must come out of increased taxes, which will have to be paid with money at low prices.

He who sells his farm and invests his money when prices go down will be able to buy land for the mortgage that covers it.

Let those who buy at high prices and mortgage for unpaid balance, cheer up, for the worst is yet to come.



THE Standard Oil company, Pacific Commercial company, General Electric company, Western Electric company, Russian Chamber of Commerce, and National Paper & Type company, and the Consulates of almost every South American

The sale of crops this year left the farmers with more surplus money than they have had for years. Many bought new farms at high prices, paying part cash and part in notes and mortgages.

Henceforth, their fixed expense will cost far more dollars than the same cost last year or in previous years. Wages will be higher. Groceries, clothing and implements will cost double or treble that of previous years. The margin left from next year's crop will be far smaller than that of this year.

After the war is over, if we do not move into state socialism, but continue under the capitalist system, the

ican country, and also the United States Bureau of Exports, met in New York on November 23, to devise ways and means to put German trade "out of business wherever they find it."

If this is not a commercial war, then one thing is certain: IT SOON WILL BE A COMMERCIAL WAR if the government does not take over all such enterprises and run them.

Why falter? Those companies are interested in the government only to the extent that they can force the government to serve them.

This is the hour of our nation's peril.

Llano in Louisiana

AS THIS is being written, just before New Year's Day, the population of the little town of Stables, Louisiana, has grown to more than three hundred. This has happened virtually all within two months. The practical application of Socialist principles through the co-operative plan has invaded the "Solid South."

Following the arrival of Comrade Harriman and George Deutsch came the publications force by train. After them came five auto loads from California, big, husky men, who made a record run from Llano, California, to the new Colony holding in Western Louisiana. Then came the special train with 130 persons, men, women and children. From many points in the South, families are moving to the new Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony in the Highlands of Louisiana.

Other auto loads are coming from California, braving the inclement weather and the hardships. Colonists who have been out of the Colony for various reasons are dropping in from widely-separated points. Nearly every day there is a reunion of old Colony comrades.

But the new people are mostly Texans—honest, hard-working folks—eager to enjoy the benefits of complete co-operation, glad to leave the individual farms and join with their comrades in the inspiring enterprise being conducted for the good of all and not for private greed or gain.

Not less frequently than every three days, and sometimes much oftener, a car is placed on the switch which is on Colony property. These cars contain cattle, horses, mules, farm implements, corn, peanuts ("goobers" they call them here), sweet potatoes, household goods, and industrial machinery.

They are unloaded onto our own platforms and sheds.

NO TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

The old bug-bear at Llano, and one of the most serious and costly problems with which the Colony had to contend, was transportation. Cars were unloaded at the station twenty miles away and the goods hauled in trucks across the desert. It was an extortionate price that was paid, even under the happiest of conditions, and the condition of most desert roads is not one to induce a high degree of happiness.

But in the new Colony, conditions are different. Cars consigned to the Llano del Rio Colony are set in on the switch and go direct into the Colony's warehouse. No time is lost. The materials and household goods go under cover immediately, there are no demurrage charges, and a big force of men is instantly available if required to move heavy machinery. There is no friction, no lost time, little expense. Hauling need not be done immediately if more urgent work presses. The saving is incalculable, and one of the first things that impresses itself on the incoming colonist from California is the tremendous economy of the arrangement here.

But this is only half the advantage. The Llano del Rio Company expects to be a very heavy shipper of goods at all times and especially during the summer. Even this first season, many cars of Llano products will go forward from here. This is not prophecy or dream, but the plan now made and already being actively put into operation. With the switch and the warehouse and the platform right here in the front yard, so to speak, the shipping costs are enormously re-

duced. This means more economy. Those who come to the Colony can have their goods shipped through and unloaded at Stables, Louisiana. All are being advised to do this.

The economy of transportation leads to another great economy, and one which will impress every person who ever lived in Llano, or who ever visited there.

HOUSING MADE EASY

In Llano there were times, and the times were of frequent occurrence, when the housing problem was the paramount question. Industries had to be stopped while men were put to providing shelter. When large numbers of visitors came unexpectedly, it meant great distress to the hotel, for there was never sufficient accommodations. Arrivals at the railroad station twenty miles away, had to be brought to the Colony. It meant additional trouble to the hotel management or the housing committee.

But when the 16,000 acre tract in the Highlands of Louisiana was purchased, a town was also bought. The amount of lumber saved and labor saved and expense saved amounts to thousands of dollars, more thousands than would be believed if the sum were put into print. But some calculation may be made when it is remembered that with this land came a commodious hotel which will accommodate, if compelled to,

more than sixty people, though perhaps not with entire comfort to so many. It is well-built. The office building is sufficient to house the executive, sales, and accounting departments. The commissary is a large building, in good condition, well-located, and with shelving and counters already installed. It is a better building than any at Llano, California, just as the hotel is

a better one than the Llano hotel, and the offices here are better than those at Llano. This is not intended to be derogative of Llano, but to show to some degree the immense advantages gained here at no additional outlay, and at no expense for labor and materials.

That is not all. One large white house which will be used as doctor's offices and probably as library, is a building such as would cost not less than \$4000 in many parts of California. There are scores of two-three- and four-room houses in which colonists are being housed. These take care of the first comers. They are all under roof. No large force of men must be diverted to this work. No huge sums must be expended for materials. No valuable time is taken that should be used for other purposes. The advantages of a ready-made town located on the railroad are many.

But even this is not all. There are industries to be housed. The obstacle that retarded the development of this feature at Llano more than any other was housing. But in the extension Colony there is no such difficulty. The vast warehouses which were acquired with the new property make excellent industrial buildings. A comparatively small force of men can remodel portions as needed to take care of the incoming industries. Some of the sheds are being torn down and the lumber carefully piled for future use.

Long platforms, some of them several hundred yards in length, made of two-inch planks, the width of the platforms being usually about twelve feet, are spread in many directions.

To Our Readers: Owing to the delay incident to the move from California to Louisiana, it is impossible to print the December number of the WESTERN COMRADE. We are combining the December and January numbers. Subscribers will also note the increase in size of the magazine, which we hope will compensate for the number missed.—

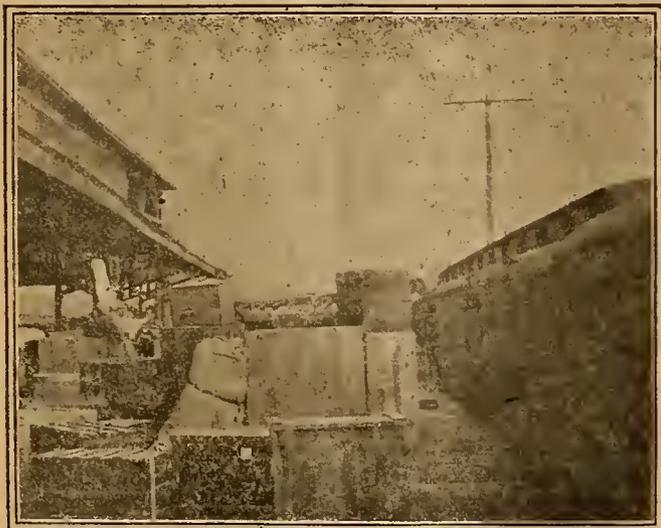
The Editors.

Much of this lumber is available for building purposes, and that which is useful for no other purpose, still serves as fuel, close at hand and partly prepared for the stoves. These platforms are high from the ground, and the supporting trestle work is still another great supply of lumber. It is estimated that the amount of lumber in the industrial buildings and the sheds will total close to two million feet.

UTILIZING THESE BUILDINGS

First to be made ready for use was the hotel, which required some repairs. Then the houses were put into repair. A large force was employed just before the train from California arrived. There are still many to be repaired and cleaned and made habitable, but this is no longer pressing work. An old repair shed has been remodeled into a cow barn. It is not ideal for this purpose, but a comparatively small amount of work made it practicable and it will be used for a long time. The saving in time, labor, and money has advanced the dairy industry immeasurably because of the ease with which it could be accomplished.

Two long sheds, built of good lumber, and the lumber still in excellent condition, are not suitable for any colony use and are being torn down as the material is required.



Unloading Baggage from the special train from California Colony.

Already a lumber yard is being established, and in it will be piled materials of all kinds. It is more than a lumber yard, being more of a material yard. A competent man in charge will see that the lumber is cared for and only those entitled to it are permitted to use it.

One entire side of the warehouse nearest the railroad, the one which is to be used as a shipping shed and warehouse, has been walled off for use by the publishing department. Here the machinery is installed and in operation, with plenty of space so that the workers may make the best of their effort. There is plenty of space allowed, too, for expansion. The membership department and the publications offices are together, attached in the front of the new print shop. Conditions are already much improved over the conditions in Llano and work is carried on with a much greater production record.

The greatest building of all, the one that would hold every building that was erected in Llano, with the exception of the tent houses (this is no exaggeration), is to be used for housing the industries. They will be placed under the same roof until other arrangements can be made. Several are now operating, and others are expected.

INDUSTRIES HERE AND COMING

Though the time since the new extension colony was first opened is short, the record is long and satisfying. The lessons learned at Llano, the ability developed, the men who came from there, the industries shipped in, the knowledge gained—all these contributed and are still contributing to quick results. Not the sort of quick results not based on sound foundations, but the sort of quick results that are quick because the planning has been careful and the preparation thorough.

The publications are here, housed, operating. A saw mill has arrived, is unloaded, and will be erected when it is deemed advisable to do so. The shoe shop is here, packed in boxes it is true, but ready to be set up and operated whenever this becomes advisable. A machine shop and blacksmith shop is here and operating. Another one will come from California. A vulcanizing shop is in running order and doing business. The commissary is well-stocked and business is increasing. All the machinery of administration is in order and running more smoothly than ever before and efficiency is high, with an ever-upward tendency. The hotel is well-ordered, well-kept, satisfactory. The dairy is rapidly acquiring a good herd of milk cows. Some hens are here and the poultry department will be established as soon as possible. A tool shop is operating with a competent tool man in charge, one who has spent most of his active life in sharpening and handling tools. The hog department is making a start. The butcher shop is already operating, and has plans for extending its work rapidly. The slaughter house will soon be ready, and then there will be an invasion of outside markets. The baker is here, and by the time this is in the hands of the readers he will doubtless be equipped for work. At any rate, it will not be long before he is ready for business. He expects to sell his products to the "outside" as well as to supply the Colony. The making of sausage will be taken up as an industry at the same time.

A barber chair is installed, but is not operated regularly. as yet.

AN INDUSTRIAL "LOOK AHEAD"

The cannery must be installed as soon as possible, for the possibilities along the line of selling canned goods are immense. The planing mill will be sent from Llano. With it in action, the making of furniture can be taken up as soon as other work permits. When the machine shop is also here and erected, this Colony will have as fine a machine shop as is to be found in many a city of much greater size. The rabbit industry will be continued here and with the improved conditions should be placed on a paying basis very soon. The same is true of every department of the livestock industry.

The manufacturing and industrial possibilities flow naturally from the livestock and agricultural resources here. There are hundreds of acres of good hardwood timber. Out of this fact grows logically the development of industries in which hardwoods are used, and foremost among them is obviously the making of furniture. This calls for skilled woodworkers, and those who follow this craft will come to the Colony.

The readiness with which certain vegetables are grown here is assurance that the canning industry can be established and made to pay handsome dividends from the very first year, to pay for the outlay for machinery, and to do more than that. This, of course, becomes one of the foremost industries and is likely to remain among the first. Definite plans are being made now to establish the cannery. The Colony has a competent canner to handle the work, one who knows the business from top to bottom.

Grass grows luxuriantly everywhere. Where grass grows, stock can be raised at a minimum cost. Out of this grows the meat industry, dairying, and tanning. With the making of

leather, comes the probability of a shoe factory, especially when the Colony already owns shoe machinery. There are good harness makers connected with the Colony, too.

Cotton is one of the chief crops which can be produced. The ginning industry, the compressor, the oil industry are all suggested as first manufactures logically following. But the thinking person will ask, "Why not the cloth-making industry, and, following that, the making of clothes?" And it seems quite logical to believe it may follow in the due course of time.

These are not prophecies. They are merely suggestions. What will be done depends on many things—the initiative of the Colonists quite as much as any other feature. But they are certainly all things that might be done, and some are things that must be done. The preserving of fruits and food stuffs is imperative. It must be taken up in all of its branches. The marketing of products is quite as necessary, and this must be taken up, which means that the Colony will of necessity embark in the packing and shipping industry at no distant date.

The active, enthusiastic, constructive mind will leap ahead and see many enterprises in the future. The possibilities seem limitless. There is nothing that appears to be fantastic about the suggestions listed above, and of their practicability no

Colony is proceeding on ascertained facts, piloted by experienced men, working along lines proved correct.

"HOW DO WE KNOW YOU KNOW?"

One of the features of the new Colony is the rigid investigation of the plans, genuine knowledge, and ability to lead of those who aspire for positions of authority or are placed in them. The effort is to find out what the man knows, how thoroughly he knows it, what experience he has had, how successful he has been. The man who thinks he knows must give place to the man who knows he knows and has demonstrated it and can demonstrate it. The Colony is a fine place for experimenters, and all will be encouraged to experiment, but this experimentation must not be at the colony expense. This is a decision rigidly adhered to. The examination through which foremen are put is perfectly fair, but it is also exhaustive in its questioning. The man who passes it has to know or he will not be able to pass. Other tests are also applied to determine whose theories are practical and whose are not.

The man who knows has his opportunity. The man who thinks he knows has his. The man who pretends to know but does not, also has his. It is fair and just to all, but the interests of the Colony are foremost in every instance. In answering the question, "How do we know you know?" they must disclose whether their knowledge is genuine or whether it is merely a figment of an ambitious but impractical mind. Of course the question is not bluntly stated. It is a series of questions that bring out a series of facts. But the upshot of it all is, as stated above, "How do we know you know?"

So much for the farming. Progress is being made, but at this early date that is about as definite as the statement can be made. Later, facts and figures and photos will be given that will be convincing. Competent men are leading and planning and they are working to a definite plan in a country where they know what the standard is and what can be done. Results should be fairly certain.

ENTHUSIASM EVERYWHERE

One of the finest things is the splendid enthusiasm that is manifested everywhere. Never did things move with such expedition as they are now, and never was the standard so high. Achievements are demanded.

Every visitor is impressed with the organization, the physical characteristics of the property, the splendid class of people in the Colony, the marvelous resources and the grand possibilities. So well impressed are they that most of them make up their minds to come into the Colony and work with their comrades here in the practical application of the principles of Socialism.

Among the most enthusiastic are the colonists who came from California. They know the wonders that will come out of co-operation, and when they see the Colony making the strides it is making, when they see the efficient methods and the complete organization that is being effected, when they see the wealth of buildings, and the abundance of firewood, and are convinced of the fertility of the soil, their enthusiasm is boundless. They are able to see these things more plainly, perhaps, because of their experience at Llano where they worked under such trying conditions and under such handicaps, where so many things were impossible that are immediately possible here.

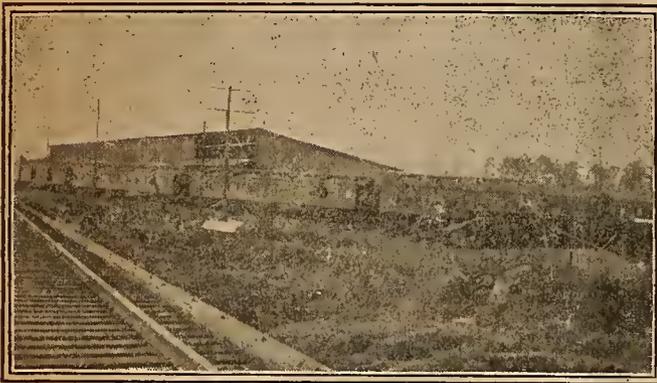
The speed with which work is carried on, the records of achievement that are demanded and made—these keep enthusiasm mounting higher and higher.

BUT WHAT ABOUT LLANO ?

This is the question that is coming in the letters.

Llano is still Llano, still in California, and will be developed

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Train of six coaches on which 150 Colonists came from the Llano to the Louisiana Colony in December.

doubt exists. But no promises are made. No definite statements are made as to when or where they will be established.

AGRICULTURE FIRST

The order of work laid out is about as follows: First, the emergency housing of men, materials, industries, animals; second, the development of agriculture. Both are going ahead. It was impossible to spare men for agricultural work until almost the first of January, but from that time on more and more men and children will be drafted into the farming department. Agriculture is the dominant necessity. It takes precedence over all else. It is the foundation of prosperity and progress.

Plans are definite. The work this year will be confined to certain crops known to be prolifically productive and highly remunerative. Gardening will of course be carried on to the extent necessary to provide for home wants, and as much else as can be produced. But most of the effort will be placed on the big market crops. The warehouse is already well filled with peanuts, cotton seed, sweet potatoes, and other seeds. Some ribbon cane will be put out this season. There may perhaps be some rice. But sweet potatoes, cotton, corn, peanuts, and melons will have the right-of-way over all other crops. What they will produce is definitely known, and it is also known just how we will be able to handle them. The

Spiritism and Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer, Editor The New World

DOUBTLESS many Socialists have been surprised at the report that I was printing a spiritualist paper. I thank the Llano Publications for an opportunity to tell them why I am doing as I am.

American Socialists ought to know, though many do not, that the Socialist movement in America began as a spirit-directed movement. The first group of colonies that was established in this country, consisting of some five distinct waves, claimed as a basis of its action a command of spirits to utilize the vast land acreage in America for the freeing of the world, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. For many years the members thought they acted under direct inspiration. Before Marxianism had been thought of, before there was a socialist party in all the world, these people, calling themselves socialists, established colonies in America and sought through them a solution of economic problems that perplexed the workers. Had their early plans been fully followed, it is likely that many of the evils that later grew up under what became known as capitalism would have been averted. Even as it was, these early socialists were to a large degree responsible for the public roads and public schools, which are the best socialized features we have today. It is the other colonies that failed; the colonies founded at the direction of spirits remain for the most part to this day.

I am not alone in saying that one of the weaknesses of the modern socialist movement is that it has been too materialistic. Just as freely do I declare that the modern spiritist movement has lost its economic purpose and become a thing without meaning. It was to correct, if possible, the lack in both these movements and bring them together, with added force and enthusiasm for both, that The New World was established. I do not care so much for the doctrines of spiritualism as for the power of the spirit, or so much for theorizing concerning socialism as I do for practical socialization.

Whether or not there be anything in spirit manifestation, it can hardly be denied that thousands believe they have communication with those who once lived in the flesh and who passed through the change that we call death. In every land, in every age, the phenomena have been sufficient to challenge the consideration of many honest and clear thinkers. Perhaps a majority of the people today believe that we do live after dissolution. In suggesting that the thought is worth serious consideration, therefore, I am neither running counter to common sense nor to general belief. And whatever else may come out of the war, it is more than likely it will revive thought concerning the future. It is doing that even now. My message is therefore opportune.

Yet my message differs radically from the conventional spiritist contention. I hold that there is already enough well-attested data on the matter of the existence of spirit-life to warrant the serious consideration of thoughtful people. At the same time, I hold that the repetition of data, which has been repeated over and over for at least four thousand years, can hold no new significance. My view is that we ought to act on the data rather than seek to repeat it. People knew in general of the fact of telephony for many centuries, but it was only when they began to act on things already known to practical ends, that the telephone was really created. Students knew of driftwood crossing the Atlantic for many years before Columbus sailed westward, but it was the Genoese mariner who acted on the data and really discovered the continent from which it came. With all that has been experienced in spirit phenomena, it has not until now been proposed that we follow out the suggestions and find what we shall find.

I hold that it was natural, so long as the world lacked well-defined machinery and natural forces available for use, to resort to the medium and the circle, employing personal magnetism as the force that got the returns. But now we have electricity, a vibratory force much more rapid than nerve force is; now we know that sight and hearing are both vibratory in nature and that electricity can connect with them. We know that it is possible, now, to talk with an unseen person five hundred miles away and really hear him speak. Therefore, The New World advocates the utilization of electricity and mechanical appliances for the purpose of touching the new world of the spirit that data seems to indicate may lie in the great ocean of vibration stretching between sight and sound. If there is anything to spirit manifestation, it means that we ought to be able to connect up with the populous realm of souls on a purely mechanical, scientific basis.

Others talk about immortality and doctrines of various kinds. I say, believe whatever you please; only, let us prove things one way or the other, and get knowledge instead of faith or untruth. I confidently believe the time will come when anybody can at any time call up a friend, or one of prominence, on the other side, and get as certain reply from him as he now gets over the telephone; when all papers will print news and views from across the big water. The accomplishment of this result would mean the opening, practically, of a new world to our knowledge. There would be the history and geography of Heaven (or whatever you choose to call the abode of the departed) to collect. There would be the finding out of the effect of earthly actions and ambitions on the other life, with a consequent revision of creeds and philosophies to meet the new knowledge, wholly apart from agitation or controversy. There would be new economics and new morals to develop; new sciences to collate; new literature to translate into our language, and a new earthly literature, that would embrace the period beyond death, for us to write.

The trouble with the world today—the thing that brought on the war—is the fact that old ideas are exhausted. We have occupied the known world. We are going around and around in our literature and thoughts. We are fighting because we cannot stop the momentum of the past five centuries, which was always toward conquest of new territory. The discovery of this new world of the spirit would do for us now precisely what the discovery of America did for stagnated Europe five centuries ago. That broke up the feudal system. This would give a new impetus to man's thoughts and activities for another five centuries and prove the salvation of the world.

Naturally many are incredulous. Some make fun of me. But a man is not of the true socialist calibre if he will hesitate on this account. Already something has been accomplished. Dr. W. M. McCartney, of Bird City, Kansas, has rigged up an adaptation of a telegraph receiver and sounder, connected with a battery but not to any outside forces. It operates a carbon ribbon that makes record of dots and dashes of the old model. Calls and questions are clicked off, leaving their ribbon records. Then the room is locked up and left alone all day. Message after message comes—volumes of them. J. L. Kramer of Bradford, Penn., has had nearly the same experience. Wallace A. Clemmons, wireless operator recently of New York city, has made experiments which he is keeping secret for the present, but says that he feels sure of success. A common receiver down all the time and a megaphone put into the ear piece, has in Oklahoma rung and received messages. These

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The Revolution in North Dakota

By H. G. Teigan

[This is the third and last of a series of articles in which Mr. Teigan tells of the rise of the Nonpartisan League.]

ONE DAY, in the early part of July, 1916, three Fords rolled out of Fargo. One crossed the Red River into Minnesota, another went south into South Dakota, and the third proceeded westward to Montana.

Keep in mind this was just a few days following the Nonpartisan league's victory in the primary election in North Dakota.

The men in charge of the Fords were Beecher Moore, Leon Durocher and R. B. Martin. Their mission was to line up a score or more of men in each of these states to form the nucleus of a league branch. All of the men commissioned to do this preliminary work were trained agitators; each knew the live wires in the particular state allotted to him. Within a month, Minnesota, South Dakota and Montana were lined up for the work. A score of organizers were put into the field in each state. From that time up to the present the work of organizing the farmers has been progressing until now at least one of the states—Montana—is almost completely organized.

Space forbids going into a discussion of the success of the work in the three states, but I want to say that we have put the thing sufficiently "across" to warrant taking the respective state "gangs" on for a political battle next year.

The movement had been strictly of a state character in North Dakota and at first the plan was to leave national politics alone in the new states. In North Dakota, the league had made no nominations for national offices, and the program contained only such propositions as could be made to materialize through political action within the state. All public ownership propositions requiring federal action were left alone, and the war question, in particular, was tabooed.

Embroidment of this country in the European war, however, compelled the league to disclaim further neutrality on the question. When it became apparent that war was inevitable, the league took a position that has given it nation-wide publicity.

On the 18th of February, the league members of the North Dakota legislature drew up a set of resolutions, in caucus, which were adopted on the following day by the House. These resolutions were defeated by the old guard senators, though every league member voted for their passage. These resolutions gave expression to the justice and necessity for conscripting wealth as a means of financing the war into which the country was soon to be plunged. (Keep in mind, these resolutions were adopted more than seven weeks prior to the declaration of "a state of war.")

Since these resolutions are bound to become historic, I am quoting them in full:

"MEMORIAL

"To the President and Congress of the United States:

"WHEREAS, there is danger that the American nation in spite of the neutrality of its people, is about to become involved in the European war of human slaughter;

"AND WHEREAS, it has become apparent that there is some invisible force carrying on a press propaganda to involve this nation in the European conflict; and whereas it is apparent that the munition, armor and steel plants, and their allied interests, would be the gainers in such a conflict;

"AND WHEREAS, it is generally believed that the munition, armor and steel plants are the parties responsible for this propaganda;

"NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, the Senate concurring therein, that we respectfully petition the President and Congress of the United States, to do everything in their power

that can be done, to avoid this nation being drawn into the European conflict of destruction;

"AND, we respectfully petition the President and Congress of the United States, to endeavor to maintain absolute neutrality, with neither favor nor prejudice toward any of the unfortunate belligerent nations;

"AND, be it further made known that it is our firm and unalterable purpose to support and stand by our nation in case of war, with our lives and our property;

"AND, being mindful of the principles of equity, justice and freedom, upon which this government is founded, we do most earnestly recommend and request that the Congress of the United States authorize and empower the President, that so far as it is within his power, in case war becomes inevitable, to seize all the property useful and necessary to the government in carrying on the war, to be used during the war without compensation, and to be surrendered after the war to the owners; such property to include factories, shipyards, munition plants, armor plate mills, flour mills, arm factories, supplies and equipment, cloth factories, and such other property, and money, as the government may require, to the end that all our citizens, regardless of social position or economic advantage, shall contribute equally to the common need and common defense of our nation; so that the citizens of wealth may be enabled and compelled to contribute to the common welfare and need of their country on the same terms as the enlisted soldiers or sailors, who give their lives and their all.

"THIS to be done only in case of war, under the provisions of martial law; and to the end that justice, equality and fraternity may be fostered and upheld as between our own people, in the conduct of the defense of our country's honor, our lives and our property."

The league legislators saw the probability of Congress resorting to conscription of men for military service. The lack of war sentiment would make volunteering impossible as a means of furnishing recruits for undertaking a war to make peace with Allied victory a certainty. This being the case, the leaguers at Bismark reasoned thus: If it is just for the government to take human life for the service of the country, then it is even more obviously just for the government to take for the country's service the ill-gotten gains of the parasitic rich.

After the declaration of "a state of war" had been passed by Congress, the league lecturers and organizers became active in their advocacy of conscription of wealth. That the idea took with the people was obvious from the increase in the number of members secured by those in the field. In many localities where work had been comparatively slow prior to this time, a marked change took place and organizers succeeded in enrolling nearly every farmer approached.

The death of Henry T. Helgeson, representative in Congress from the first district of North Dakota, brought about a vacancy that had to be filled by special election. Since the league had taken a position on a National question, and as this particular question had become an issue in North Dakota, the league found it necessary to put a candidate in the field. The farmers named as their candidate a young man who had been affiliated with the league movement as a cartoonist on the "Nonpartisan Leader." His name was John M. Baer. The farmer candidate was quite popular, and yet outside of his cartoon work, he was comparatively unknown in the district, inasmuch as he had been a resident of the western part of the state up to June, 1916.

The main thing about Mr. Baer's candidacy was the platform that had been outlined for him by the organization, and to which he gave his endorsement. This platform was several steps further in advance of any position the Nonpartisan league had hitherto taken with reference to national questions. It received considerable more publicity than the conscription of wealth resolutions previously referred to. A prominent New York publisher made the remark that it was the sanest and most pointed declaration on the question of war that had come to his attention. In the July issue, he pub-

lished the platform in full on the first page of his magazine.

The chief points of this platform, and on which Mr. Baer made his campaign for Congress, are as follows:

1. Complete fidelity to the government pledged. "In making this declaration of our position, we declare unequivocally that we stand for our country, right or wrong, as against foreign governments with whom we are actually engaged in war. Still we hold that when we believe our country wrong, we should endeavor to set her right."

2. Demand that our government, before proceeding further in support of the allies, "make immediate public declaration of terms of peace, without annexations of territory, indemnities, contributions, or interferences with the right of any nation to live and manage its own affairs, thus being in harmony with and supporting the new democracy of Russia in her declaration of these fundamental principles."

3. Abolition of secret diplomacy. "The secret agreements of kings, presidents, and other rulers, made, broken or kept, without the knowledge of the people, constitute a continual menace to peaceful relations."

4. Abolition of gambling in the necessities of life, and the Federal government control of the food supply of the nation.

5. Conscriptio of wealth as a means of financing the war. "We are unalterably opposed to permitting stockholders of private corporations to pocket enormous profits, while at the same time a species of coercion is encouraged toward already poorly paid employees of both sexes, in urging them to purchase government bonds to help finance the war. Patriotism demands service from all according to their capacity. To conscript men and exempt the blood-stained wealth coined from the sufferings of humanity is repugnant to the spirit of America and contrary to the ideals of democracy."

6. Freedom of speech, the bulwark of human liberty. "A declaration of war does not repeal the Constitution of the United States, and the unwarranted interference of military and other authorities with the rights of individuals must cease."

7. Causes of the war. "The contributory causes of the present war are various; but above the horrible slaughter looms the ugly incitings of an economic system based upon exploitation. It is largely a convulsive effort on the part of the adroit rulers of warring nations for control of a constantly diminishing market. Rival groups of monopolists are playing a deadly game for commercial supremacy."

8. How to make peace permanent. "At the close of this war, sound international standards must be established on the basis of a true democracy. Our economic organizations must be completely purged of privilege. Private monopolies must be supplanted by public administration of credit, finance and natural resources. The rule of jobbers and speculators must be overthrown if we are to produce a real democracy; otherwise this war will have been fought in vain."

On the above platform Mr. Baer was elected to Congress. At the election on July 10, 1917, he received a majority of all the votes cast. The victory was all the more conclusive as to the people's endorsement of the league's platform because the district was by far the most conservative in the state. The conservatism of the district is evident from the fact that about a year before at the Republican primaries, Mr. Frazier, though having an absolute majority in the state over all his contestants for the Republican nomination, yet failed to carry this district. In fact, he lacked several thousand votes of having a majority.

The league is now definitely committed to the idea of public ownership of public utilities. This position was taken at the Nonpartisan league conference held at St. Paul, Minnesota, September 18-20, 1917. Endorsement was also given to the

public ownership of the "great basic industries, such as mines, timber lands, water power and railroads."

The program of the league is of an evolutionary character. It has grown with the movement. From a few state owned propositions, it has developed until it now includes a complete national program for public ownership of public utilities, including the great basic industries. This evolution in the program of the league has not been altogether accidental. Those guiding the destinies of the organization early saw the wisdom of making the program correspond to its activities. There is little sense, if any, for an organization whose activities are confined within the borders of a state, advocating measures that can only be inaugurated by federal action. Hence the Nonpartisan league declined to incorporate in its program government ownership of railroads, telephones and telegraphs, mines, and other means of production of a national character, until such time as the movement also became national in scope.

As for the specific name to give to the program advocated by the league, I am willing to leave that to the readers of the Llano Publications. "What's in a name? That which we call a rose, by any other name would smell as sweet." And so with the program of the league; the substance is there, call it what you may.

There is much more that could be said of the National Nonpartisan league movement. In fact, only a comparatively few facts have been related in these articles. But one thing more must be mentioned, viz., the record of the farmer legislators at Bismark last winter. Never before in the history of the country has a group of legislators labored so tirelessly and energetically for the common good as did the representatives of the Nonpartisan league at this session. Instead of being the tools of corporate interests, as has been the case with all previous legislatures of North Dakota, these men proved themselves true servants of the people. Much good legislation was enacted and much more would have been enacted had the league been in control of the Upper House. A reactionary Constitution prevented the farmers from getting control of the Senate, though it is a certainty that at the next election this, too, will pass into their hands.

The National Nonpartisan league will be on the political map next year. I do not think there is much chance for stopping the onward progress of the movement. Conditions nationally are almost ideal for propaganda and organization. Exploitation, which is ever present under the present system, is now more than ever compelling the masses to think; the agitation carried on by other organizations has prepared the minds of the people for our program; disgust with partisanship makes the league plan of political action particularly opportune; lastly, the leadership of the league is the very best.

In President Townley, the farmers have a leader of their own class, schooled in a philosophy that comes partly from the study of economics, but mostly from the bitter school of experience. Possessing a high school education, he has had sufficient foundation for obtaining, by independent study, a sound knowledge of economic and sociological problems. Mr. Townley's strongest point is his understanding of mass psychology, and in his ability to handle men. As an executive, he has few equals in America. Possessing these splendid qualities, and guided by an unselfish devotion to the cause which he represents, his leadership has meant much, and will mean even more, to the farmers' movement.

In view of these facts, how can there be anything but success in store for the National Nonpartisan league?

—○—
Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the world from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.—Longfellow.

Was Schmidt Guilty?

[This is the eighth instalment of Job Harriman's address to the jury in the Los Angeles dynamiting case. Back numbers 10c.]

AS A RESULT of this ordinance prohibiting conversation between union and non-union men, over four hundred men were arrested in Los Angeles. The jails were full to overflowing.

Here stood a multitude of unarmed hard-working men whose wages were scarcely sufficient to keep the wolf from the door. They were met with this criminally cruel ordinance, backed by the policeman's club, and the bayonets and musketry of the state militia, and standing army. The members of the merchants' and manufacturers', backed by the Erectors' Association, laughed and jeered at the workers as they struggled against the terrible power that had just been arrayed against them. And now comes the prosecutor from Indianapolis, jeering and sneering at the sacrifices made by these men. He does not know their suffering and their heartaches. His path in life has been strewn with roses. He has no sympathy with them and hence cannot understand them. He had rather shut his eyes to the suffering of the poor and helpless victims than to see two dollars and twenty-five cents a day diverted from the coffers of his clients, to the pockets of each of the producers. You heard his heartless sneers when he said that the organizers were living with manicured nails, while the rank and file were bearing the burdens in the factories and mills. His statement is not true.

I wonder if he ever thought of the sixty million dollar fee that Mr. Morgan received for organizing the billion dollar steel trust, from which the gentleman is said to receive a part of his compensation for working in this case.

How does a sixty-million dollar fee sound to the man who receives seven dollars a week strike fees, or twelve dollars a week for sixty hours work, or twenty-five dollars a week as organizer, especially when they know that sixty million dollars was a part of their product which they should have received for their labor?

Do not such fees make it imperatively necessary for unions to employ organizers? Were it not for their organizations their wages would be forced down still lower and their poverty would be unbearable. Were it not for the unions they would not have enough to buy Christmas presents for the babies of which Mr. Grow testified, much less three hundred thousand dollars with which to force their wages up from two dollars and twenty-five cents to four dollars and fifty cents a day.

I wonder how much was spent during that fight by the merchants' and manufacturers' and the erectors' associations? We are told by reliable authority that the first subscription was upwards of one hundred thousand dollars and that several subscriptions were called for by the association.

In the very heart of the fight, while the forces of each side were still determined, while that wicked ordinance was being enforced, with over three hundred men in jail, with the delegates of the State Building Trades gathering for their convention; and with a parade in which thirty thousand men marched, organized ready for action, the terrible explosion occurred. No greater calamity to the labor movement could possibly have happened. It was so foreign to the policies and methods employed by the managers of the Los Angeles strike that for a time paralyzed their activities, and created consternation in their camp. Yet, instinctively, they all felt that it was not of their doing. Confidence was quickly restored and the movement was soon far more powerful than ever before.

The fight in the court was carried on with increasing fierceness; the police were forced to act with greater energy; more men were arrested and thrown into jail; the union increased

in numbers; the political party membership multiplied at an unprecedented rate; and the city government was practically in the hands of the working class when the second great crisis occurred, that is, when the plea of guilty was entered.

We are entitled to a jury that knows nothing of this plea of guilty. Especially are we entitled to a jury of twelve men who had never formed an opinion as to how the Times disaster occurred. I know you have sworn that you would set your opinions aside, but try as you may, that is practically an impossibility.

An opinion once formed requires facts to displace it. That opinion cannot be set aside or discarded, but can only be overthrown by other facts. Hence when a juror believes a fact of such great importance in a case, as is the plea of guilty in this case, that juror unconsciously requires the defendant to prove himself innocent.

It was for this reason that we challenged some of you and not because we did not have confidence in your integrity. Now that you are chosen as jurors it is your sworn duty to require the prosecution to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the Times building was blown up by dynamite, and to refrain from considering the plea of guilty as completely as though it had not been entered. Not only must they prove that the building was blown up by dynamite, but by eight-percent dynamite, bought in San Francisco by this defendant. If the Times building was blown up by nitro-glycerine brought from Indianapolis to Los Angeles by J. B. McNamara, then this defendant must go free. In connection with this fact you must remember that the movement here spent over three hundred thousand dollars, when less than one thousand would have sufficed if the movement had been using dynamite.

Then, too, you must keep in mind during your deliberations the character of the men with whom you are dealing. These men were spending their lives in a humanitarian movement. They were sacrificing everything for the interests of their fellows. Such men are not murderers. Their methods are constructive and not destructive. They are seeking to save life and not to destroy it. They are not men of money but of convictions. That man never lived, however rich, who would not give all his money for his life. But the men of whom I speak are not only giving their services, but they would give their lives for their convictions. They have the spirit of the Latimers, the Galileos, and the Lincolns; while those who are fighting for money are only in the class with the Rockefellerers. Greed is their inspiration and money determines what their conduct will be. But the men in charge of this great labor struggle were inspired by their love for humanity and their actions were determined by their convictions.

You remember Mr. Sharenberg, the secretary of the State Federation of Labor? He is the editor of the "Coast Seaman's Journal." He is a member of the State Housing commission. This is an honorary position. It requires a great deal of time. The gentleman from Indiana could not understand why Mr. Sharenberg should be spending so much time for nothing. This prosecutor would have been looking for a lucrative position. But Mr. Sharenberg is found in an honorary position where he can aid in housing the poor, without remuneration. This is precisely where Sharenberg and his associates will always be found. Their interest in humanity leads them there. Do you think they are murderers? Do you think Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Walsh who have spent their lives at similar work for a meager consideration, would engage in blowing up a building and destroying human lives? They were on the strike committee, and they accounted for every dollar of the

funds that came into their hands including the thousand dollar check that came from the East to Tveitmoe. These men are aldermen in San Francisco. They believe in political action, as you do. Their methods are all constructive. They belong to a different school from those in charge of the Eastern campaign. Surely you will not lay this disaster at their door. There is not one scintilla of evidence to indicate that they are even indirectly involved.

Now, gentlemen, you promised to set aside the fact that J. B. McNamara pleaded guilty. I know you cannot forget it, but in as far as you can, set it aside. Try to get it out of your mind. Now let me ask you if the State has proven that the Times building was blown up by dynamite, and did they prove that the dynamite was eighty per cent?

Let me direct your attention to the testimony of Mr. Mulholland. He testified that, in his opinion, dynamite or some other high explosive was the agency that caused the disaster; that it was placed a few feet east of the ink tank and within two feet of the north wall of the alley; that he thought the explosion fired the ink in the adjacent barrels and thus burned the buildings.

You will remember that Mr. Mulholland and Koebig and Garbet and others tried an experiment with the dynamite and ink close together. Mr. Mulholland was in charge of the experiment. Mr. Garbet testified that the oil was set on fire, but testified that during thirty years of experience he had never seen dynamite set anything on fire before. Mr. Mulholland testified that the dynamite did not set the oil on fire but that the fuse fired the paper and the oil caught fire from the burning paper (Volume 42, 3045). According to the theory of the prosecution, the dynamite in the Times building was detonated by an electric spark set off by a clock and battery. Such a contrivance would not even ignite paper.

Mr. Koebig, the chemist for the prosecution, stated positively that none of the gases resulting from the reaction of dynamite would set fire to anything, but each and every one would extinguish fire.

According to the testimony of the State it could not have been dynamite that ignited the ink. But all three of these men were of the opinion that an explosion of gas would ignite ink.

I asked Mr. Mulholland the following questions:

"Suppose you had a room sixty feet long; suppose it was an ordinary frame building full of gas, properly mixed with air, that is, properly oxygenized; and suppose the gas were exploded; what would happen?" He said the force would seek the line of least resistance. I will read from the transcript of his testimony.

Question—"Would it go out at the windows or blow out the walls and ceiling?"

Answer—"It would blow the walls out and lift the ceiling."

Question—"Suppose a charge of dynamite were laid against one of the walls and exploded, what would happen?"

Answer—"It would blow a hole, through the wall."

Question—"Leaving the remainder of the walls and ceiling substantially intact?"

Answer—"Yes."

Question—"Are you familiar with gas explosions?"

Answer—"Yes, I saw one."

Question—"Which one did you see?"

Answer—"I saw the one at Second Street here."

Question—"Where were you sitting?"

Answer—"In the rear room of the Willcox building. I heard the explosion, and flames and smoke shot up through the floor, lifting the floor."

You remember his testimony? The gas on Second Street lifted the floor and the flames and smoke shot up through the roof; but he said dynamite would leave the ceiling intact. What happened in the Times building? The gas lifted the

floors and the explosion went up instantly through the roof with flames and smoke. Precisely the same thing happened in the Times building that happened on Second Street. It is positively known that gas was the cause of the disaster on Second Street; and all the testimony given here shows that dynamite will not ignite ink or paper; hence they have not proven that dynamite, but they have proven that gas, was the cause of the disaster in the Times building. You are bound by your oath to accept the evidence given here and to disregard the plea of guilty entered by J. B. McNamara. A plea of guilty entered by other men means nothing in this case. There might be a thousand reasons why such a plea should be entered.

Again, Mr. Mulholland said the point of explosion was thirty-five feet back from Broadway and one or two feet from the wall of Ink alley.

Let me call your attention to the plans for the floor of Ink alley. You will observe that a slab of concrete six feet wide extended along the north side of the alley, and from the middle wall to the east end of the alley, and that a slab of sidewalk glass four feet wide joined the slab of cement and formed the remainder of the Ink alley floor, being the south side. Now you will observe that a six inch steel beam supported both the cement slab and the slab of sidewalk glass, at the line where they met, the beam running from the same middle wall to the east end of the alley.

You will observe that the point of explosion as located by Mr. Mulholland was from one to two feet from the north wall of the alley. This places the point of explosion four feet north of the steel beam.

This steel beam is the one that was broken and placed in evidence. There is not an engineer on earth that will tell you that dynamite will sheer a beam lying four feet from the point of explosion. The air would form a cushion, which would yield, and at the worst the explosion would only bend it. But the beam was broken with a downward stroke, and if it had been broken by a blow from dynamite lying to the side of it, the beam would have been driven sidewise.

Nor can the dynamite be placed four feet further south, so that the blow could be delivered downward upon the beam. For many reasons it must remain where he placed it or all his testimony falls.

You will remember that he said that the north ends of four beams which rested in the wall on the north side of the alley, were blown out of their sockets, and to the east. If this is true, the dynamite must be left near the north wall. If it were placed far enough south to break the beam it would have blown the south ends of the beams out instead of the north ends; but the south ends remained in their places. Hence the dynamite, if there were any, must have been near the north wall. Furthermore, it must have been near the north wall if it is true that it blew a hole through the wall. You will remember that Mr. Mulholland testified that it did.

He also testified that the stroke was radial, and that was why it knocked the beams to the east and caved in the ink tank to the west. But the north end of the ink tank was intact and the south end, furthest away, was caved in. The north end of the ink tank and the north end beams were on an east and west line. Why did it strike the north end of the beams, and leave the north end of the tank intact? And why did it strike the south end of the tank and leave the south end of the beams intact?

The fact is, the north ends of the beams were driven out of their sockets by a heavy cement and brick cornice, falling from the top of the five story brick wall, as we have shown you. The south ends of the beams were thus left intact; the south end of the ink tank was bent, and the six inch beam directly by its side was broken by a heavy lathe falling upon them from the story above.

Criminality---The Probation System

By H. A. Sessions

[This is the second article on the treatment of crime. Sessions has had fifteen years' experience in this work.]

THE ultimate effect of the probation system of dealing with delinquents will be a complete overthrow of the existing theory of criminology as practiced for the last hundred years in our courts. By easy stages, legislators, judges, lawyers, and people in general will realize that so-called criminals are not much different from other people; that they are as much a product of society as a minister, banker or a society woman, for which society itself is responsible, and for which it must accept the burden.

In answering a protest against the release of a delinquent on probation, I frequently say, "We created the conditions which made him a criminal, and we ought not to be ashamed of him." A drunken man was kicked out of a saloon by the proprietor and lay sprawling on the walk. Calling the nearest policeman, the saloonkeeper asked to have him taken away. The officer, with gentle irony, said, "Leave him there, it's good advertising."

The old idea has been that a criminal is such because he wills to be. Because he intended to commit the crime he must be punished. Legislators and jurists, with the chief executioner in the "Mikado" sing—

"My object so sublime,
I will achieve in time,

To make the punishment fit the
crime,

The punishment fit the crime."

Courts and legislators have not been interested in the poor devil of a criminal as a man; but in the juridical aspects of a legal "case." Dead hands of precedent reach up and draw the cowering, shrinking wretch down into the grave of hopeless despair.

A hundred years ago the good church people declared that insanity was a visitation of the wrath of God on a man for his iniquity, so the insane were locked in padded cells or loaded with chains and manacles. Science finally demonstrated that insanity is a disease. Alienists, psychologists, nerve specialists, surgeons and physicians of the highest skill are now employed to cure the insane.

As soon as we come to our right senses we will learn that crime is a disease. Psychopathic experts, psychologists, criminologists, will be employed by the court to find out why the man commits crime, and the remedy will be applied to the source of the crime as well as to the victim of the social disease.

John Doe steals because his parents had syphilis in their blood. Instead of confining him in a dungeon as a dangerous beast, the obvious remedy is to send him to a hospital, clean up his blood, teach him a useful occupation, give him a job, under friendly supervision. And, on the other hand, wage war on the disease that made him a criminal, and see to it that John Doe's brother's and sisters, also with tainted blood, do not bring children into the world.

Bill Brown writes bad checks to buy whiskey to drown his misery because his wife's ignorance makes family living cost more than Bill can possibly earn; when he goes home, the slatternly wife cuffs and cusses a lot of dirty brats, and scolds

Bill for his shortcomings till he breaks again for the saloon to write more bad checks, to buy more whiskey, to drown more misery. Instead of putting Bill Brown in the penitentiary for ten years, leaving his wife to run a "blind pig" and his daughters to drift into prostitution, he should be sent to a farm home for inebriates, built up in body, mind and character; while at home his family, under the care of a trained home-builder, with proper financial aid, teaches the wife to buy and cook food economically, to sew and mend, and all the other little intricacies of household economics. Meanwhile, get rid of the corner saloon. Then later on a real man will come back to a real home, and the nation's foundation is once more secure.

A recent Fresno case is a fair example of the crimes committed against criminals. John Innocenceo of 1532 G Street, worked five or six years for the Thompson Bros. as a common laborer. Because contracting work is very irregular and because his wife has not been in good health, he was unable to save money. During the last six months he has been out of work most of the time, partly because he had a long seige of typhoid fever and was very weak, partly because there was no work to be had. To gain a few nickels he began bootlegging; he was arrested, fined \$100.00 and for want of money committed to jail, where he now is.

Results: A sick, penniless woman, with rent unpaid, a pretty daughter of thirteen in a dangerous situation, a man in jail earning nothing, wearing out his clothes, and every day becoming less fit for work. In the last analysis Innocenceo deprived the state of a few cents license tax money; on the other hand society robbed him of a job, denied him a home, infected him with typhoid, robbed his wife of her support, and exposed the daughter to all the dangers of poverty in evil surroundings. Yet according to law, every officer involved in the case, from

policeman to judge, did his duty and deserves only commendation.

A reasonable administration of social justice would have given this man an education and a trade, made it possible for him to own a small home that could not be taken away from him, taken care of him when sick, and guaranteed him work, or forfeited unemployment insurance, and it would have been vastly cheaper, social efficiency considered.

Criminality is the result of the interaction between a man's personality and his environment. And he is usually responsible for neither. Abe Ruef could not be Woodrow Wilson, nor could Woodrow Wilson be Abe Ruef, no matter how much will either might bring to bear. If this be true it is obvious that when we find a criminal we should change the environment from bad to good and put only such restraint on the man as may be necessary to protect society. He should make restitution for his wrong-doing and damage done. Then we should go to the source of the crime and apply the remedy there.

The law providing for investigations by the probation officer preceding the sentencing of an offender is a short step toward a reasonable interpretation of the causes of the crime and efficient methods of correction.

In the care of the probation officer of Fresno county there

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are now 110 men on probation, wards of the superior court. Three of them were convicted by juries and the remainder pleaded guilty. The technical charges against these men include manslaughter, robbery, burglary, forgery, arson, rape, larceny, embezzlement and other offenses against persons and property. Among them, so far as we know, there are no "professional" criminals. There are not more than two or three that are not good workers when suitable work is provided them.

If these 110 men on probation from Fresno courts were in San Quentin penitentiary they would be costing the people nearly \$8000 a year more than they earn. The probation office investigates them and then cares for them for less than \$2000. The earnings of these men is not less than \$40,000 a year. A good many are earning over \$100 a month. The profits on their wages is no small item to a community. Many of them have families who receive their earnings, which go far to make their children better citizens.

Of all men placed on probation, about 70 per cent are completely restored to good citizenship, about 10 per cent manage to keep out of jail, another 10 per cent fails to report and the other 10 per cent are turned into court and given new or their original sentences.

The superior court judges have now, under the present law, the right to refer a case to the probation officer for investigation, in order to get any information which might help to determine the length of sentence advisable. The sheriff's office, through its bureau of identification, is of great assistance, both to the court and the probation office. The United States government maintains an exchange at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, which keeps the pictures, finger-prints and Bertillon measurements of every man convicted of a felony and sent to a state prison, and a great many others. The probation office sends inquiries concerning criminals, all over the world if necessary. In one recent case, replies were received from letters sent to Japan, China, India, England and Canada—by letter we chased him around the world. By working in this way, it is almost impossible for a criminal with a record to get away from the probation office control.

The natural passions and weaknesses account for most of their offenses. More than half of their crimes were committed when out of work and money. Many of these were out of money because of drink, gambling and bad women. Then when moneyless, jobless, hungry and cold, they attempt to collect taxes for the poor.

When drinking, men commit crimes they would not ordinarily commit when sober; but under temptation or necessity, they will commit the crimes when sober that they commit when drunk. That is, liquor clouds their reason, or nullifies their acquired self-restraint. Ordinarily, the moderately drunken man is the natural man—with soul laid bare. Usually one who commits a crime when drunk would like to commit it when he is sober. The drunken crime is usually the fruit of a sober wish or intent.

"Failure to provide" is a felony in California. No penniless man can provide without suitable work. Many a man loses interest in his home because he can't be a man among men and still take enough home to supply his family's needs. His wife then loses her affection for him. Then loss of work, sickness, poverty, suffering, beat down his self-respect and

bring him to the point where jail is almost a relief. Where a man is arrested for failure to provide and has no work, how can the officers of the law compel him to provide?

More than half the time the wives are more to blame than their husbands in the "failure to provide" cases. Extravagance, ignorance, laziness, bad temper, immorality on the part of women make bad husbands.

The almost universal use of checks has made the "bad check" business a great burden on the courts. This class of crimes is one of the "labor pains" of expanding civilization. We put the tool of commerce into the hands of weak and untrained men and must expect bad results. The officers of the law are trying to supply the lacking education. There is no crime more easily detected. Professional criminals seldom resort to it.

Probation is granted in rape cases, only when the female, being under eighteen, has given consent, and is herself delinquent and previously unchaste. The age of consent is now eighteen. Theoretically a girl should not be able to consent to a "de facto" marriage unless she can enter into a marriage "de juris" without the consent of parents.

In practice, however, a great many girls in California are fully developed women at thirteen, and begin promiscuous relations with the other sex, long before that age. Long before they have arrived at the legal age of consent, eighteen, they become parasites of the most dangerous class. I do not believe that rape is the proper charge against a man entangled in such a net and frequently probation is the best solution of the problem after conviction or plea of guilty.

Aside from education and training there will be no abatement in the number of rape cases until we have either open houses of prostitution or an equal opportunity for all men to marry, build homes and rear families. I am somewhat inclined to favor the latter plan. Some of my neighbors prefer to boost the cost of living, the price of land, and by withholding education, training and opportunity, condemn men to lifelong celibacy.

Gambling dens cause many cases of embezzlement, theft, and all the

other crimes against property. It is a strange thing that society will tolerate the professional gambler, who makes absolutely no return to society for his maintenance, supplies no genuine human need, and wrecks many a life.

The lack of religious and moral training is noticeable in most offenders against the law. Unless a man has had the spiritual awakening his ideals are usually low. An old-fashioned conversion is about the only thing that can bring him back to self respect.

Most criminals come from poor homes, careless parents, divorced parents, father or mother dead. State aid to orphans, and abandoned children, workmen's compensation, life insurance, fraternal organizations, better schools and continuous employment at fair wages are partial remedies that are worth consideration.

We are gradually beginning to treat the criminal as a morally sick person, and to accept a part of the responsibility of producing him. Every time I see a criminal in court, I say to myself, "Somebody his failed." The parents, the teacher, the minister, the neighbor, the community, the state—somebody has failed, and for our failures we must accept our burden.

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Louisiana-ing un-de Luxe

By Robert K. Williams

THE other day when I was doing useful work—that of making the new quarters of the printing establishment of the Western Comrade and the Colonist habitable and rainproof in their new home in Stables, Louisiana—the rapid footsteps of the editor noisily approached from the rear, and without a moment's warning or delicacy of approach, said:

"Here, Doc, come through with three to five thousand words on your trip by auto from Llano, California, to Stables, Louisiana. Be sure to write enough stuff, for I'll have to cut a lot of it out, and it's easier for me to slash it than fill in myself—and be pronto and, above all, be careful."

I stopped sawing long enough to watch his red-sweated form vanishing through the doorway and from his gait realized that he was a strenuous individual who brooked no back talk, delays, or mistakes. That word "pronto" evidently is a slang phrase he picked up from some cow-puncher, and means "get together," or something like that, and the injunction to be careful is a heritage of co-operative life learned on the stressful links of Llano's sloping plains.

All right, Mister Editor, here's a pronto and careful story



Colonists at Llano, California, just before starting auto trip to Louisiana. All Llano bade them "God-speed."

of an undeluxe expedition by Ford auto from sunbaked and thirsty Antelope Valley, California, to the forest-clad and cut-over highlands of green and sunny Louisiana—a journey of 2305 miles of up-hill and down-dale; of trackless valleys woven in mystic mazes by the feet of countless desert animals; up grades, miles in length; over divides; swinging on mountain sides amid scenes of majestic grandeur; crawling on the sides of panoramas sublime and impressive beyond description; and witnessing sunrises and sunsets that painted the heavens and mighty crags and valleys in colors and shades supernal.

Isn't it an interesting thing about a person when writing a description of anything striking or unusual to note that he says such and such is indescribable, proceeds to yank every adjective from the dictionary in his vain attempt to make you see it, too? However, not that I used but one unusual word in the above description of the 2300 mile trip, it being "supernal," meaning heavenly. Be it confessed that I used other words about the trip and my companions during the voyage.

Before going much further I may carefully state that we arrived after four of us had been closely associated for twenty-three days, still speaking to each other it is true, but quite

distantly. There were times on the trip that I thought my happiness would be complete if a gila monster would bite Babb on the neck and forever silence him, or if a tarantula would nip off the end of Bruel's finger and thereby cause him to die; and as for the fourth member of the crew, Bert Kenny, he deserved slaughter by starvation, for his silence or his exuberant singing when some horrible accident occurred to me (such as bumping a lump on my head when trying to enter the moving car). Yes, at times I hated the whole wad of them, and I believe I remember someone of the party casting aspersions on me—in fact, I recall now several times, when not only one, but all of them, talked about me in a most heinous fashion. I recall, too, that words wouldn't come fast enough to convey my inward contempt for them, and it gives me pleasure to look back and see how it cut them when I spoke crossly. Babb says I have a way of saying things that hurt, but he magnanimously adds that he never pays any attention to what I say.

Four cars left Llano on November 15, 1917, for Stables, Louisiana. These Fords, in proper order of lineup, consisted of the following colonists; Enoc Irwin and John Suhre filled the front seat, in addition to other impedimenta such as guns, cooking utensils, tools and excess clothing. John and Anton Van Nuland risked their lives, property and reputations, in the back seat. They were all cleanly shaven and wore white coveralls with the word "Llano" sewed on their sturdy chests. When they arrived at Wildhorse, Texas, their chests were still sturdy, but their coveralls were not white and they were not cleanly shaven.

Next in order came Jess Morris in his cleanly-wiped Ford, and arrayed in old clothes. With him were Wm. De Boer, Fred Allen and Abe Ginsberg, all cleanly shaven and dressed differently. Abe's red sleeping cap and khaki coveralls fooled some refined fellow in New Mexico who grew embarrassed when he inquired whether he regularly wore his pajamas in the day time.

The third car was richly laden with kitchen utensils and supplies for the inner foundry and bedding for some of the choicest of humanity, namely, M. E. Babb, five feet three, myself 178 pounds, Ed Bruel, six feet one, whose legs could easily use the radiator for a footstool, and Bert Kenny, whose newly-purchased boots crowded and fought for floor space with the stewpan and coffee pot. We were cleanly shaven and soon admitted that we were taking our lives in our hands, exhibiting a daring equal to that of a mustang breaker, when we submitted our precious selves to Babb's care.

Henry Monahan, with Dr. Jewett, and small dog Trix, brought up the rear in a Metz. They were cleanly shaven (all except Trix, the only one who said nothing one way or the other, the whole way through). Trix never lost his buoyancy or desire to chase after stones whenever the cars stopped. The rest of us, however, frequently lost our buoyancy and even the ability to throw stones for little Trix. I have asked the opinion of everyone who made the trip and he has expressed it freely and most emphatically, but many one-sided conversations with Trix have elicited no response save an intelligent look and an immediate search for a stone. Some day I hope we humans will evolve to the reticence of a dog, and then a lot of trouble will be averted.

This was to be a co-operative, pioneer, prospecting expedition for the purpose of deciding whether it would be best for the remaining Llanoites to come by autos or train to their new home. A. A. Stewart furnished me with a lot of self-addressed postals to record our daily doings and runs. These

were to be mailed to him on the fly and he was to transmit the truthful impressions to the colonists left behind. For weeks these slugs of truth filtered through my very soiled fingers over the glow of the camp fire or percolated through the aroma of a milligan stew, and truthfully conveyed the salient slants and shafts to a waiting populace. As a result, Bert Engle, acting superintendent of the Llano ranch, chartered several cars, and 130 colonists followed by train so close on our heels that we hardly had time to forget them until they joyfully wrung our hands down here. But that's another story.

Enoc's injunction to us all, before leaving Llano, was to keep together, the car behind to watch the tires of the car ahead. We did so pretty well for a half mile, but we found in exceedingly difficult to see Enoc's tires when he was a hundred miles ahead, or was riding through the gloom. Four minutes of active jolting on the road convinced us that watching the other fellow's tires was mere superfluity and merry persiflage on the part of Enoc, born of a misunderstanding of auto-tandem-travelling.

When we left Llano, the whole populace turned out to bid us God-speed, or something similar, and we had our pictures taken in attitudes of travelers, which made us feel like real persons of importance, and when our good friends crowded around us and grasped our hands and said words fraught with new meaning, a lifting of the old clouds of doubt vanished, and our hearts hastened with a new beat in response to that golden cord which binds us all and which only appears at epochal times, such as at partings or reunitions. People whom we did not know possessed the inward beat, pressed forward hands and said things that even yet tingle at the heart, and make our old hopes and affections beat with new ardor. We are all better than we seem. We are all better than we act. The good and noble and magnanimous is preponderant and only misunderstandings cause it to swerve or lose potency. Given a condition requiring quick expression of the sympathies and feelings, the love inherent in every human breast bursts forth, and like the flower opening to the sun, gives forth a sweetness too subtle for words, and delicious raptures fill the breast. I say it was good to have these sincere folks bid us adieu and wish us safely on our way. Of course, no one noticed this but me and that's the reason I'm talking about it. A discovery should be known, for mankind progresses in this way.

We were to go by way of San Diego, Yuma, etc., and like a conquering army, started off to San Diego and got as far as Los Angeles. We stayed overnight, bidding wives goodbye and the various friends we had acquired there on our several visits to that wide-awake burg. It was like leaving home, indeed, to tear ourselves away, bravely to start for far away Louisiana. A funny something stood in my throat as I waved my little better half and her good and faithful friend, Mrs. Webber, goodbye from the rear of a fast-moving electric car in one of the pretty suburbs. But we soon turned to sterner things.

Meeting the boys at a garage designated the night before, we bought a lot of things for the trip. During our rounds of the various automobile agencies we got a report that the southern route was blocked by sand. There was nothing to do but believe it, and accordingly, at noon that same day, we retraced our steps part of the way and camped that night one mile from Victorville, 32 miles from Llano. Had the colonists known that we had traveled two days and were 32 miles from our starting point, a raucous laugh would have jarred the rafters of the auditorium. However, we were on our way and traveled 132 miles that day.

The camp was cold and dismal. Wanting to facilitate dressing in regular traveling togs in the morning, I undressed rather completely and laid down to pleasant dreams! The lying down and the dreams were not pleasant. The awakening

was cruel, cold and embarrassing. One of the fellows turned over, gentle like, something like a horse, and left me sleeping with the canopy of night and the glittering stars for covering. Cold? I hope that ice is not one of the punishments in future store for me, or any of my friends. I was so cold I was afraid to move when I awoke for fear I would break in two. When I shiveringly put on my clothing, and I had mentioned the fact that I had slept cold to fourteen travelers, a hearty, coarse laugh from their hardy pioneer chests greeted the announcement. Their sympathies froze during the night, even though they slept with their clothes on. Right there I learned a valuable lesson, and after that, the moment I found my cap in the morning, I was dressed. After a breakfast eaten long before dawn with the steam from the coffee pots standing in icy sentinels, we started for Barstow, the real first step on the southern journey.

Before going on, let us go back a few miles and again have a look at famous El Cajon pass. It's worth while. The road is as nearly perfect as human hands and machinery can make it. It is a continuous up grade for miles, and ever-winding. New and impressive views appear at every turn. It was late in the afternoon when our four cars laboriously chugged upward. With the new views and the reflection from a lowering sun, came weird and wonderful pictures on the distant mountain side. Colors and shades, seemingly endless in variety,



"Can we afford to ford with a Ford?"

came and went while watching. Indeed, the true meaning of the kaleidoscope became clear. Arriving at the top, we all stopped, allowing our faithful and courageous Henrys to get a breath, and went over to a point which gave us a view of the great basin below. A railroad track wound up and around, making graceful curves, and trains tugging upward, looked like toy cars, so small did they seem from our height. Californians are proud of this fine road with its impressive beauty. We were all deep in the delights of the picture, viewing and drinking in the inspiration which is sure to come if one's soul is as big as the chambered mind of a mosquito, and desiring the silence usually present when prayer is offered up, when Ginsberg broke the spell and in a voice suggestive of hectic fever, said:

"Let's go; let's go! Louisiana is far away and its getting dark. Its getting dark. Hurry up; come on!"

Someone said something about eating and Abe reiterated the fact that Louisiana was far off and that it was costing the Colony \$20 an hour for every minute we loitered. And we hastened back to our waiting burden-bearers, started pell-mell onward and camped near Victorville, as I have already said, and where, if it had been much colder, Louisiana would still

(Continued on Page 37)

What is Anarchism?

By Emma Goldman

ANARCHISM is the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all anarchists agree that the main evil today is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of every phase of life,—individual, as well as collective; the internal as well as the external phases.

Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the state and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is, therefore, the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs; the one the receptacle of a precious life-essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life-essence—that is, the individual—pure and strong.

Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive; it is the arbiter and pacifier of the two forces for individual and social harmony. To accomplish that unity, anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

"Property is robbery," said the great French anarchist, Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to

the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birth-right, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all his needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power; the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth, Poor America! Of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soiless army of human prey, what reason for boasting?

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger (50,000 killed and 100,000 wounded last year); the returns to the masses who help to create wealth are ever getting smaller. Yet

America continues to be blind to the inevitable bankruptcy of our business in production. Nor is this the only crime of the latter. Still more fatal is the crime of turning the producer into a mere particle of a machine, with less will and decision than his master of steel and iron. Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labor, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.

Anarchism cannot but repudiate such a method of production: its goal is the freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual. Oscar Wilde defines a perfect personality as "one who develops under perfect conditions, who is not wounded, maimed, or in danger." A perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work, the conditions of work, and the freedom to work. One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and discovery to the scientist—the result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a creative force. That being the ideal of anarchism,

its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism, as the best means of producing with the least waste of human energy. Anarchism, however, also recognizes the right of the individual, or numbers of individuals, to arrange at all times for other forms of work, in harmony with their tastes and desires.

Referring to the American government, the greatest anarchist, David Thoreau, said, "Government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instance losing its integrity; it has not the vitality and force of a single living man. Law never made man a whit more just; and by means of their respect

for it, even the well-disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who does not agree that government, organized authority, or the state, is necessary ONLY to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proved efficient in that function only.

Even George Bernard Shaw, who hopes for the miraculous from the state under Fabianism, nevertheless admits that "it is at present a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving of the poor by brute force." This being the case, it is hard to see why the clever prefacer wishes to uphold the state after poverty shall have ceased to exist.

The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the state itself is the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation.

Crime is but misdirected energy. So long as every institution of today, economic, political, social and moral, conspires to misdirect human energy into wrong channels; so long as most people are out of place doing the things they

(Continued on Page 34)

"PROPERTY is robbery," said the great French anarchist, Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birth-right, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast.

A Page of Poems

OUT OF CHAOS

I am a child of the world.
I owe allegiance to no country more than another
country;
To no flag more than another flag;
The boundary of no nation hems me in.
And I love no race of people more than another race
of people.
All humanity to me is sacred
And all humanity is one.

Oh, a man is a man.
He is sacred and marvelous.
It matters not where he is born;
Or the language that he speaks.
His blood is precious.
His flesh is wonderful.
He is the child of God.

I refuse to be robbed of my sanity.
I refuse to murder my brother—who is part of myself!
I extend my hand to him saying,
"You are my comrade, and I love you."

—Ruth Le Prade

THE VISION BEAUTIFUL

A wondrous vision thrills the soul of me,
Where man, triumphant over lust and greed,
Stands glorified in his ascendancy
Above the ages' weight of war and creed.

No loud-voiced braggart, he, but splendid, true,
He finds in labor man's nobility;
In art and science blazes paths anew,
And honors woman from her bondage free.

Great man and woman, human yet divine!
Upbuilding cities, light and white and pure,
Where daily tasks with lovely scenes combine,
And town's and nature's blended gifts endure.

Supernal vision! Man and woman blest!
Their minds' achievements crown the realm with
grace;
Their hands have fashioned homes of love and rest....
A better country for a better race.

—Marguerite Head.

MAN'S CHOICE

For ages they murder—O God, how long!
Yet still they are singing the old, old song
Of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men."

But ever and ever the thundrous voice
Of justice is bidding them use the choice
Implanted by God in the souls of men.

Use it, abuse it, renounce it if you will,
But out of the chaos it thunders still.
It speaks, in a tone they can not elude,
Alike to the king and the multitude;
Murder and plunder and poverty's hell,
Or love and blessing the choice shall tell.
Use it, abuse it, renounce if you will,
But out of the chaos it thunders still.

And they shall account for the blight and wrong,
Who, arming for battle, yet sing the song
Of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men."

For ever and ever the terrible voice
Of Justice is bidding them use the choice
Implanted by God in the souls of men.

—Marguerite Head.

LET ME CAMP ON THE TRAIL

Let me camp on the trail with the restless ones,
The ones who cannot be still;
Let me share, as they share, from a board that is bare,
Through the days that are long and the nights that are
chill;
Let me camp on the trail.

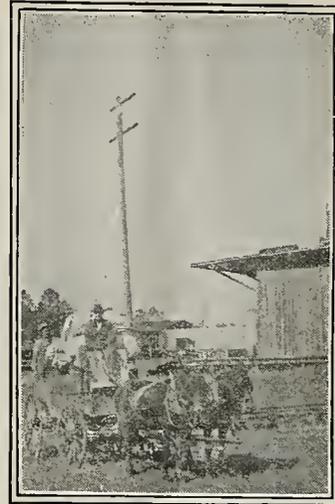
Let me shape the arrows that point out the way
From the leaders' slash on the trail;
Let me feel, as they feel, keen impress of the heel
That is thrust upon those who dare to assail
The law of "Ye slaves obey!"

Let me sit by the fire whose bright ruddy glow
Reflects from the hearts of men;
Let me give, as they give, of myself while I live,
That all those who follow shall know 'twas for them
That we blazed out the trail.

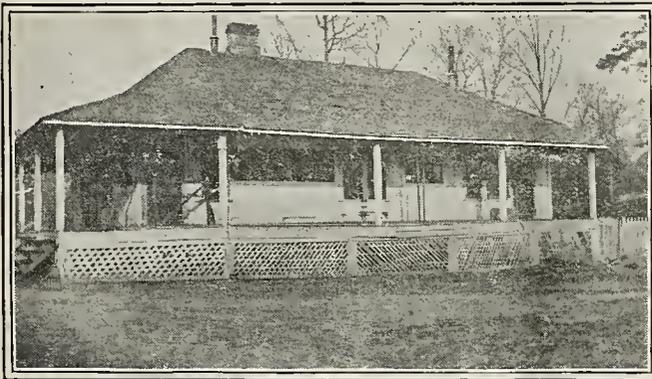
—Ferrel Firth.



Side View of the Commissary. This building is Up-to-date, Commodious, and Handles a Good Stock.

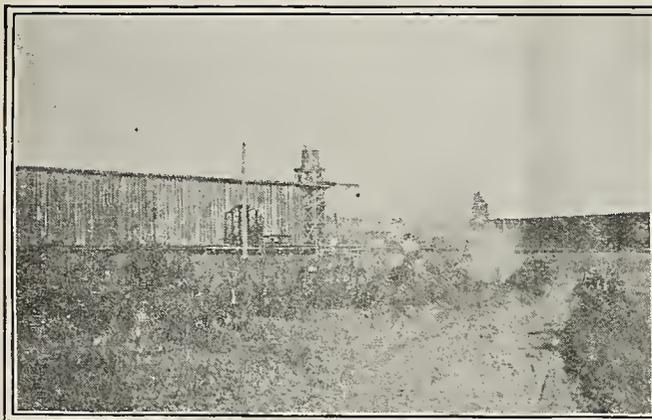


Hauling Household Goods from Sheds



The Company Office in Which is Transacted all the Financial and Commercial Business of the Colony.

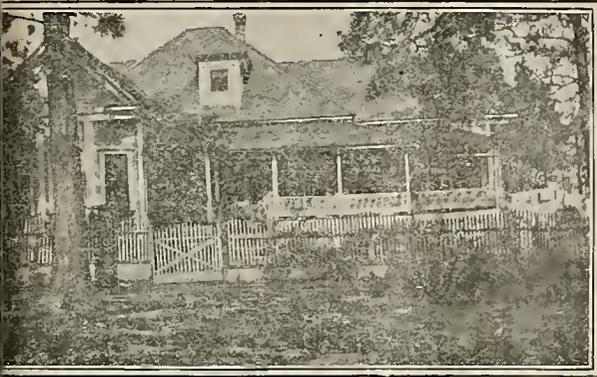
Latest Views of Typ and About the Ll Colony in Lo



Two of the Immense Sheds Belonging to the Colony Which Are Capable of Housing All of Llano's Industries



The Left Shows the North-West Corner of the Warehouse. In Foreground is the Kansas City Southern Railroad



Handsome Annex of the big Colony Hotel. This Building is Useful for a number of Purposes

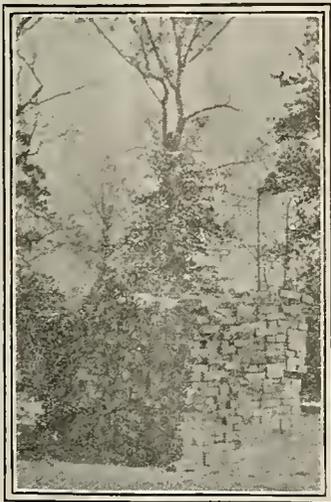


This View is Taken from the Company Office. Note the Freight Depot on the Right. Opposite is the Warehouse and Printshop.

Typical Scenes In Llano del Rio Louisiana



A View of the Train of Six Coaches Which Brought 150 California Colonists to Louisiana



Brick Ready for Bakery



View of a part of the Great Mass of Lumber that Accompanied The Louisiana Purchase

National Non-Resistance?

By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph.D.

THE conventional answer is a simple one: a non-resistant nation must of course become the prey of its strong neighbor.

"The possession of wealth by a defenseless nation," says Hudson Maxim, "is a standing *casus belli* to other nations," and "always there has been the nation standing ready to attack and plunder any other nation when there was likely to be sufficient profit in the enterprise to pay for the trouble."

This alternative of defense or conquest has up to this time been accepted by the majority even of pacifists. The regular Socialist of every country expects some form of army and navy to continue until the world triumph of the proletariat; and unilateral disarmament is repudiated by all peace advocates save a few Christian idealists ready for martyrdom.

The writer, however, ventures to take exception to this alternative. The United States is indeed a wealthy and developed nation; and Mr. Maxim is in agreement with Socialist philosophy when he pictures the ruling class of each nation

as out for profit. If, at the end of the world war, the United States should independently disarm, there would remain no military obstacle to the overrunning and annexation of the country by the first neighbor who wished to turn a dishonest penny. Such a catastrophe, however, need not, we believe, be feared in the slightest by the United States, the reason being a simple one: the seizure of our country would present to a possible conqueror no adequate chance of profit. A wealthy and developed country is, because of these very qualities, secure from attack.

Let us use our economics, and look squarely at the matter from a business viewpoint. A great power demands expansion, euphemistic word for the seizure of territory, and according to both Marx and the capitalist economists, this expansion is required as an outlet for the surplus products of capitalism.

Now in what way does the conquered country supply such an outlet? Clearly not in the course of normal trade, for, as Norman Angell has conclusively shown, trade does not necessarily follow the flag, and with a few artificial exceptions, a colony such as Canada or Australia buys and sells in the most profitable market, irrespective of imperial allegiance.

It is not Canada and Australia, however, but Congo and Mesopotamia, toward which modern Europe turns covetous eyes. It is these undeveloped countries, whether formal colonies or mere spheres of influence, which are the genuine bone of contention today, as constituting the only territory which yields an appreciable economic profit to its political possessor. There are great differences between the developed colony such as Canada or New South Wales and a possession like Soudan or Korea. The first is the home of enlightened settlers, who, as Mr. Angell has explained, buy and sell where profit leads them and refuse to be bound by any except mutually advantageous trade restrictions; but the second is inhabited by ignorant tribes, unable to assert their trade rights, and an easy prey to the vendor of silk hats or whiskey, as the case may be.

The first type of country, though far richer in every way than the second, yet belongs to itself rather than to the mother

country, for the available land and resources are all staked out as private claims; the second, for the title deeds of the aboriginal ruler, may be conferred, for value received, upon whom the government delights to honor.

The most important difference between the two, however, lies in their availability as a field for investment. Important as are the uses of the colonial world as a source of raw material and a market for superfluous products, it is not for these uses chiefly that the modern powers are reaching out greedily for new lands. As Mr. Louis Boudin has pointed out, the industrial nations have changed their index of prosperity from textiles to iron and steel, from consumers' goods to producers'. We are willing to import our small wares from the East if we build them the machines and the railroads with which to produce them. Our capitalists are even ready to turn their attention to a great extent from home production in order to stimulate new industrial centers in far-off lands.

The developed nations are already saturated with capital.

By this we do not mean that money is free or that there are not still many openings for profitable enterprise. We are familiar with the principle, however, that as capital accumulates in a society the marginal units are forced into less and less productive uses, these units determine the general rate and normal interest falls. For generations the capital of England has sought foreign investment, and of recent years that of France, Germany, and the United States has done the same.

J. A. Hobson quotes a series of figures for British foreign investments beginning with 1863, the last amount, for 1893, reaching £1,698,000,000, nearly 15% of the total wealth of the United Kingdom.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the capitalists of the world have of re-

cent years turned their eyes from the developed to the undeveloped, from the civilized to the uncivilized world. The decadent nation such as Egypt, India, or Mesopotamia, the savage land such as Congo or Formosa, is devoid of native capital, waiting only for Westerners to send in iron and steel, tame the natives to cheap labor, and establish for their own profit a new outpost of industrialism. Here is a field where capital can be put to the highest productive uses, but where native races are incapable or undesirable of this development and the outside investor has full sway.

The developed country, therefore, is in constant danger of seizure with or without pretext. Were we citizens of Somaliland or Bagdad, we could hardly look with equanimity upon the process of world empire. Should we then advocate military resistance on the part of those countries? Only as a method of speedy suicide.

It is the developed industrial nation alone that is capable of material resistance in the twentieth century. Yet, from the glimpse we have just taken into the motives of modern conquest, we find that such a country would be valueless to a conqueror. As soon as we imagine imperialist methods applied to the United States, for example, the absurdity of such conquest is apparent. Our country is already saturated with

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THE undeveloped country is in constant danger of seizure with or without pretext. Were we citizens of Somaliland or Bagdad, we could hardly look with equanimity upon the process of world empire. Should we, then, advocate military resistance on the part of those countries? Only as a method of speedy suicide.

Were the Majority Socialists Right?

No!

By J. G. Phelps Stokes
Pro-War Socialist

IT SEEMS to me so evident that opposition to the war HAS vastly weakened the Socialist party, that it does not appear worth while to take fifteen hundred words to answer the question as to whether such opposition WILL weaken the party.

The average membership in the party during the five years immediately prior to 1917 was 94,000.

January 31st of this year the membership was 75,840. During the vigorous anti-war campaign, which occupied more space in the Socialist press than anything else during the two months preceding the St. Louis convention, the membership sank to 67,510. By April 30th, two weeks after the adoption of the anti-war resolutions at St. Louis, the membership had fallen to 61,594. There then followed an enormously aggressive membership campaign, and a great deal of advertising space in the party press (in the East at least) was used to bolster up and fortify this campaign, and special deliberate effort was made to rope into the party all the pacifists possible, regardless of their known sympathies with Socialist principles. This appeal for pacifist support was carried to such a point that Morris Hillquit, in opening the 1917 municipal campaign in New York at Madison Square Garden, frankly made the war issue the keynote issue of the Socialist campaign, declaring that the November elections would offer "the first real opportunity to the greatest community in the country to express its sentiments on peace and war," and that the verdict of the citizens of New York would be eagerly awaited by the people of the whole world.

A few evenings later, he declared before the Brooklyn Civic club "the issue of war and peace will probably be a deciding factor in the coming election. It will be the first opportunity for the people to express themselves on this issue."

All of Mr. Hillquit's opponents in the campaign were unequivocally outspoken in pledging their support to the American government in furtherance of the Allied aims in the war, so that no opponent of the war could logically support any candidate other than Mr. Hillquit:

The Socialist campaign for members as well as for votes, in this part of the country, was outspokenly made on that anti-war basis, and I am advised and believe that in general throughout the country an appeal for members as well as for votes, was similarly made on an anti-war basis. This vigorous anti-war campaign made by the Socialist party during the months immediately preceding the election gained about twenty thousand members for the Socialist party in the country at large, so that in October membership reached about 80,000—this increase of 18,000 or 20,000 members being a direct result of the vigorous anti-war campaign that was carried on.

But all these extra efforts made by the Socialist party's campaigners failed to raise the party membership to anywhere near the average of the preceding five years. The above facts supplemented by such letters as John Spargo and myself have received from all parts of the country in connection with the organization of the Social Democratic league and of the National party, appear to afford convincing evidence that the Socialist party's repudiation of the cause of International Democracy, as manifested in its attitude toward the present war, has cost the party a loss from its member-

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Yes!

By Adolph Germer

• • Anti-War Socialist, Secretary National Socialist Party

THE QUESTION put to me is, "Will opposition to the war weaken the Socialist party?" Any answer I give, of course, may cause some debate. The party has grown in membership since the St. Louis convention where the famous resolution was adopted. Those who favor the Majority report, quite naturally, and I think justly, claim that this growth is due to our anti-war attitude. We say that had we done as the pro-English Spargo, Simons, Gaylord, et al, wanted us to do, we should be no different from the Democratic and Republican parties. Had we endorsed the war, as they did, what incentive would there be for anyone joining the Socialist party? One could just as well stay with the Democratic or Republican parties, the parties of the steel trust and other profit mongers. They stand for the war. True, their program is couched in slightly different language than that of Simons, Gaylord and Spargo, but they are for the International killing just the same.

Those who have in the past called themselves Socialist and have joined hands with the worst labor exploiters in the land claim that our increase in membership came from the German ranks. Because we stand consistently by our past declarations on war, we are charged with being agents of the terrible animal that is running loose in Europe—the Kaiser. As Post used to say, "There is a reason for everything." Perhaps the fact that some of the ex-Socialists are in the pay of Defense Councils or serve on some sub-committee that has a name a yard long, while others are patted on the back by the plutes and told how intelligent they are, accounts for their vaporings against the party's position. Who knows!

This, of course, is aside from the question, but it is important because it may explain why they try to arouse suspicion and distrust in the Socialist party. When the connections of former prominent party members are understood, the Socialist party will not look so Kaiserish after all. But what else can they say to make out the shadow of a case in their vain attempt to weaken the party?

No, our opposition to the war has not and will not weaken us. On the contrary, we have proven our consistency. Our position on the war has shown our thorough reliability. It has brushed away that doubt in the minds of many who wondered what we would do when the test was put to us. The people have learned that we do the things we promise in our official declarations.

At the beginning of the war, not alone non-socialists, but Socialists as well, the very persons who deserted, or were kicked out of the Socialist party, denounced the European Socialists for supporting their governments. They wrote lengthy articles, charging comrades with willful dishonesty because they did not agree with the author's "uncompromising" anti-war program. Now this same author is drawing money from the Council of Defense. Would anyone say that the loss of persons who dance such mental tangos is weakening the party? The European Socialists were condemned for supporting the war. We are condemned for not supporting it.

Moreover, the hideousness of capitalism with its inevitable horrors of war will impress itself more vividly on the mind when the realities of war become more visible. When the results are announced and the legless, armless and eyeless

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Comment and Criticism

By Alec Watkins

LA FOLLETTE

OCCASIONALLY, there appears in public life a man who is the despair of his political associates—and the hope of the people. Such a man is La Follette. Compare him with Woodrow Wilson. At bottom, Wilson is probably sincere, but as far as his public utterances are concerned, it is difficult to tell how much of them is idealism and how much is rhetoric; and as far as his public work is concerned, it is just as difficult to tell how much of it is principle and how much is political expediency. But La Follette's entire career is characterized by a hearty earnestness and a thorough-going sincerity. Bernard Shaw gave Wilson credit for having made no political mistakes, and Shaw is perhaps right, for Wilson's mistakes have been, not in politics, but in statesmanship. And when he blunders, he finds it necessary, nevertheless, to continue, finally convincing himself and others that it was really no blunder at all. It is just here that Wilson differs most from La Follette; for, in a matter of broad statesmanship, La Follette's judgment is much surer than Wilson's, and should he find himself in error he is the type of man that would at once start anew. It is this quality that, "in spite of all superficial laws, temporary appearances, profit-and-loss calculations," as Carlyle put it, makes men like La Follette invincible.

GERMAN IN THE SCHOOLS

ONE of the least welcome by-products of the war is the attempt to eliminate the German language from the school curriculum, in various localities. There is no rational excuse for assuming that the perusal of German literature by Americans will hurt America any more than it will hurt Germany. The German classics, for the most part, were produced before Germany became a military power, and reflect no more of the military spirit than the classic literature of any other country. Their study in America, therefore, would not develop here those tendencies which we deprecate in Germany. And the militaristic literature of Germany would really make good loyalist propaganda for our government. There is another reason why the knowledge of German should be extended rather than restricted. After the war, it is quite imperative that we understand the German people, whether they continue our enemies or become our friends. If they are to be our enemies, we must understand them in order to know how to deal with them. If we are to be friends with them, as we may be permitted, with President Wilson, to hope, a better understanding is most essential. And this understanding can be arrived at more quickly and more surely if the barrier of language is broken down.

EDUCATION

IN THE recent New York City election the Socialists were compelled to take a negative position on the subject of education. It is to be hoped that this will not be the case always. This matter of education is vital. It holds the solution of a thousand problems. Socialists need to wake up to its possibilities. The fact that our educational system, from the country schoolhouse to the great university, is in the hands of the enemy, is no mere stumbling-block on our path, but a high brick wall. Day by day, children are taught systematically the immoralities and inanities of capitalism and war. A generation nourished on a disease-breeding diet of that kind

is not likely to be very amenable to the forces of progress.

Let it be understood, however, that it does not follow because we do not want children taught that capitalism is right, that we therefore want them taught that Socialism is right. On the contrary, no principle, however well established, and no opinion, however much it may be venerated, should be taught as absolute truth. To a system of education of that kind is largely due the very widespread aversion among men in later life to the use of their brains. It would be difficult to improve upon Spencer's dictum of a half a century ago that "children should be told as little as possible and induced to discover as much as possible." Instead of making the mind of the child a dumping ground for a mass of conventional aphorisms, ready-made ideas and second-hand facts, we should try to induce in it a genuinely independent activity. Every possible expedient should be used to encourage the child to search out its own facts, work out its own ideas and form its own conclusions.

After all, what progress requires of men is not that they be definitely committed to any particular belief, but that they maintain open minds, and that they be courageously ready to experiment in the New when the Old has been found wanting. In order to produce a generation of men of this calibre, it will be necessary, not only to dispose of the particular dogmas that enslave today, but also that our educational institutions be kept free from any sort of dogmatism whatever.

CHESTERTON, MELODRAMA, AND WAR

THE CLEVER Mr. Chesterton, in discussing an aspect of the war, recently re-asserted his belief that melodrama accurately portrays life. Particularly does he defend the authenticity of the melodramatic villain, even to his conspicuous jewelry, his blood-curdling chuckle, his arrogant stride, his evident delight in evil for evil's sake. And of course, in his great tragedy now being enacted, Mr. Chesterton assigns the role of villain to the German.

Now it is true that melodrama, and for that matter, the more moderate drama, faithfully reflect certain facts of life as we have believed them to be, but not always as they are. And, of course, in the play, the problems arising from these facts are met much as men have met similar problems in their everyday lives, but not as they are learning to meet them in the light of experience. Then, too, while complexity of plot is essential to the ordinary drama, it takes more than an ordinary dramatist to even hint at the complexity of life. In melodrama, at least, life is a fairly simple matter: there are good people and bad people in the play, and the problem is to reward the good and to punish the bad, a consummation that is devoutly wished, strangely enough, by both the good and the bad people in the audience. However, the more modern drama reflects the growing tendency to regard heroes and villains as but incidents. We are beginning to glimpse the underlying causes that are the real forces for good or ill, and with which we must treat directly if we are to accomplish any permanent good. The business of killing villains has failed as a matter of practical expediency; it has often done greater damage to the virtuous than to the vicious; and always it has failed to dry up the springs of villainy.

It must be remembered, too, that in the written drama, a satisfactory conclusion depends only upon the skill of the author. But, from Chesterton's own point of view, in our world tragedy, the author and the villain are to be found in the same person. In any case, whoever the author may be, if

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The Principles of Money

By Clinton Bancroft

IT HAS been shown how land and chattel had to be transferred in ancient times by giving actual possession in the open market or before witnesses. This was barter; and it made no difference whether one or both the bartered articles were metals or any other thing of value. And the attention of the reader is drawn to another familiar fact in history always to be found along with this, that is, that wherever history shows a time or people that required exchanges to be effected by the transfer of the actual possessions of the things exchanged, history will also show that no methods of so representing things as to identify them were known, or, if known, they were either unfit, or the people were too unfamiliar with them to use them; and this is true whether coin or stamped metal called money was in use or not. Wherever and whenever the transfer of the actual possession of the things themselves was essential to the exchange of values, it will be found that no means of representing value was known, or the knowledge was too restricted for practical use. Things of value could only be represented by the things themselves; and NO thing represented any value but its own. Coin itself did not. It stood for nothing but coin. Not until the art of writing was invented was any means devised whereby things could be so represented that the representations could be used in a commercial way for the things themselves, and history will show that until a people became familiar with the art of writing no representative of a thing was ever accepted for the thing itself.

If coin was in use before writing was known, so much the worse for the claim of coin to represent any value but its own. If shells or wampum belts or fetish things were used by unlettered tribes for the purpose of barter, it can be shown that the things they used were held valuable, not because they represented value, but because they possessed value in themselves. They represented nothing.

The invention of writing carried with it potentially the invention of money. The earliest remains of writing that have been discovered, the burnt brick records recently found among Chaldean ruins, relate to commercial transactions and furnish us with the earliest instance of the commercial use of the representatives of value for the thing itself. The inscriptions on these burnt brick are found to be deeds to land, bills of sale of chattels, and promissory, interest-bearing notes of individuals. In them we find the invention of money first shadowed forth. When men found that the written description of a thing could be used to represent the thing itself and be made to identify it, they soon discovered that the possession of that written description, of that written representative, could be made to identify its ownership. If the possession of the written representative of value could be made to identify the ownership of that value, the passage of that possession from hand to hand would carry with it the ownership of the value that it represented. To make such a use of the representative was as natural as to make the representative stand for the thing. Now, generalize that representative of value. Instead of having it represent the value of a particular thing, have

it represent the general value that enters into all things, and you have money as the term is practically understood today. These stages represent the growth of the invention of money.

The man who first wrote out a description of his land, or his chattels, or his obligation, and handed to another that written representative of value described, for the purpose of thereby transferring the ownership of value itself to that other, is the man who invented money. His dust has been blowing about the world for more than fifty centuries, and yet men are only beginning to see that the written representative of value which he issued (the deed to land, the bill of sale to chattels, the note of obligation) possessed the essential qualities of money. The burnt brick, the papyrus, the parchment upon which the written representation was written, possessed practically no value in themselves; but they represented value, they identified the ownership of that value, and that ownership followed their exchange. The gold, the goods, the land they represented, could never be money. The intrinsic value they possess effectually bars them from representing another value. They may be used to

measure other values, but not to represent them. No means have ever been devised by which value could be represented commercially except by written or printed description, and therefore, only such representatives of value can constitute money.

But, though men have been slow to recognize in a mental way that the written representatives of value, which they have been handling and exchanging and passing to and fro among themselves, really possess all the essentials of money, and that nothing else does, yet they have always done so in a practical way. Wherever the art of representing values obtained the complexities of trade invited its use, and the convenience of that use was so great that men never failed to take advantage of it. That which was at first simply a convenience became, un-

der the growing commerce of the world, a necessity; and today without recognizing them as money, denying indeed that they are money, ninety-nine hundredths of the exchanges of the world are effected by written representatives of value. Gold and silver certificates, national bank notes, drafts, bills of exchange, stocks, bonds, checks, certificates of deposit, warehouse receipts, due bills, promissory notes, bills of sale, mortgages and deeds—all these representatives of value are the mediums by which the exchanges of the world are today effected. They all possess the essential qualities of money. All, however, do not possess the conveniences of money, but they do possess its essentials and they perform its functions.

Strange to say, however, that which does not possess the essentials of money and does not perform its functions, is what the world persists in calling money. If what the world calls money is money, why don't it perform its functions? Ask the metal advocates what money is, and they will tell you it is a medium of exchange. That is true; but why isn't their medium, their metal, performing its work? Why does it allow ninety-nine hundredths of the exchanges of the world to be effected by other mediums? They tell us the reason is, that their metal medium is in some safe place serving as a basis of these other mediums. Then, practically, their metal isn't

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THE metal advocates will tell you that metal is a medium of exchange. That is true; but why is not their medium, their metal, performing its work? Why does it allow ninety-nine hundredths of the exchanges of the world to be effected by other mediums?

Practically their metal is not a medium, but a basis for mediums. That is, it isn't money at all, but a basis for money.

JESUS AND WAR

By Robert Whitaker

THE Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Church of the Messiah, at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, is reported in the "New York World" of March 7, 1917, as making the following statement the previous evening:

"I suppose I'm a good deal of a heretic in theology. I don't believe anything Jesus taught just because He said it. I am interested in anything He said, just as I am interested in anything Charles Darwin said; but a basis of truth must be found elsewhere. I believe Jesus of Nazareth is the greatest teacher the world has ever seen, because He taught the things He did."

When the secretary of our Christian Pacifist conference was seeking to secure a hall for our meetings in Los Angeles, October, 1917, the landlord of a certain hall in that city which we tried to engage, used these words:

"I am a Baptist, and I am just as good a Christian as any of you are. But I am an American, and if Christianity gets between me and my country, damn Christianity."

The two men were doubtless very wide apart as to their theology, for Holmes is a liberal, and it is dollars to doughnuts that the Los Angeles man is severely orthodox. But they really meant the same thing, although Holmes said it in a much finer and far more Christian way.

When you ask me, therefore, to discuss the question, "Does the philosophy of Jesus preclude war between nations?" I am bound to say at the outset that the inquiry has really very little to do with the actual attitude of those who call themselves Christians, toward war. Neither as to the rightfulness of war itself, nor as to the relative rightfulness of this or that party to any war is the authority of Jesus a decisive factor. The Christians of the South justified their side of the Civil War just as easily as the Christians of the North justified their's. German Christians and American Christians are heartily agreed on the main proposition, that while they do not like war, the duty is thrust upon them, and they must fight for humanity's sake. For both of them, to use a favorite illustration of our own apologists, the house is on fire, and they cannot stop to hear argument, or to consider constitutions and bills of rights, or to even be merciful and humane; they must put out the fire. And if Christianity gets in the way, well—most of them don't say it, but they do actually damn Christianity, damn constitutions, and damn anything else that gets in their way. "Can't you see, the house is on fire? Shut up and get busy." The only difference between Germans and Americans in their appeal to this apt illustration is as to which house is on fire. But they are equally willing to have Christ go along and help them put out the fire,—in their neighbor's house.

No, this is not cynicism. It is a mere statement of facts. Christians fight for the same reason, or reasons, for which other folks fight, and choose sides, or are chosen, like the rest of humankind. If they were Mohammedans, Mohammed would be their prophet in battle. Because they are, or call themselves Christians, they must needs make a war-man of Jesus.

I admit that it is harder to do it with Jesus than it would be with Mohammed. But they do it, and then proceed to justify it as best they can.

Which simply shows that the authority of life itself is more compelling than any authority of names. Either we do not reason about matters or else our reasoning goes deeper than any mere issue of what anybody has said, and we act according to the whole body of instincts, impulses, and interests which are in us and around us. And against the vast volume of the glacial drift in which we are caught, and with which we move, the influence of our poets, prophets, and the Christ himself avails but slowly, and in the main, only as it avails to affect the general momentum and direction of life.

And, furthermore, these men and women whom we appeal to as "authority" do actually speak with authority only so far as what they say answers to the ultimate facts of life. We pay attention to what Jesus said finally as we find His words answering to a larger and larger experience of life.

Jesus' condemnation of war, if He did condemn it, would amount to nothing eventually, if war should prove to be a permanent requisite for the progress of mankind. We would no more adopt His philosophy than we would adopt His dress if the philosophy proved as inconvenient and inapplicable to times and conditions as the dress. On the other hand, if it be proven that Jesus justified war, nevertheless war will go on if it is to human advantage that it shall go on. Life itself is the determining factor as to what life will tolerate and what life will condemn. And if Jesus remains as authority for us it will be because He spoke according to life at its highest and best, and not because life is going to conform to any mere word of Him or of any other man.

THE Christians of the South justified their side of the Civil War just as easily as the Christians of the North justified their's. German Christians and American Christians are heartily agreed on the main proposition: that while they do not like war, still the duty is thrust upon them, and they must fight for Humanity's sake.

So then it does not matter whether, as some of us surmise, Jesus thought of himself as the Jewish Messiah, suddenly and unexpectedly revealed to himself as such, and to be revealed speedily by His Father in a new order which would sweep away all the nationalisms and imperialisms of His time like chaff before the wind, or whether, as most Christians believe, He came to His career out of miracle and with a semi-supernatural consciousness, and built a church which He anticipated would outlast the centuries. Whether the Christ of miracle and tradition, or the vastly more impressive prophet of Nazareth, who, within the compass of an insular experience and an apocalyptic expectation, wrought out an attitude toward life which is good for all times and places, and for the whole evolutionary expectation of the race, such authority as He has for us is not arbitrary, and it is not seriously affected by the particular field of immediate ideas in which He worked it out. What the Wright brothers did for flying does not depend upon what they said about it, nor upon the characteristics of that bit of beach in Florida where they worked out their theories, but upon their contribution to our knowledge of the actual laws of flight. War is reasonable or unreasonable, right or not right according to the witness of life itself, and the witness of Jesus is worthless with respect to war just as much as it answers to the worth or unworth of war itself.

So far as we know He did not discuss war, or nations, in any formal way. His view of life was intensely individual. It is at this point that men have missed the meaning of one of His profoundest utterances which has been most absurdly forced into the service of war of late. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." He is reported to have said when he sent out His disciples on a preaching tour. The whole utterance, which is found in the tenth chapter of Mathew's gospel, reads like a reflection of later times upon the experiences of the apostolic church, and an interpretation of what they conceived to be the Christian attitude toward their work and the opposition which they met. But if the words be taken as literally the words of Jesus they lend no comfort to the apologists for war, and they cut the very ground out from under the whole doctrine of nationalism.

For this is, in substance, what Jesus says, put into modern phrase:

"The world's wars are group conflicts, in which a man has usually the support at least of his family, or his tribe, or his nation. But the doctrine which I teach is so intimate, so individual, that it will cleave all the relations of life asunder. The war that will follow those who follow me will divide a man from his father, a daughter from her mother, a daughter-in-law from her mother-in-law, and a man's foes will be those of his own household."

Now this is the characteristic conflict of all absolute loyalty to truth. Men usually go in groups, as churches, parties, states, or nations, and few men and women act for themselves, and out of sheer loyalty to the vision of God in their own hearts. But Jesus taught in severest terms that there is but one loyalty, and that is the loyalty of a man's own soul to his own experience of life, and the living voice of God within him.

Here is the doctrine in its baldest and boldest terms. "Except a man hate his father and mother, he cannot be my disciple." That is, unless a man so loves truth and so follows righteousness that compared with his loyalty to them, even love of father and mother is cold as hatred, he does not know what real loyalty to truth and righteousness are. What room is there in such teaching for the irrational and immoral dogma of our times, "My country, right or wrong"? How can men be Germans, or Englishmen, or Americans, and be Christians; if this be the teaching of Jesus? The fact is that so far as any man is German, English, or American, he ceases to be Christian since he sets up another loyalty above sheer loyalty to the Christ mind and mood.

So also must we understand Jesus' words which are generally ignored by the orthodox, and most superficially understood even by the conventional liberal. "Call no man father, call no man rabbi, call no man master." Certainly Jesus was not concerning himself with mere titles, as the connection will show, though it is easy to guess what he would have thought of the rag-tag of our professional and ecclesiastical togger. But back of these words is the profoundest democracy. Here is a repudiation of all hero-worship, all subordination of man to man, all loyalties which obscure the soul's own vision of God. You are not to be imitations and echoes of anybody, whether it be a Paul, a Luther, a Lincoln, or a Karl Marx. "One is your father; one is your teacher; one is your master;

and all ye are brethren." There is absolutely no room for sectarianism, for partisanship, for nationalism, or for any subjection of the soul to anybody here. It is a declaration of human independence which puts the document that Jefferson wrote into the category of the superficial and the incidental so personal, so profound, so everlasting it is.

Now Jesus was either right or wrong about this doctrine, which lies at the very root of His whole attitude toward life. It is this doctrine out of which He said with no consciousness of blasphemy, "I and My Father are one." And it was His aim to make every man able to say the same for himself. Jesus taught in the most absolute fashion the immediateness of every man's relation to God. It is the ultimate of moral independence, by which we come back to that with which we began, that not even the authority of Jesus is authority for us, but only the authority of life itself as each soul comes to the experience of life. He is authority for us only as He is truth, and truth must test even Him for His authority.

It is of secondary importance, therefore, that He said in another connection, "Blessed are the peace-makers." We must test that saying by experience. Or His word, "Put up thy sword; they that take by the sword shall perish by the sword." That also must be proven out. Nor does it matter much what He did to the grafters in the Temple, though that whip of small cords has been worn to shreds by the hard-pressed grafters of our day who are anxious to use it on each other's backs. Fie on them that they do not see that if He could get one square look at them He would clean them all out with a whisk broom! No, the real philosophy of Jesus is not in any incidental utterance or even in any isolated act of His. It is in His teaching of the soul's solitariness before God, and the one and only loyalty which He admits has any right to rule.

You can no more imagine Jesus a German or an American than you can imagine Him a Baptist or a Methodist. Our national contentions would be to Him as absurd and as horrible as the religious wars over some rag or ritual, or some tissue of theology. There is no patriotism with Him, as there is no

partisanship, and no sectarianism. There are just these two things, the two commandments, which He said summed up all law and all prophecy and all religion: to love God, that is, to be loyal to goodness and truth and these alone, and to love man, whether the Jew of our own nation, or the Samaritan, who just now happens to speak German.

And whether Jesus was right or not, let life itself prove.

IN FLANDERS

By James Waldo Fawcett

Christ went walking on a battlefield,
And came where men lay in red death;
Where the sweet earth was rent and torn
With cruel steel and hidden mine;
Where proud kings' banners met the dust;
Where all the subtle schemes of lords
And tyrant masters knew defeat;
And Christ looked down on His own pierced hands
And His wounded breast. And He said in pain:
"These are indeed my brothers
For they die even as I died
And they who send them out to death
Evilly know not what they do!"

CHRIANIANS fight for the same reasons for which other folks fight, and choose sides or are chosen like the rest of humankind. If they were Mohammedans, Mohammed would be their prophet in battle. Because they are, or call themselves, Christians, they must needs make a war-man of Jesus.

It is harder to do it with Jesus than with Mohammed. But they do it and justify it as best they can.

Stifling Radicalism

By Walter Pritchard Eaton

THE NEWSPAPERS of more than local circulation, and especially the magazines of America, are facing the gravest crisis in their history, and only you, the reader, can save them, because it is you, in your capacity as voter, that your congressman listens to.

The war revenue bill was passed in the very last days of the last Congress, and it carried a provision to increase the second-class postage rates according to a zone system, ranging all the way from 100% increase to as high as 900%. Such a system, which is a radical departure both in practice and principle from all our postoffice traditions, does not affect the paper of merely local circulation. It affects to some extent the larger newspapers, but chiefly it hits the magazines of state and national circulation. It not only says to the man in California that he must pay twice as much for his magazines as the man in New York, where the editorial offices happen to be; but if this provision of the revenue bill is not repealed, if it goes into effect next July, a large number of magazines will automatically be put out of business. If you want to save them there is just one way to do it—write instantly to your congressman demanding that this law be repealed.

The object of the law—ostensibly, at least—is to increase revenue by lessening the “deficit” in the postoffice department. Just how revenue is to be increased by putting those who pay it out of business is rather hard to see. But, as a matter of fact, the postoffice has never been conducted in such a way that any human being could say with any accuracy where the “deficit” lay—in what division of mail. But it has been determined, by impartial investigation, both here and in England, that terminal handling, not haulage, was the large item of cost in second-class mail, which means, of course, that the rural free delivery is far more responsible for any postal deficit than the cost of hauling magazines and papers by train. Now, the rural free delivery does not exist for second-class mail alone, or even primarily. Furthermore, to ask the farmer on a rural free delivery route in California to pay eight times as much as the farmer in southern New York for the delivery of his farm paper or his magazine, in order to support the system, is the utter negation of the whole principle of our national postal service. The parcels post, which is conducted on a zone system, is an express business, organized as a socialistic public service to lessen the cost of living. Nobody can object to the zone rate here. But the distribution of private letters is a part of the national intercourse, of the exchange of ideas and education. There is just as much reason why letters should be sent on a zone system as why magazines should be. To say that magazines and papers are published to make money, and hence should suffer the same tax as boxes of eggs or packages of dress goods, is a trivial begging of the question. Editors are paid, as school teachers are, and publishers do try to make money, of course. But primarily the magazines of America exist in answer to a need of the public, they are public servants, and they carry across the land the ideas, the stories, the articles, which give us a national, as opposed to a local, point of view.

Just what the new zone increase of second-class postage will do to the magazines is well illustrated by the case of the fifty-five leading farm papers in America. In 1916 these fifty-five papers, on which millions of our farmers depend for the exchange of ideas that makes them better farmers and larger crop producers, had a net profit of \$581,875, or an average profit per paper of \$10,579 (probably divided between several stockholders). In the same year they paid in postage \$569,-

857.01. If the new rate goes into effect, they will have to pay in annual postage an additional \$1,823,542.44. Add to this the increased cost of paper in 1917 over the preceding year of \$1,107,016.61 and you see these fifty-five farm papers facing a deficit of \$2,348,683.85, which the subscribers will have to pay, or else the papers will go out of business. And what is true of the agricultural papers is true of all magazines. Eighty-six periodicals, with an average aggregate circulation of 21,246,404 have reckoned that the new law and the increased cost of paper will leave them facing a \$4,858,785.45 deficit.

Now, it is perfectly obvious from these figures that the magazines will have to increase their prices tremendously, and that the public, therefore, will have to refuse to subscribe to a great many of them. Enough, certainly, will be forced out of business to nullify any proposed increase in postal revenue, the law thus proving a boomerang, while those which do survive will be greatly reduced in circulation to the nearer zones.

Let us see what this means in the case of magazines like the Western Comrade, or other publications which reach the workers, the men and women of radical thought, and such like despised creatures whom our congressmen affect to love before election, and hate the rest of the time.

Heaven knows these papers are not run to make money! We radicals have been digging down in our jeans for years to keep them going. No, they are edited by devoted men and read by devoted men—including women, of course, for the workers are real democrats—in order to bind more closely together the interests of the workers, the people who are discontented with a world that has all on top and nothing underneath—these papers will be the first to die!

The Saturday Evening Post, with its 2,000,000 readers, its tremendous advertising revenue, will survive allright, never fear. And, with all due respect to its sometimes excellent fiction, the Saturday Evening Post never took a real stand on a public question in its timid life. But all the papers that live and take stands, champion progress, defend the workers and attack the profiteers will go by the board. Then the workers, the radicals, will have no papers to keep them in touch with one another, Maine with California, no chance to put forward their theories and claims, no opportunity to champion their cause.

THE POSTAL LAW IS A BLOW IN THE DARK AT LABOR AND DEMOCRACY. IT HAS GOT TO BE REPEALED!

That's what it means to the radical and labor press. If it meant only that, however, there might be small chance of repealing it, because Congress doesn't really care what becomes of labor. But it means a blow at every sort of magazine, and, therefore, it means a blow at every kind of voter. And you can bet your bottom dollar that Congress cares about votes!

After all, the matter boils down to this: Are we, as a people, so shortsighted as to kill our organs of national (as opposed to local or sectional) expression? Are we going to tear down the national structure of magazine and periodical entertainment and instruction we have been erecting for generations? Are we going to choke off our efforts to have a better national style of architecture, better gardens, better farms? Are we going to prevent the man in Oregon from seeing how a lovely house on Long Island is built? Are we to exploit the toil of others, and behold the spirit of generosity

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Co-operative Education

By A. A. George

MAXIM GORKY, the famous Socialist editor, of Russia, says that the most imperative need of his country is the spread of scientific knowledge among the people. Upon this, the success of the new Russian republic depends. This is the basis of all success. As long as education is confined to any class, that class will dominate. If we are to make a success of industrial democracy in this country, we must educate the people to that end.

To accomplish this, thousands and thousands of trained teachers, writers and advocates are necessary—men and women who are trained in the facts of life from the libertarian point of view, who can say what they want to say, and present the truths of industrial democracy in a plain and convincing way.

To meet this demand, there has been established at Fort Scott, Kansas, a great co-operative educational institution, chartered under the laws of the State of Kansas as a non-profit making corporation. Today this institution has nearly four thousand stockholders, called members of the College union. A life membership cost five dollars, payable a dollar a year for five years, and the member receives a five-year subscription to the College News, a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the school and to industrial democracy.

Some years ago, J. I. Sheppard and Fred D. Warren recognized the urgent need of working class lawyers, and organized what is known as the Appeal to Reason Law class. It proved to be an immediate success. This was the beginning of the educational work represented today by The People's College.

Knowledge is power. Nobody recognizes this great truth more keenly than the workers of the world, for they have been denied this knowledge.

A very large percentage of our men and women were compelled to go to work in their early youth. They grew up almost without education, handicapped for life by the poverty of their parents. Can this condition be remedied now? The Appeal to Reason Law class furnishes the answer. The success of these students has enabled those who are interested in working-class education to say to their uneducated comrades, "If you can not go to school, we will bring the school to you."

In education lies Labor's only road to freedom, and the development of the correspondence method of instruction makes it possible to bring education to every workingman's home.

There are over six hundred correspondence schools in the United States today. One of these schools gathers in six million dollars of the workers' money every year. More than half of this immense sum is spent on advertising and agents' commissions, and a very large portion of the balance goes, as profits, into the pockets of the capitalist owners. It is the purpose of The People's College to give education to the workers at the cost of rendering the service, and to render service of the highest class.

Thus far, we have been specializing on two great branches—language and the law—because we have found that these

are the branches most urgently needed by our people. In our language department we have two courses, plain English and advanced English, and in these two courses we have 2700 students enrolled.

The first step in an education is the ability to read and write the English language correctly. Before a student can take any advanced training, he must lay this foundation of an education.

Language, spoken and written, is the medium by which we must convey our ideas. We cannot get into touch with the truth concerning the great forces of life about us except through an understanding of language. We cannot make ourselves understood and impress our ideas upon others except through our ability to choose and use the words which adequately express our thoughts.

The power of effective expression does not come to man as a gift of the gods; it is a matter of education and training. It is not by mere chance that some people have the power of influencing the action of others. It is not because of personal magnetism or some strange hypnotic spell. It is because they have the ability, through the spoken or the written word, to make others see what they see, and understand as they understand.

Words are the most interesting study in the world. They image the evolution of man from the time the first savage grunted for what he wanted, to the orator of today. Every word is a brick in the structure of life. History is written in the words we use, and in these words we find the experience of the past, ready to act as a guide for the future.

We have felt that the greatest service that The People's College could render was to prepare a course in plain English—simple, clear, free from all unnecessary rules and formulas—showing the student why good language expresses his thought more ac-

curately than poor language. The rules are not given as arbitrary expressions, but rather as the best product of the common usage of the people. The steps which lead up to the necessity for a rule are clearly given, and then the rule appears as a natural and logical statement.

Our law class numbers nearly a thousand students, and is constantly increasing. The practical value of a legal education has never been appreciated by the members of the working class. As a training for efficiency and leadership, an education in the law stands unequalled.

Lawyers—and their families—constitute one-half of one percent of the population of this country. They constitute fifty-eight percent of the members of Congress, and they dominate all the state legislatures. Man for man, the lawyer has twelve hundred times as many chances as the farmer has of becoming a member of Congress; thirty times as many chances as the banker, and ten times as many as the editor.

What is the reason for this startling fact? There is a well-known prejudice in this country against lawyers as a class; and yet, in spite of this prejudice, the law-trained men dominate every branch of public life today. Why?

Because the study of law gives a mental drill, a cultural training, an insight into the details of social organization,

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THERE are over six hundred correspondence schools in the United States today. One of these schools gathers in \$6,000,000 of the workers' money every year. More than half of this immense sum is spent on advertising and agents' commissions. Capitalist owners pocket a large share of it. Why can the workers not co-operate to educate themselves?

Regeneration

By Dr. John Dequer

IN THE FACE of this great world crisis, is there any justification for our hopes of peace and justice throughout the world? Is not mankind hopelessly lost in the mazes of savage instincts and barbarous impulses? These and similar questions are asked daily by those whose souls have been sickened by the contemplation of the physical horrors of this great world catastrophe.

The answer to the first question is undoubtedly, yes. Hope without a justifiable basis, is superstitious fanaticism. Superstition is not a healthy, but psychopathic condition. I maintain that not only is there a basis for hope in the face of this terrible situation, but that there is no need to despair for the future of mankind.

Mankind as a race is superior to type, empire or nation. Types may melt, empires fall and nations pass away, but through it all the race survives and marches onward to the fulfillment of its destiny. And in that fulfillment, the human race will make good the age-old promise of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

Before this promise can be realized, however, we must do more than extinguish the fires of militarism. We must bring a complete peace to the world. The world has not known a complete peace. A cessation of armed hostility is not peace. August 1st, 1914, was but the date on which an age-old industrial and commercial warfare blossomed into its logical flower—military strife. The difference between the two forms is that militarism is swifter, more spectacular, and in aspect, more awful than the normal industrial warfare. But in its ultimate effect it is not needfully more terrible. "A man may be mercilessly starved instead of mercifully slain." It may be argued with some logic that militarism has phases that are more humane than that vast orgy of despair—modern commercial industrialism. Both are fraught with horror and death. Both destroy the souls and bodies of men. Both military and commercial warfare are hideous in their ruthlessness, withering and blighting in their consequences.

I, therefore, hold that it is our task to bring about a complete peace—a peace both military and economic—before the golden hopes of the souls of men may be realized. Production for profit, the matrix of militarism, must give way to a system of production for use. And this carries within itself the healing balm of peace.

To those who seem to believe that the overthrow of the Kaiser and the crushing of the Prussian military machine will bring about our redemption from strife, the resurrection of justice, I will say that they are destined to be sadly disillusioned. The overthrow of Prussianism will no more abolish war than the battle of Waterloo and the exile of Napoleon abolished Imperialism.

The exile of Napoleon and the breaking of his military power simply placed a dam in the river of avarice until its pent-up waters broke through the artificial restraints and engulfed the world in the present flood of horror which threatens the very life of our civilization. The mere stopping of one manifestation of militarism by another is not enough to ful-

fill the world's hope. It is simply a transference of power from one group of tyrants to another—a new dam that sooner or later will again break and let destruction loose upon the race. More than military victory is needed. There must be brought about a basic change in the economic structure of society itself if we are to see humanity at peace.

And this change the present world-war is evolving.

The race, purified in the crucible of the present trial, will awaken to the glow of a new and powerful idealism that shall renovate the views and concepts of mankind. The glory of this idealism shall be that it shall compel men to live for service instead of for personal gain. The keynote of this idealism shall be fellowship rather than rivalry.

This is the hope of the race, and, strange and paradoxical as it may seem, it will be brought about by the exigencies and necessities of the present war.

The most anti-social force in the world is forcing organized production and distribution and closer co-operation in the essential industries. Out of the new needs and necessities created herein must of necessity spring new ideas which will embody the hope of the ages and the salvation of the race.

There is, then, a certain recompense for the titanic sacrifice of man. Out of the very maelstrom of terror we see the birth of new social forces and the fundamentals for a new political and economic life. Russia moves forward in the scale of development. Both plan and purpose are being evolved in the management of the food supply of the nations. War, the embodiment of chaos, is the compellant of organization. Co-operation and system, born of military necessity, are bringing a joyous message to a world sick of strife and fratricidal combat. When the clouds of war have cleared, we shall then see that man has progressed even in the dark.

This is no justification of war and militarism. It is simply a realization of the fact that, while the logical outcome of industrial competition is war and that by virtue of the economic needs engendered by war the world is forced to adopt a more sane system of production and distribution, war will die by its own hand because it destroys the system upon the folly of which it thrives.

War in this world is not the paramount evil. It is but a manifestation of the major evil that gives it birth. And as long as the evil endures, there will be war.

It is a time-worn statement—an almost boresome one to use—but the fact remains that there is a class-struggle. This struggle exists not only in our own country; it exists in all civilized lands. Society is divided into two great groups—the House of Have and the House of Want. The processes of making and taking are naturally antagonistic—often unconsciously hostile. The House of Have is commercial; it buys labor power. The House of Want must sell its labor power in order to live. Have buys as cheap as possible; Want tries to sell as dearly as competition with his fellows will permit. Want creates more than he gets. Have must dispose of what Want does not take. Have must have markets. Without markets he cannot employ Want. When Want is not earning wages, he cannot eat. Hunger drives him on to rebel against the House of Have. The House of Have must keep open the mar-

THE present world war is evolving a revolution in the affairs of men. The race, purified in the crucible of the present trial, will awaken to the glow of a new and powerful idealism that shall renovate the views and concepts of mankind. The glory of this idealism shall be that it shall compel men to live for service instead of for personal gain. The keynote of this idealism shall be fellowship rather than rivalry.

kets of the world so as to keep a certain percentage of labor employed constantly. If it fails in this it will go down in the maelstrom of social revolution.

This is the condition in every civilized country. The ruling group must keep labor eternally busy or cease to be the ruling group.

England, prior to the war, lived in deadly fear of Germany's growing commercial power on the one hand and in terror of industrial and social unrest on the other. The commercial power of Germany made it difficult for England to employ her labor, and the need of labor ripened into an increasingly potent solidarity of the working class that threatened the very foundation of the House of Have. The same problem faced the German junkers. If they were to survive as the ruling group, either they or the English group must be supreme. Hence the world's blood-bath. For were it not for this struggle launched for commercial supremacy, Europe, by the very needs of her people, would soon have been compelled to adopt a national or state socialism.

The struggle that originated in Europe is a death-grapple of individual proprietorship to get the needed oxygen for its existence—namely, markets to exploit.

This war was doubtless started by the Central Powers to break up the propaganda of a Pan-Slavic alliance in the Balkans which threatened the free access of the former to Africa and Mesopotamia, these territories, as yet, being undeveloped storehouses of the wealth of the world. The German ruling group realized fully that control in the Balkans gave them the power to sneer at English navalism, for the Hamburg-to-Bagdad railway gave it possession of an overland route to substantial fields of supply. But the war, once started, soon went beyond its control, so that the struggle, started to keep Junkerdom on the backs of the German people, now bodes the annihilation of all predatory classes.

In their desire to fasten the yoke of submission upon the neck of labor, the ruling groups have lit a fire that threatens to consume their own dwelling. The needs that follow in the wake of the war-dragon can no longer be supplied by individual industry. That which was designed to kill or at least to set back the triumph of Socialism has made the adoption of the basic principles of the latter an imperative necessity. It is thus that "whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

This war has ungloved the grim hand of necessity. He is a stern commander. He brooks no rebellion. His mandate is, "Conform or die!" Ultimately, his hands lie with equal weight upon the rich and the poor. He brooks no delay, but forces action.

It is natural for man to wish to hold what he has and to strive for more. It was thus that the ruling group in Germany tried to crush the ruling group in England and vice versa. They were compelled to crush each other, were they to exist as ruling groups. Then from the needs of the groups grew the needs of the whole, and this universal need compelled government control, careful economy and organization everywhere. Threatened with defeat, slavery and death, the ruling groups banished individualism in production and distribution. They arbitrarily established organization, conservation and social service.

The woes of war will exhaust the commissary of the world,

and the hunger resultant therefrom will work wonders in reclaiming man from the wreck he has brought upon himself by his folly. Peace will be ushered in as the root-system of war—capitalism—is destroyed.

"Oh, but your dream of peace is futile," quoth the pessimist. "Think of the other factors—racial, geographic, religious, and so forth. Are these not the real and fundamental causes of the world's woe?" They are not such, in any sense. They are conditions developed along the path of human evolution that cause men to lend themselves easily to emotional excitement. They are easily fomented into an orgy of self-love which, in turn, makes social hate possible. They produce, under the stimulus of excitement, a type of brain action that exclaims; "My race is the great race!"

They—the whites—said this in East St. Louis: "My country is THE country! And I'll kill the soul that disagrees! My God is THE God—your's is an idol!" Under the stress of this emotional excitement, men accent the word MY. For the ego, race, country and God came into existence.

Our race we inherit. Our country is a matter of the chance of birth. Our religion we are taught when young. They are all hereditary possessions and are things we do not consider deeply unless under great excitement. And the excitement generally has an economic origin—arising out of conflicting claims to bread and love.

Man is not by nature a warrior. He loves peace. He would rather flee from oppression than overthrow it. It was this that helped to scatter him over the earth. "Governments, not peoples, declare war," said President Wilson. And it is true that the people abhor war.

What is a government? Never mind the dictionary definition. Government is what government does. It is an organized force to safeguard property at the expense of life. It is a force in the hands of the House of Have to regulate the activities of the House of Want. Further, it is organized to protect ruling groups from the greed of one another. Here, however, it is

weakest. Government is also a social force developed to collect debts at home and abroad. This makes it a broad military power. Government is the executive committee of the property classes. If Mooney in San Francisco was a large property-holder, he would unquestionably undergo a slight risk of being hanged.

Thus the House of Have is endangered by labor's awakening. Feeling that their end was imminent, the ruling groups plunged the world into war. And out of this war, neither the House of Have nor its governments shall emerge. They will perish in the fire of their own kindling. Classes and powers shall fall, but the human race, true to its hope of immortality, shall rise resplendent in the glory of a universal kinship.

Remove the powers that make for hate and behold the world bathed in love! Remove the cause of avarice, the right to exploit the toil of others, and behold the spirit of generosity triumphant!

We must make the world safe for democracy from East St. Louis to Butte and from Butte to Bisbee. We must make it safe at home and help to make it so abroad. We cannot do this by destroying humanity.

We need a humanized world. Governments that rule the people must go. The people must own the earth, We must

(Continued on Page 39)

In their desire to fasten the yoke of submission upon the neck of labor, the ruling groups have lit a fire that threatens to consume their own dwelling. That which was designed to kill or at least set back the triumph of Socialism has made the adoption of the basic principles of the latter an imperative necessity. It is thus that "Whom the Gods destroy, they first make mad."

Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

The Johnson County Co-operative Association

Written for the Western Comrade

THE oldest and most successful co-operative mercantile establishment in the United States." This claim of the Johnson County Co-operative Association of Olathe, Kansas, is entitled to careful consideration. It is undoubtedly true as regards to age, it being established in 1876. As to material success, it has probably no equal. In addition to profits or savings to members of over \$500,000, interest of 6 percent has been paid on the investment during the entire life of the organization until five years ago. It is an impressive showing, and in addition to that large sum saved directly to the community, there has been the more valuable items of service and marketing facilities, and a strong incentive toward reasonable prices in all lines of merchandising.

However, the record is not all of the big profits and great success. Shortly after the organization entered upon its fourth decade it struck a period of reverses and hard times, until at present it is working under a deficit of over 15 percent of their capital stock and have paid no dividends for about seven years and not even interest on investment for over four years.

It is this phenomena which caught my attention and held it when I came in touch with the Johnson County Co-operative Association. I became more interested in hunting for the causes of this set-back than in studying the records of its previous large dividends. What was the secret of this sudden reversal of fortune? Was it possible that co-operative organizations carry within them some fatal defect?

For over a year I have studied their business organization intimately; I have come into close personal contact with their membership and officers; I have gossiped with their old men about the "good old times!" I have hunted among their old records and papers; and my final conclusion is that the cause of their decline lies in failing to realize the true co-operative ideals necessary for successful organization.

Permit a brief statement of a few historical facts. The organization started through the Patrons of Husbandry, or National Grange, with a few hundred dollars capital; the immediate incentive being extortion and combination among the private merchants. The store was placed in charge of a young man who immediately made good. The store grew by leaps and bounds under his management, being helped by the organized opposition of unscrupulous private merchants, and from the original start of a few hundred dollars soon reached a capital of \$100,000 with five branches at other points in Johnson County.

Their dividends sometimes reached 25 percent on purchases each quarter, although some of the old timers assert that these large figures were reached by 'padding' the inventory. During all this time the man who started as the clerk in the little grocery developed the business and grew with it, organizing his forces in such a way that he was the brains and directing power. Although nominally under the direction of a board of directors, the success of the business depended upon the extent to which the directors failed to direct.

Then the inevitable came. The "strong man" resigned because of friction and the ship was left without a helmsman who knew the course or the craft. Membership on the board began to be looked upon as a method of getting jobs for friends or punishing enemies. No individual was developed who could rise above this chaos and bring order and harmony. Only the immediate prospect of disaster brought home to all by the cessation of interest and dividends and the realization of a large deficit, finally brought business judgment and conservative management again to the forefront.

These conditions were the result of a failure to approximate the co-operative ideals of democratic management and control. The greatest factor in the failure was the restriction of membership, only members of the Grange being permitted in the co-operative organization. The Grange decayed and the remains of the organization formed a group mostly of retired farmers who looked upon their holding in the co-operative as an investment, and never got over the ideals of profit-making. Another factor was the policy of branch stores which were not run by those who patronized them, but from the central office. But the great factor, which made all these other things possible, was the fact that the mental attitude of these co-operators never got beyond the idea that this was a joint-stock company from which they were going to make a goodly profit by buying and selling from their neighbors. This point of view has never been entirely eliminated.

After all, all co-operative enterprise is just another form of capitalism unless it is consciously directed toward the elimination of exploitation of man by man.—E. R. BROWDER.

Popularizing Co-operation.

Co-operation as an economic principle is receiving the serious consideration of practically all industrial classes. Its application to special lines of agricultural distribution and marketing is entirely feasible and offers a solution of problems and difficulties that are practically hopeless in so far as the individual is concerned. In the United States Department of Agriculture co-operative organization is considered to be a primary and fundamental project, for it is believed that co-operation in agriculture is a corrective measure that will place the industry upon a solid basis and do much to insure the future happiness and prosperity of the nation.—U. S. Office of Markets and Rural Organization.

Tulare Co-operative Poultry Association

Written for the Western Comrade

On March 20th, 1913, was formed one of the most successful—although one of the smallest—co-operative associations in the West. It is called the Tulare Co-operative Poultry Association and has a membership of 112 poultrymen.

In 1916, 6000 cases of eggs, or 180,000 dozen, were handled and sold for nearly \$50,000. The egg business alone during 1916 amounted to \$46,838, the poultry business to \$10,554, and supplies, \$21,139. Besides saving its members considerable in feed prices, the Association cleared \$1,752, after charging off all its bad accounts and liquidating its indebtedness.

The chief purpose of the association is to effect a saving to members on poultry produce and supplies. At the present time, the association store has plenty of feeds of all kinds. Members are offered barley at \$2.75, corn at \$3.90 and wheat at \$4.25.

One of the proofs of the genuine spirit of co-operation prevailing amongst the members of the Association is the fact that this year the members refused their handsome dividends and offered the profits of the past year placed in a collective fund for the development of their business.

The Association publishes a membership paper containing news of the poultry world bi-monthly.—ELBERT GEORGE, President.

Co-operation Not For Middle Class Only

Co-operators in this country have not instituted a vigorous propaganda for co-operation. Enlightened men and women still think of co-operation as a middle-class and shop-keeping movement; a penny-saving device. But the fact that co-operation is really democratic and open to all does not detract from its working-class character, for it is indeed only available to those who can conceive and practice a democratic form of association. And this, by its nature, tends to exclude the commercial. The necessity which drives to the conception of a co-operative, the zeal and sacrifice necessary to maintain one, are products of a working class—Cheves West Perky.

To Our Readers!

The radical press of America, between now and July, 1918, will be engaged in a fight for its life. A bill has recently been passed by Congress increasing the second-class mailing rates of all periodicals from 50% to 900%, the law to go into effect on July 1st 1918.

Unless this law is repealed, the gag will have been effectively placed on the throat of the Socialist and Labor press of the United States. YOU must help us fight this. Write to your congressman TODAY and urge him to vote for the repeal of this law.

Read the splendid article by Walter Pritchard Eaton in this issue of the WESTERN COMRADE, on page 28.

—READ IT AND ACT AT ONCE!

Write us at once and let us tell you what to do to make your protest against this law effective.

The Llano Publications
Stables, Louisiana

Books and Reading

By D. Bobba

Speaking of Magazines

Are you reading *The Public* these days? It isn't as revolutionary as some of us would like, but its editorials on the government's handling of the I. W. W. situation, under the caption "Playing with Dynamite," its comments on the arrest of Max Eastman and other comrades of *The Masses* and similar comment occasionally on public questions make it worth keeping in touch with.

The December *Nautilus* comes with cheerful message as usual, from Elizabeth Towne—this time some comments giving a new twist to the idea of gossips. There is much practical material on New Thought application. I'll reserve my space for this little original poem from Comrade Edwin Markham in the December number:

"Believe, O Friend!
Impossible you say that man survives
The grave—that there are other lives?
More strange, O friend, that we should ever rise
Out of the dark to walk below the skies.
Once having risen into life and light,
We need not wonder at our deathless flight.

"Life is the unbelievable; but now
That this Incredible has taught us how,
We can believe the all-imagining Power
That breathed the Cosmos forth as a golden flower.
Had potency in his breath
To plan us new surprises beyond death—
New spaces and new goals
For the adventure of ascending souls.

"Be brave, O heart, be brave;
It is not strange that man survives the grave:
'Twould be a stranger thing were he destroyed
Than that he ever vaulted from the void."

Is it inane if I speak of the charming personality of Frank Harris? The charm of Pearson's that strikes me most of all is the personality of the editor which shows forth on every page. Sixty years of life have given wisdom rare degree to Mr. Harris. This month he pays his respects to Northcliffe and comments on current events with sharp skill. A pen picture is given of Upton Sinclair. Art and literature come in for liberal discussion.

The November-December combined issue of the *International Socialist Review* got out all right, with a vivid picture of Russian affairs by Charles Edward Russell, "Labor Unrest in England," and comments on the I. W. W. indictments.

Physical Culture for December contains an account of a new pain cure that is worth trying—the remembering of black. Get the magazine and read Dr. William H. Bates' article "A New Cure for Pain." Milo Hastings contributes a valuable and humorous article on "The Extravagance of Meat." He says the grain fed to cattle and live-stock is a poor investment, as the same amount of grain would feed far more people than the meat produced by its use. He also pays his respects to certain types who play the society game of conservation: "Such is the history of human stupidity—a society lady knits a sock for a soldier and spends three days doing it, meanwhile having a cook, a maid and a chauffeur to wait upon her. . . . The vanity of the rich must be flattered, so the queen of piffledom is officially encouraged to knit socks for soldiers and raise a potato on her front lawn and keep a hen in the conservatory and feed her cracker crumbs in the name of patriotism and economy."

Ishwar Chandra of Oakland (formerly of Delhi, India) is keeping right ahead with his *India Liberator*, a monthly devoted to the interpretation of India to America and the advocacy of India's cause before the world. A most worthy object. Good luck to the editor in his plucky fight to make India "safe for Democracy." The October number was delayed and reached us the last of November, but Comrade Chandra expects to be under full swing shortly. The subscription price for the present is what you can afford to give. The last number contains a portrait of Anna Besant and an account of her work in India.

Although I have attended red-ink banquets in the little Italian and French restaurants for some years, I have a confession to make. I never read a copy of *The Little Review*. Friends told me what I was

missing, and I really did feel somewhat behind the times. So I asked Comrade Margaret Anderson, whose charming personality we all know so well, to let me pass the word to my readers just what her magazine contains. I find it is "the magazine that is read by those who write the others." Well, "that's me" as Bob says. The cover of the November edition contains the remains of one or two (numbers uncertain) tigers (presumably) who looked as though struck by a 42 centimeter gun. The remains have fallen baphazard upon the page. But, oh Margaret! What do those illustrations mean inside?—I mean the illustrations inside—but perhaps it doesn't matter how I ask it. What's it all about? Will Don Marquis trot out Hermione to interpret its secret meaning? Just what does one have to take—liquid or pipe—to see such a "Starry Sky" as Windham Lewis has drawn? Methinks most any word in the dictionary would have done as well. In my younger days—well, no use making this confession too personal—but I have seen queer things in my days and "two moons rose where there should be but one." But in all my rounds as a newspaper man in Cincinnati and Terre Haute and other cities still in the wet column I never, never saw a sky like that. The sorrowful lady of Marie Laurencin is perhaps the nearest approach to a picture. We used to have a game in school days of dabbing a penful of ink onto paper, folding it into many forms and then looking to see what we produced. Wonderful—it was the future art, and I wasted it all! Max Weber must have been feeling most awful bad when he designed that—? Some little Chinese poems found favor with me. Lady Gregory in "Hanrahan's Oath" shows just how tiresome and tedious a one-act play can be made. Now, that's enough. If Miss Anderson will forgive my feeble grasp of the new esoteric art and let me in on future issues of *The Little Review*, I'll let you know of my progress.

Vol. 1., No. 2, *Mother Earth Bulletin* begins to look like business. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have written the copy for this issue (November) and are arranging for the *Bulletin's* regular appearance in case they are compelled to return to the Federal prisons. Their office is 226 Lafayette street, New York City.

Why Not Be Healthy?

"Headaches and How to Prevent Them," by W. H. Riley, neurologist of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, according to its author, "is written for the multitude of people who have headaches—occasional, periodic or frequent attacks. It shows that the best cure is to be found in correct habits of living, and that in a very large proportion of cases such a drugless cure is possible. Technical terms are avoided; simple language is used so that the average person can read understandingly. There is very little of anatomy or physiology in these headache talks. The writer hopes that young people in their teens will find a leading in these pages to guide them in the way of such wholesome living that they may escape the headache bane, and he knows that by following the suggestions in this little book many sufferers will be able to overcome their chronic headache distress."

The chapter headings will give an idea of the scope of the book: Pain in General; Preventable Headache; Some Reasons Why Women Have Headache; Sick Headache; Anemic and Neuralgic Headache; Emotion Headache; The Headache of Monotony; What to Eat; Diet List and Height and Weight Tables; Hydrotherapy; the Water Cure for Headache; General Rules for Health. Dr. Riley concludes: "The writer feels sure from his years of experience in dealing with all kinds of headache sufferers, that at least five-sixths of the cases are preventable and curable by following the diet, and the rules of hygienic living and treatment briefly outlined in this little book." To which I add a hearty old-fashioned Amen. (Good Health Publishing Co., Battle Creek, Mich.)

INSTALLMENT MEMBERS!

All those who have been and are instalment members, as well as those who have been away from the Llano Colony in California will be asked to come to the Llano Colony in Louisiana.

Many have written in asking if they are members of this Colony and if they may come to Louisiana. All holders of Llano stock are members of all Llano properties. Those who have been making payments in California will continue to make them there for a time, but may come to Louisiana when they are ready to come into the Colony.

Membership Department:

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
Stables, Louisiana

Were the Majority Socialists Right?

(Continued from Page 23)

NO! — J. G. Phelps Stokes

ship of at least a third of those persons who were members when the war broke out, three years and a half ago.

About half the loss has been made up by vigorous pre-election appeals for the support of pacifists, but the bulk of the remaining loss is a net loss due, I for one am convinced, to the party's betrayal of the international cause by refusing to aid the plundered and devastated workers of Europe in their stupendous struggle against the Teutonic marauders.

YES! — Adolph Germer.

appear upon the scene, then capitalism will stand revealed in all its ghastliness. The political parties that stand for capitalism will be administered their well-merited rebuke and the Socialist party, because of its present consistent, International, pro-human attitude will be the rallying point for the elements that are yearning for lasting peace and a world safe for Democracy. The elections held this year are ample evidence of such development.

It is interesting to note that not all who withdrew from the party on account of the difference of opinion on the war program, are alike. Some were honest and when the war hysteria has passed away, they will again be in the fold. While I was writing this, I received a letter from one of those comrades. We had previously exchanged several letters on the policy of the party and among other things he writes: "It was very thoughtful of you to take so much time to put your position clear, and I thank you very much for your free and full discussion of the situation. I hope that all these perplexities will soon vanish and that we may again combine upon the essentials of Socialism, but the time is not ripe for that, and will not be until the war is over."

Here is a comrade that I believe to be wrong and who believes that we are wrong, but who hopes that we may again combine. He tells me in his letter that he is still working for the cause and nowhere does he indicate that he is saying an unkind word about the Socialist party, even though he disagrees with its policy. This spirit actuates many who have withdrawn from the party because of an honest difference of opinion and who will knock at its doors when the workers of the fighting nations cease killing each other.

Positively no, the Socialist party is not weakened because of its opposition to war.

What is Anarchism?

(Continued from Page 18)

hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, crime will be inevitable, and all the laws on the statutes can only increase, but never abolish, crime. What does society, as it exists today, know of the process of despair, the poverty, the horrors, the fearful struggle the human soul must pass on its way to crime and degradation?

Anarchism, the great leaven of thought, is today permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact, every individual and social opposition to the existing order of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the Dawn.

The Llano Colonist

Will resume publication shortly and will come out as a six-column paper, much improved in appearance. The intention is to issue it every two weeks for a time. When better facilities for handling the work have been installed it will be resumed as a weekly publication. It will be filled with Colony news of interest to every radical thinker, and in addition will carry many articles of a general nature, Socialist news and views, and will be a better paper than ever before.

WATCH FOR IT!

SUBSCRIBE FOR IT!

ABSENT MEMBERS INSTALMENT MEMBERS WHERE ARE YOU?

We want to get the address of every instalment member and every absent member of the Llano del Rio Colony.

Many have not kept us informed of their whereabouts. We have information of importance for every instalment member, and absent member.

Readers of this notice are asked to assist us in getting in touch with these persons. We want to communicate with them at once.

Membership Department:

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
Stables, Louisiana

"The Truth About The Medical Profession"

By John A. Bevan, M. D.

Columbia University

(Inventor of the Esophagoscope)

Paper Bound, Postpaid

Price Fifty Cents

The result of clinical and pathological researches at Guy's Hospital, London, and the Bellevue Hospital, New York.

BENEDICT LUST, N. D., D. O., D. C., M. D., writes: "The book is splendid and will help to enlighten many skeptics who still believe in medical superstition."

Prof. DAVID STARR JORDAN, M. D., writes: "I have looked over the book called 'The Truth About the Medical Profession.' There are a great many things that are forceful and truthfully said."

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW writes: "There are some quite interesting and important things in the book."

LLANO PUBLICATIONS, STABLES, LOUISIANA

Co-operative Education

(Continued from Page 29)

such as can be obtained in no other way. The law-trained man has schooled his mind, sharpened his wits, developed his reasoning faculties; he has acquired an understanding of life as it is.

All social organization is based on law of some kind; and the man who understands the law upon which any system of society is based, is better fitted than anyone else can possibly be to succeed under that system. Moreover, if all social organization is based on law, then the best training for those who wish to bring about a better system is a knowledge of the law as it is, and a knowledge of the law as it ought to be. It is the purpose of The People's College to meet both of these demands—to give the law as it is, to help the student see for himself what the law ought to be.

In addition to English and the law, we have excellent courses in bookkeeping, arithmetic, public speaking and shorthand.

The charter of The People's College has been granted under the very liberal laws of the State of Kansas, and under that charter no profit can be made by any individual. Any surplus that may accumulate after paying the actual expense of operation, must be used in extending the work of the school.

This is, indeed, a people's college. It must be supported by the people. No millions will pour into its treasury from the exploiters of labor. The more students we enroll, the cheaper we can render service. To date, we have enrolled more than four thousand students, and in some of our courses we are already able to render service at one-half to one-fourth the cost of similar service in a capitalist correspondence school.

Stifling Radicalism

(Continued from Page 28)

going to forbid the professor of philosophy in California from knowing what the professor of philosophy in Harvard is thinking, as expressed in some philosophical magazine? Are we going to prevent the doctor in far off Arizona, miles from cities and clinics, from learning in his medical magazine of a new treatment for some dread disease? Are we going to say to the electrical expert in Montana: "You shall not read in your magazine of the new method of transmission used in Virginia"? Are we going to denationalize our press, and in the process smash all this great periodical literature we have erected, and stop the interchange of ideas and stories and pictures through the land? Talk about Belgium! If this isn't laying low something fine and precious in the name of "military necessity" there never was such a thing!

Well, it can be prevented. It can be prevented by the repeal of the law. And that is up to you, dear comrades. You have got to write—and write at once—to your congressman and your senator (though the Senate agreed to the measure only under compulsion). You have got to demand as a voter its repeal, on the grounds that the law is mistaken economy, a misuse of the postoffice functions, and above all a great and disastrous blow at national thought and expression, a blow at the spread of culture and good taste and good literature, and, above all, of American, as opposed to narrow, sectional ways of thought. (That last will sound fine and he won't know what you really mena!)

DON'T DELAY! Write now—today. The time is short. Write as if you meant it, and get all your friends to write.

The law must be repealed if you want to save your magazine.

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A book which every girl over fifteen years of age should have.

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Printers Wanted

The PRINT SHOP of the LLANO DEL RIO COLONY can use a PRESSMAN; a LINOTYPE OPERATOR, and a FLOOR MAN for ads and make-up.

The increase in size of the WESTERN COMRADE is to be followed by an increase in size of the LLANO COLONIST. This will necessitate an increased working force.

PRINTERS are invited to correspond with the WESTERN COMRADE, Stables, La.

The Principles of Money

(Continued from Page 25)

a medium, but a basis for mediums. That is, it isn't money at all, but a basis for money. Then why call that money which isn't money? Why not be honest and call it what it is, the basis upon which money is issued? Why befog our-own minds and the minds of others by the use of false terms whose only effect is to bewilder and lead astray? They have a very good reason as very many of us know. But let that pass. Let us take their admission that their metal medium is not doing its work because it is serving as a basis for these other mediums, and ask them why these other mediums are used at all. The usual answer is, because of their convenience. But that is a strange convenience which, if stricken from commercial use, would destroy the trade of the world. If these conveniences, these real mediums of exchange were denied to commerce, civilization would stagger back into barbarism, traffic into ancient barter, and industry dwindle to the necessities of savage life. The metal man will admit that modern trade could not be conducted without them. He will admit that there is not enough of his precious metals in all the world to effect one-hundredth part of the exchanges that our times require. He will be driven to admit that these more convenient mediums are used from necessity. But he will say, that while there is not enough of his metals to affect all exchanges, there is enough to form a basis for these mediums to act in its place. But why take his metals for a basis for these mediums? Because of their intrinsic value, he will answer. And in that answer lies the triumph of true money. Intrinsic value must be the basis upon which mediums of exchange rest. Not the intrinsic value of one significant commodity only, but the intrinsic value of all things that possess value should be the basis upon which mediums of exchange are issued, and the government should be the organ through which such issue is effected.

But the metal man says, the intrinsic value upon which money is based should be a stable value, and that his metals, alone of all the valuable things in the world, possess this essential quality of stability. There used to be people silly enough to believe that claim. They saw values apparently contracting and expanding as measured by these standard, stable metals, and for a long time they believed that this apparent contraction and expansion of other values was real, and that the values of the metal measures were unchanging and stable. But finally someone discovered that metal measures were expanding and contracting, and that practically it was the things measured that, with reference to each other at least, were the stable values. The ancients believed that the universe revolved about this little earth. They believed that everything else was in motion, but that the earth was the only fixed, stable thing in all creation. Gallileo's announcement that they had missed the fixed, stable, central point of their solar system by ninety-three millions of miles, that it was the earth that was moving and not the sun, was such a shock to them that they made him take it back. The metal basis advocates have been as rudely disturbed by the announcement of the Gallileos of finance that it is the metals that are revolving about the value, and not value about the metals; that practically these metals have been contracting and expanding to a far greater extent than the things measured, and that they have missed the distance from the stable center of the monetary system as far as the ancients missed the stable center of the solar system; and the value-basis discoverers were treated with about as much tolerance by the metal men as Gallileo was by the Ptolemaic wise men in authority over him. But the value basis men are getting so numerous now that they are treated with considerable respect,

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"Something for nothing is the curse of the age."—Job Harriman

The Equitist

discusses the Source of the Power to get something for nothing, and shows how to destroy that power. It will interest you whether you agree or not.

Weekly, \$1 a year; \$1.50 to foreign countries. Sample on request. Edited and published by W. E. Brokaw, Longbranch, Washington.

and the civilized world is rapidly awakening to the fact that they are right. The metal basis men, however, still insist that there must be a standard of value, something by which values can be measured with each other as well as represented individually, and that such standard, such measure, must have value in itself, for only value can measure value. That is true. The value basis men make a strong point of that in their system. They insist, like the metal men, that there must be a standard, a measure, in the terms of which all money mediums must be expressed. But they assert that it must possess four essentials, of which the metals have only one. They assert first, that the standard of value, the measure of value, must itself possess value; second, that value must be the most stable and unvarying possible; third, it must be practically free from the control, manipulation or cornering by individuals or combinations of individuals; and fourth, it must be universally recognized as having the three foregoing qualities. In other words, they assert that the standard of value must be that value which enters essentially into all values. It must be that value, which in the nature of things, operates in fixing and establishing all values. In short, the standard of value must be a natural standard, and ethically there is but one natural standard, and that is labor, the cost of production; and by cost of production is meant the labor value required to produce a thing.

Comment and Criticism

(Continued from Page 24)

there be one, he lost control of both characters and action the moment the play began. The forces involved are too numerous and varied, and the field of action is too vast, to permit of any inclusive direction by any one element. The thing is too full of inconsistencies and contradictions to make any really satisfactory conclusion possible. No matter what the end may be, the vital problems will not be solved until quiet has been restored, and we are able to think calmly once again. It is, therefore, to be hoped that most people will not be guided by Mr. Chesterton, who apparently is willing that the play be allowed to drag on through one bloody act after another merely in order that the curtain may fall on the dead body of the villain in true melodramatic fashion.

Louisiana-ing un-de Luxe

(Continued from Page 17)

be far off and considerably above most of us.

Mountains continued to be the dominant feature of the scenery. Dry valleys of sage and yuccas filled the mind with loneliness. The silence of these altitudes actually roars and all one's working organs, provided they work as good co-operative organs ought, sound loud, and if one is a close observer, might become a good diagnostician. At least, here's a chance to follow the ancient precept "Know Thyself." However, as the sage advice adorns so many patent medicine ads, the adage seems incongruous in solitudes where the heart reminds one of a pumping station in a great valley.

Riding hour after hour with practically no change in the scenery, great opportunities are afforded the occupants of a car to lapse into their true selves. After the first six hours of close association, about everything each knows has been told. All the genteel anecdotes have been hashed up, and re-hashed again, and the bars are let down for the savage, unpolished man to get in his dirt.

(To be continued next month)

Llano in Louisiana

(Continued from Page 8)

along slightly different lines than were at one time anticipated. Because of conditions, it has been deemed best to concentrate on the fruit industry there. A sufficient number of colonists will reside in Llano to develop the fruit. They will plant trees, cultivate, irrigate. They will have their community life and will carry on the work there and continue the work made possible by the colonists who are now transferring to Louisiana.

There will be fewer persons in Llano, California, and the work will be less complicated. Smaller communities demand less administrative machinery. The population there will not vary much in numbers. In Louisiana the population will be increasing rapidly, and the administrative machinery must be constantly adjusted to meet this growth.

Considered from every angle, the Llano del Rio Colony in Louisiana is an inspiring enterprise, and those who are here as colonists have the enthusiasm that comes from accomplishment. Visitors catch the contagion of enthusiasm because they, too, see into the future along the lines of the material wealth held by the Colony. It requires but little imagination to see what the Colony can be made here with the magnificent resources that a generous Nature has bequeathed to this region.

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Spiritism and Socialism

(Continued from Page 9)

are encouraging as a beginning.

But this is not the entire message of The New World. I hold that, in science, belief does not count, but only the touching of power; that therefore all the experiences that Christians and others have had in the way of great demonstrations and periods of ecstasy are open to everybody, regardless of belief, just so soon as we touch the right wires. This is a new world of personal experience that I see ready to open to all mankind. It is time that the world ceased to be poor in spirit and that all should "know him, from the least to the greatest," according to the promise.

But what has this to do with socialization? If there be another world, more populous than this, it is impossible to socialize things so as to bring justice to all, without considering that world. Government or public ownership means man ownership and excludes all animals, therefore means oppression for most creatures. If there be a spirit world, it excludes that also. Because of its great population, because of its intuition, because spirit is presumably a higher type of life than the purely human, Jesus was probably right in talking of the kingdom of Heaven, or domination of the spiritual, as the real solution of the problem.

My mission, therefore, looks to a new spiritism and a new socialism, predicated, not on beliefs or controversy or agitation, but on experience and demonstration and actual power. It will mean more for humanity than anything that has ever been suggested. It will mean a universal religion and rational scientific readjustment of things, coming in a perfectly natural way. I am going to original sources for power, just as all vital movements have done—to God himself, to the spirit world and to natural forces—rather than to books, rites, beliefs or institutions.

National Non-Resistance?

(Continued from Page 19)

capital, and a foreign nation forcing us to accept its loans would be obliged to apply them to uses very near a minimum profit. Our laborers are habituated to the highest of wages, made necessary by the cost of living and enforced by powerful unions. Our railroads are already complaining of minus net incomes, and our natural resources have long been in the hands of private exploiters who are developing them just as rapidly as profit can thereby accrue. The possession of our country by another, except perhaps for temporary purposes connected with the present war, would be little more valuable than the possession of a bank-book by an African head-hunter.

It is indeed true that conquest is not only national disaster to be conceived. Men fight upon the plea of preserving property, honor, prestige, colonies, and a dozen other objects. Many nations are invading others today, not from any conscious desire for robbery, but from fear of their neighbor. In view of these things, can a nation afford to be non-resistant? Our word limit is passed; and we can only say: If we face the facts coolly, studying each possible disaster without panic and without sentimentality, the answer is, Yes!

A boy reaches far across the table and helps himself to butter.
 Father: "What did you do that for? Haven't you any tongue?"
 Boy: "Yes, sir, but my tongue isn't as long as my arm."

EXPLAINED

Mame: "I was at a spiritualist meeting the other night and what do you think, a ghost kissed me."

Percy: "One of those familiar spirits, I suppose."—The Passing Show.



"I CAN NOT tell a lie, father -"

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A Word With Our Readers

When the move was made from Llano, California, to Stables, Louisiana, it meant that there would be a considerable delay. Every effort has been made to shorten that delay as much as possible, and it is to the credit of our readers that there has been no complaint.

Now the Publications are established in a commodious building giving much more space than was the case at Llano, and with the offices adjoining. As rapidly as possible the scattered crew is getting together.

Attention is directed to the increased size of the WESTERN COMRADE. This is the first of a number of changes which are to be made preparatory to launching the WESTERN COMRADE in the national field.

In this number, as in several numbers immediately preceding it, the quality has been much improved. New writers are contributing articles of high value. An aggressive campaign for readers is being started with this issue, and agents are being canvassed for.

Commencing with the May number, the subscription is to be raised to One Dollar. It is the plan now outlined to have the price remain at that point, and to give more than has ever been given for that price in any magazine. The expansion from 32 pages to 40 pages is to be followed by other increases in size, according to the present plan.

Readers are invited to compare the COMRADE with any other Socialist publication now being printed. The thought-compelling editorials, the other splendid articles on a number of topics, and the monthly contributions on "Co-operation in Action" appeal to constructive Socialists, and it is one of the ideals of the WESTERN COMRADE to be an instrument for teaching the sort of Socialism that builds.

In an early issue we expect to announce another change that will be of interest to our readers.

The LLANO COLONIST, suspended during the time of the move, is to be resumed at once as a twice-a-month publication. It is to be enlarged in size to 6 columns, and the make-up changed. Another important change will be announced later concerning the COLONIST and in a short time it will undoubtedly once more be issued as a weekly paper.

The quality of the material is to be improved. News of interest to Socialists and co-operators will be given greater prominence. News concerning the Colony will not be shoved into the background, but will be given definite space, for the COLONIST is another instrument of constructive Socialism, and "Co-operation in Action" is one of the most active and promising phases.

It is not the intention to make any changes in the subscription rates.

Those who wish to become agents for the Publications are asked to correspond with the Circulation Department. A very liberal new offer is announced on the back page this issue that should interest every Socialist.

The field of Socialist Publication is much changed in the last year. In the field, made barren by the suspension or suppression of many papers, the Llano Publications have a distinct mission, and readers of the clear, far-seeing editorials are given a clearer vision of the things to be than can be gleaned from almost any other newspapers or magazines.

LLANO PUBLICATIONS, Stables, Louisiana.

Regeneration

(Continued from Page 31)

learn to govern forces more and mankind less. Humanity will not forever be tied to a soulless machine.

There is no room left for the black face of pessimism against the scarlet horizon of the dawn of liberty. This war is the judgment of capitalism and will result in the resurrection of liberty. The God of Hope is alive in the world, though it be darkness before the dawn. Light shall soon break and it will then be Morning! Out of universal chaos will be born Harmony and mankind will be regenerated through its present trial of pain! Our enforced economic transformation will give rise to new ideals that will bring to the most perfect flower, the Soul of Man.

December 3rd, 1917.

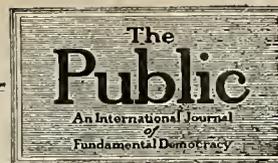
Llano del Rio Colony,

Dear Comrades: I feel so enthusiastic over the Louisiana Purchase that I have decided to pay my instalment payments much sooner than I had expected.

Therefore, I am enclosing check for the amount of \$400 for which credit to my stock.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN W. LINN, Maryland.



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Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium, writes:

In the midst of all the horrors of the world THE PUBLIC is the one thing I know of—aside from one's own conscience and the democratic principle down deep in our heart—by which to correct one's reckoning. It is a compass never sensational, always calm and pointing in the same direction.

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Earn Your Way In

HOW MUCH, really, do you wish to become a resident of the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony?

We have had many letters from those who have asked us for some way by which they might become residents. Good, sincere people, they are, with the earnest desire to cooperate.

At last the LLANO PUBLICATIONS have worked out a plan by which persistent workers may earn their way into the Colony.

It will require work, but only workers are wanted in the Colony, anyway.

Not a Contest



This is not a contest in which only one person wins. It is an opportunity to win by work, and all who do what is required may come in and become members.

Here is your opportunity to actually live the things you have dreamed of. The Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony with its more than 16,000 acres of land in the Highlands of Western Louisiana is going to practice the principles of Socialism. You have talked it and

voted for it. Now why not get in and do some practical work that will open to you the opportunity to live it?

You've talked with obstinate and pig-headed neighbors who remained unconvinced. Their unprogressiveness has held YOU back and you have been forced to live under the capitalistic conditions that they imposed. Get away from it! Live with comrades, among comrades, working with them to make true the dreams you have dreamed and the plans you have thought out.

Don't wait till tomorrow, but write TODAY and get the new plan. The LLANO PUBLICATIONS will help you. The plan is a good one. You can win if you work, and you will be given plenty of time. You will be assisted in every way within our power.

ACT NOW! This is the best time to work. Send in your name and address at once. Remember, if you work you win. You are not entering a contest, but are taking a definite job and will be shown how to go to work.

Llano Publications

Stables, Louisiana

Extension Department.