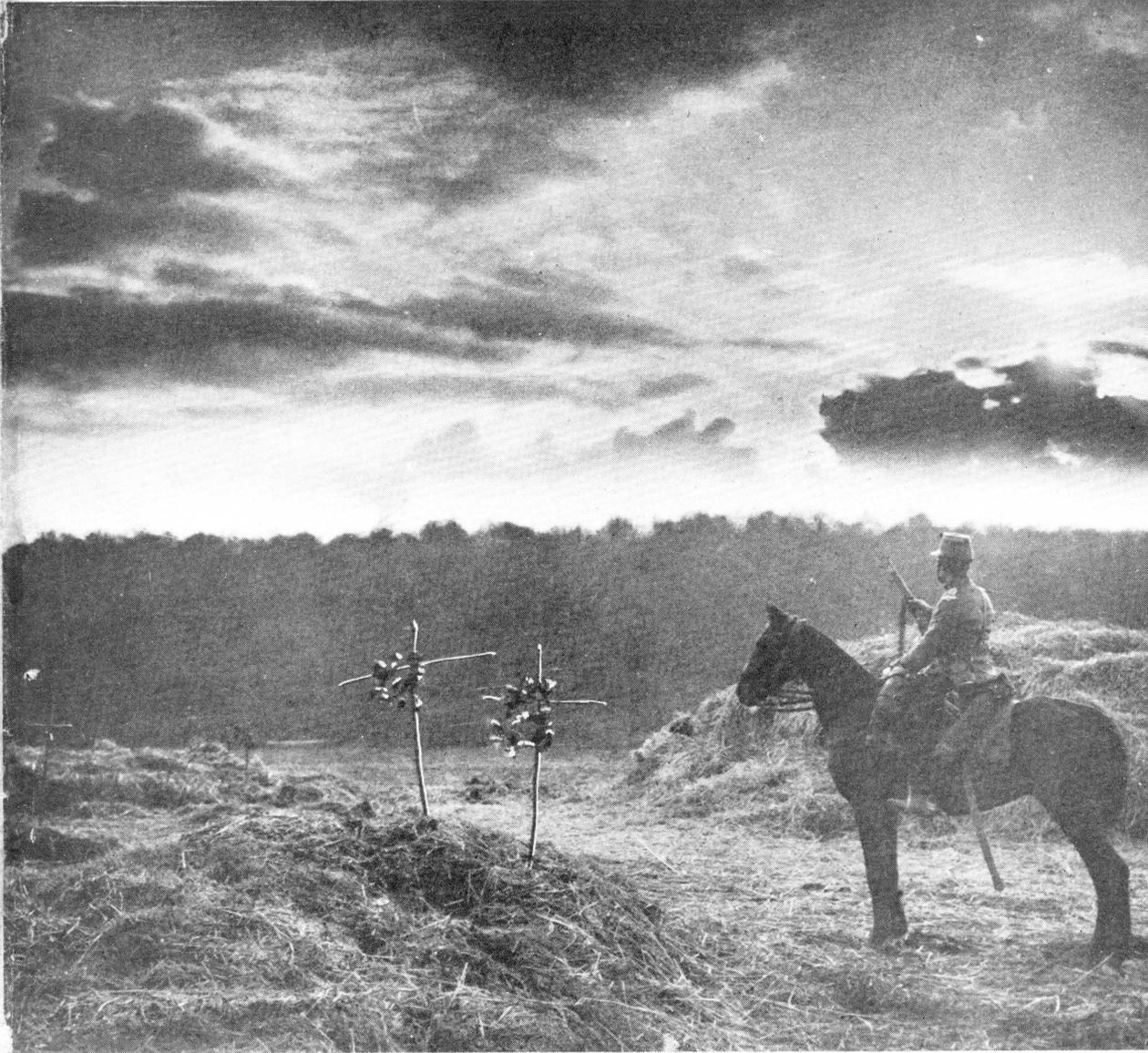


APRIL, 1915

*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



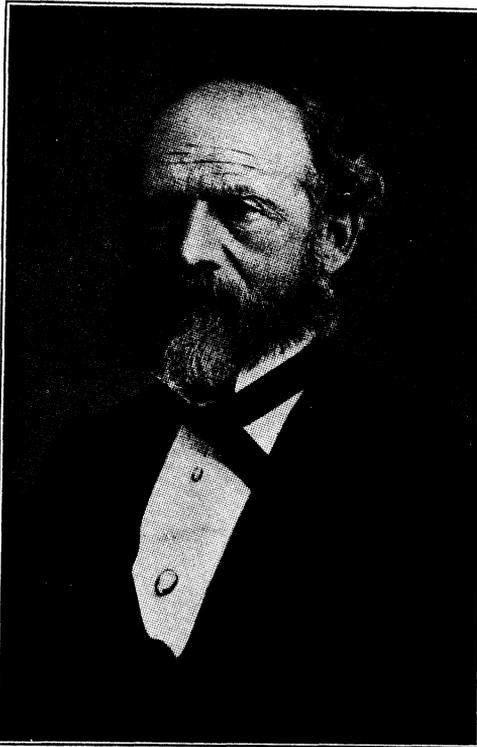
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April

1915

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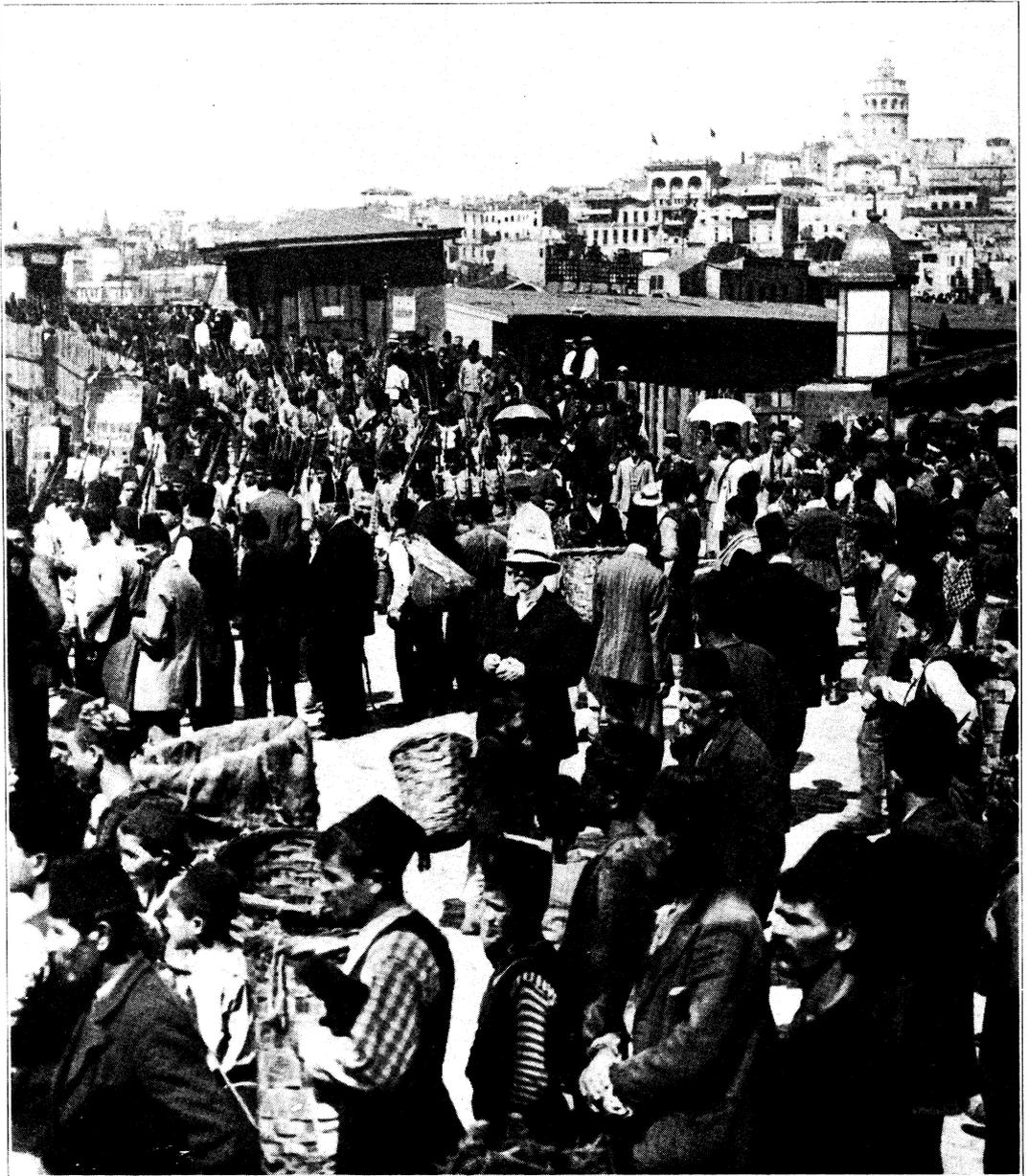
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A MORNING CROWD AT STAMBOUL AT THE END OF THE FAMOUS GALATA BRIDGE IN CONSTANTINOPLE TOWARDS WHICH THE ALLIED FORCES ARE RAPIDLY APPROACHING.



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VOL. XV

APRIL, 1915

No. 10

## The War, the World, and the Future

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

**T**HE war is now in its eighth month. The French alone are said to have lost upward of a million and a quarter men. The Germans have lost more. This includes killed, wounded and prisoners. It is estimated that seventy-five per cent have returned, or will return, to the front. But it is safe to say that in all the armies engaged a million have been killed or so mutilated that they might better be dead.

Our notions of warfare have been revolutionized. The business of prophesying has been thoroughly discredited. The greatest experts in military affairs were as much wrong as the rest of us in their pictures of what would happen. Aeroplanes, submarines and such like modern devices have occupied a large place in the newspapers, but they have not decided anything. The real fighting is in masses and often hand-to-hand. War may be somewhat more dependent on machines than it once was, but it is more animalistic, more a matter of brute force than it has been for a long time past. It has not become more impersonal; it has become more brutal.

The great thing which makes the whole struggle more long-drawn than other wars of recent times is the development of trench-fighting. This development, which is really only an elaboration of a primitive method, has increased tremendously the power of the defensive. A small force entrenched can stand off a larger force indefinitely. The only thing that can defeat such a force is to have its flanks turned, and in the present war the lines are so long there is practi-

cally no such thing as turning a flank. So the whole fight has become a matter of endurance. If the Germans had human and economic forces indefinitely elastic, they could hold the world at bay for a generation.

These are matters with which the Socialist ordinarily has little concern. The development of the technique of the humblest industry is more interesting to us than this subject of military theory. But just at present the purely military aspects of the situation have for us a certain importance. I am thinking not merely of the outcome of the struggle. I am thinking more of the course of thought which led the nations into it.

During the indecisive fighting of the winter, thought about the causes has clarified a good deal. Even the veriest novice who wrangles before the newspaper bulletins begins to see some

**The Cause of it all** things quite clearly. During the past twenty years

German capitalism has been quietly and steadily advancing toward the southeast. Rumania, for example, has come under the industrial and financial control of Germans. Rumanian banks have been placed under German directors. Rumanian industries have been developed in such a way as to furnish a market for Germany. The same statements can be made of Turkey with even greater truth. The German government has been more interested in the Bagdad railway than in the health or education of German citizens. This commercial and industrial drive to the southeast was German's way out of its industrial blind-alley.

The chief business of English and Rus-

sian diplomacy has been to cut off this drive. Russia could not secure Constantinople and a way to the sea as long as Germany remained dominant in Turkey. If Germany continued in the line of progress marked out by the Bagdad railway it would soon threaten India and the English interests in Persia. So the Russians and English combined to subjugate Persia. The Persians were rapidly developing their own government. Without the shadow of an excuse Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American adviser, was driven out. Russian troops occupied the country. From that time to this Persia has been a dependency of the English and the Russians. This development made a conflict inevitable. The way of the Germans was definitely blocked. Still the Germans had marvelously rich regions to develop. The Balkan states and Asiatic Turkey were being cultivated and would have given German capital a field for many years to come.

Then came the two Balkan wars. Turkey was defeated. The Serbs, naturally under Russian influence, were on the victorious side. German influence was threatened. The danger of an uprising among the Austrian Serbs was largely increased. This was the situation when affairs between Austria and Servia became acute in June of last year.

The problems faced by the German government at that time were of the gravest sort. Those of us who have spent our time denouncing the German leaders as the sole aggressors might gain much by an attempt to imagine the alternatives which were presented. German capitalism had been steadily developing by means of the persistent application of "peaceful" methods. Government officials, bankers, industrial leaders of the regions under discussion had been bribed or scared into allowing Germans to run things for their own benefit. If the Germans refused to go to war they could go on developing for some time in this way. They could have increased the wealth-producing powers of the regions under their control. They could have cemented the control which their government exercised. All the motives of prudence must have tended to actuate them to take this course. If they had cared more for a bird in the hand than for two in the bush,

they would certainly have patched up affairs with Servia and kept the peace. This was one of the alternatives which they faced.

Against this course of action was the fact that development in this direction and by means of these expedients had a definite limit set by English and Russian control of Persia and Russia's increasing influence over Servia. Moreover, the great force which had kept Russia from making an open attempt to capture Constantinople had been English opposition. But now the governments of England, France and Russia represented a single group of capitalist interests. England's motive for opposing Russia's plan for securing a way to the sea had disappeared. Russia for the first time had a free hand to proceed against Turkey. This fact constituted a new menace to Germany's progress.

The other alternative was war. To disinterested observers this seemed at the time a foolhardy course. It was an open secret that Italy would not support her German allies. Germany and Austria alone would have to face practically all the rest of the European world. On the face of it the thing looked hopeless from the German point of view. But the Germans had the best army on earth. They had one of the best navies. They had the tradition of the war of 1870. And, above all, they had German organization and German technical development. They had, moreover, the spirit of German romanticism.

Since 1870 German thought has been curiously inbred. German professors of history and political economy have generally been recognized as among the most able in the world. It is in Germany that the materialist interpretation of history has been most brilliantly applied. One would think that German scholars and statesmen would have the sanest, the best founded, views of economic, political and military facts. These men, if any, might be expected to understand that in a great international struggle economic backing counts for more than guns or ships or troops. But since 1870 German scholarship has been under the control of the government. It has been utilized to help prepare for "the day." Distinguished professors at the University of Berlin,

with their eyes on the German army and navy, have deluded themselves and the nation into the belief that Germany really could defeat the world. They created fables about probable uprisings in Ireland, India and South Africa. To be sure, the government attempted to give some substance to these fables by means of a marvelous system of spies at work in these quarters. But any one with two grains of human sense knows that foreign attack immediately unites the most violent internal factions. And Austria was much more in danger from internal disaffection than England. But German scholars and publicists repressed the counsels of ordinary sense and served the purposes of the government with real conviction.

This is what I mean when I refer to German "romanticism." Perhaps this is not the best term for it. Perhaps it is mere short-sightedness, a form of provincialism. It was said in 1870 that the German schoolmaster defeated the French. It is certainly true at present that the German schoolmaster has helped to plunge the fatherland into a hopeless struggle.

But whatever the cause, Germany felt herself unconquerable. And there was in favor of war the possibility of sudden and indefinite expansion. To a nation rapidly multiplying in numbers this was a tempting mirage. For a generation progress had been made by slow and devious steps. Slow advances in the technology of industry and painfully won advantages in the miniature diplomacy of the traveling salesman had gained advantages all too moderate to satisfy the nation which had defeated the third Napoleon in six weeks.

So the unimportant Austro-Servian incident was made the pretext for a great struggle. The die was cast for war.

This recital of facts which are now indisputable does not, of course, imply that the Germans are more to blame for what has happened than the English or the Russians. These powers, representing a definite group of international capitalist interests, have been laboring for a generation to cut Germany off from the world, to pen her in. Taking the whole course of events into account, we must come to the conclusion that the English and the Russians have been more aggress-

sive than the Germans. Any general view of the situation makes it evident that the Russo-English group could get what they wanted peacefully, while the Germans could do so only by means of war. So, though the Germans have been on the whole less aggressive than their opponents, they were forced to become technically the aggressors. Evidently English talk of a fight against militarism and for democratic ideals is pure hypocrisy.

It is in connection with our thought about the choice which Germany made in those first days of August that the nature of contemporary warfare gains a certain importance quite apart from mere technical considerations. If the outcome could have been determined by a quick dash, by individual deeds of heroism, or by the genius of another Napoleon, Germany would have had a chance of success. Her

#### **The Probable Outcome.**

venture would have been far from foolhardy. But with war carried on as it is at the present moment her case is absolutely hopeless. This fact is gradually sinking into the consciousness of all classes of Germans. The tone dominant in their papers is one of heroic desperation. Even their chief-of-staff, General von Falkenhayn, practically acknowledges ultimate defeat. In an Associated Press interview he says: "So far as Germany is concerned, the war may last indefinitely. I see nothing which can compel us to discontinue hostilities. If we are defeated it will be with honor, fighting to the last trench and the last man." If they win every battle for a year they are bound to lose eventually. Their own victories will defeat them. They see now clearly what their mastery of economic theory should have made clear to them in the beginning, that battles are won by bread rather than by guns. And those outside the circular battle-line are supported by the bread supply of the world.

It is now evident, therefore, that when German statesmen made their decision in August, they made one of the gigantic blunders of history. They, the experts among experts, were fatally in error with regard to the possibilities of modern warfare.

And now that the struggle has settled into a phase which is bound to be prolonged, peace projects gain importance. The war may last six months longer; it may last a year. But we can now foresee with some degree of precision what the outcome will be. Eventually Germany will be crushed. What will be the result? How will the world be affected in its thought, its politics, its geography?

I am not at all tempted to essay the role of H. G. Wells. That sort of thing has lost its attraction. A Socialist must keep his feet on the ground. But one great result of the war is self-evident and several others are definitely foreshadowed in recent news despatches.

The self-evident result is the rapid and tremendous development of international capitalism as represented by England and Russia. If capitalism was international before the war, it will be something more than that after the last trench has been filled and the last shot has echoed away. It will not merely be international; it will have nothing to do with nationalities. It will ignore them. After the European powers had crushed Napoleon I, they formed the Holy Alliance. Unless some quite new force intervenes the end of the present war will see the perpetuation of an unholy alliance. Government for profits will be carried on in a manner absolutely unparalleled. We talk mildly of local autonomy as a possible result. There will be less of local autonomy than at any previous period in the world's history.

In another respect Socialists especially have a great surprise awaiting them. Some comrades have been looking for national revolutions as an aftermath. In France and Germany the political result thus far has been a reaction in the direction of conservatism. In France the Royalists and Imperialists are more hopeful now than they have been for decades. In Germany the Conservatives state on every possible occasion that the government after the war must be absolutely devoted to the upbuilding of armaments. The people must be ready to sacrifice every penny, every shred of individual or

social liberty to the demand for a strong government and a strong army. The cry for reform must not be allowed to interfere with the plans of Junkerdom. The people, of course, have given nobly of life and money. They must have full recognition. But they do not know what is good for them. In order that they may be protected against foreign foes they must be ruled with a rod of iron. This tendency of thought has swept into its train a large part of the German middle class which has heretofore figured as liberal.

And the worst feature of the situation is that the great outburst of patriotism which the war has engendered tends to sweep large sections of the working class into the same current. Both materially and psychologically the workers have lost largely in their power of resistance. Unless all signs fail, democracy is losing ground.

I am speaking here of general tendencies. It cannot be denied that sections of the workers are growing more and more vigorous in the opposition to the governments and to the war. The Scottish Independent Labor Party at its annual convention adopted ringing anti-war resolutions. The French Confederation de Travail has voiced a strong protest. England has been shocked by more than one strike. Shipwrights, dock laborers and miners, men on whose labors the prosecution of war directly depends, have not been too patriotic to strike for higher wages. Five members of the Russian Duma are being tried for keeping up their Socialist activities. These men are facing death at the present moment. When we talk of the German Socialists voting the war budget let us not forget these comrades who are giving the ultimate proof of fidelity to the ideals of international brotherhood.

The break between "war" Socialists and real Socialists is widening in Germany. Several party papers have been suppressed temporarily or permanently for publishing anti-war articles. The Weimar Volkszeitung and the Eisenach Volkszeitung were suppressed for short periods for publishing an article

**The Revolutionary Workers.**

**German Socialists.**

entitled "The Proletarian's Fatherland." The publication of the Gotha Volksblatt has been permanently forbidden. This paper has from the beginning opposed both the government and the Socialist parliamentary group. Finally, on January 9, it published, without permission of the military censor, two articles entitled "Proletarian Solidarity" and "The Social Democratic Group Under Police Protection." This was the last straw.

While these papers are giving proof of intellectual clarity and courage, others equally well known are persecuting German Socialists who have ventured to criticise the course taken by the majority. Among those who have been denounced and ridiculed for lack of patriotism are Anton Pannekoek, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Klara Zetkin, and Franz Mehring. The particular crime of these is said to be their revelation of German conditions to the Socialists of foreign lands, especially England and the United States. No doubt Pannekoek's articles in our own REVIEW have constituted the chief count against him. The virulence of the remarks on these comrades is sufficient refutation of the charges made. All sorts of miserable little personal scandals are hurled at them. In general, it is said that they have no right to speak for German Socialism. So be it. The Socialism which they cannot represent is no longer the Socialism of the International.

One very evident result of the war is a great acceleration of thought. This is especially marked in middle-class circles of neutral nations. But Socialists, too, have felt the impetus of great events. The Swiss peace conference, the Copenhagen conference, the London conference, the Chicago conference—all have exhibited a seriousness hitherto lacking in such assemblies. And it is evident that such gatherings now represent a larger section of public sentiment than ever before. A recent num-

ber of the New York Survey publishes in tabular form the programs drawn up by ten conferences or organizations. The remarkable thing about these programs is their essential unanimity. They all insist on disarmament, on the establishment of an international court, on resistance to humiliating and destructive demands of conquering nations, opposition to the tyrannical annexation of territories without regard to the will of inhabitants, etc., etc. The articles adopted by a number of bourgeois peace societies are practically identical with those of the Socialist Party of America. On the one hand this may show that under the pressure of the war Socialist thought has permeated middle-class radicals more rapidly than hitherto. On the other hand, it certainly shows that we Socialists have not sufficiently emphasized the distinctive points in our position.

All over the world there is among neutral peoples the demand for peace. But the machinery suggested for securing peace indicates a complete misunderstanding of the conditions which bring about war. Even our bourgeois friends have proved in countless magazine articles that war results from the operations of governments under the control of capitalist interests. Now, these good people propose to bring about peace by having these same governments constitute an international court and international police force. The whole proposal is as utopian as anything well could be. Let the thieves combine against thievery, the murderers against murder!

Some groups of Socialists have made the fundamental Socialist conception clear. If the internationalism of capital produces peace it will be the peace of a universal industrial slavery. But there is little hope that it will produce peace at all. Only in an absolute change in control of government and industry does there lie any sure hope. Now, while we have the ear of the world as we never had it before, we must make our message clear.



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# After the War—What?

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

I HAVE failed to read anywhere that the spots on the sun are the true cause of the war. Otherwise, about everything mundane was assigned and picked out at one time or another as the vera causa bellum.

I, too, am not without a cause of my own for the war, but I will not disclose the same at the present time. What I want to interest the Socialists just now in is the question: What are the Socialists going to do after the war? For some day this war is going to come to an end, in spite of the peace conferences. What then? Shall then the Socialists pursue the same course which they have pursued for some time before the war and which this war merely brought to a fruition? Or will the Socialist movement strike out on a new path?

The war has marked the collapse of the two greatest aims of the Socialist movement—the brotherhood of man, the greatest of social ideals, and the international solidarity of the working class, the most tremendous of economic motives. Neither of these great social objectives depends for its success on any program or movement. And while the existence of the Socialist movement depends on its loyalty to the great social ideals, this dependence is not reciprocal. The Socialist movement is supposed to be the awakened social consciousness reaching out for the control of social forces; to which heretofore man has been more or less passive material and so continues now. As such social reason, the Socialist movement has failed utterly in this war. It has abandoned its ideals of human brotherhood and working class solidarity and, instead, embraced the same low, reactionary motives which inspired the dominant social groups.

This was bad enough. Yet the greater danger lies in the fact that many of the leaders of the Socialist movement urge these low, reactionary and unsocial motives as permanent social standards and ideals for the Socialist movement. They would have

the Socialist movement abandon completely the ideal of human brotherhood as an exploded metaphysical concept and subordinate the international solidarity of the working class to ideals of national unity, patriotism. Should they prevail, then the Socialist movement will have to be eliminated as a factor of the social revolution and will be classified with the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor.

Shall the revolutionary Socialist stand by passively while the Socialist Party is being groomed for service in the ambulance corps of the capitalist system? That depends.

It depends on whether the social revolution is a reasonable expectancy, or, like human brotherhood, an ideal which may endure without realization for several thousand years. It is my purpose to contend with all the arguments of science and logic that the social revolution is at hand; that the days of capitalism are counted and that collectivism is the order of the day.

The scientific argument involves the discussion of an aspect of social evolution which I was, I think, the first to point out. I cannot enter into a lengthy discussion of this argument in this article. Briefly, the argument is this: Each evolutionary period, and for the purposes of our discussion—social period, is shorter than the preceding period. On the other hand it contains more change in its shorter time than the preceding period contained during a greater length of time. Social evolution is, in that respect, subject to the law of accelerated motion. Consult Galileo's law of falling bodies and apply it to social development. Capitalism started with the momentum with which feudalism had ended. And the mandate of this law of evolution is that capitalism cannot endure nearly as long as feudalism endured.

Taking a bird's-eye view of the development of succeeding social periods beginning with the stone age, the archaic community, down to the present era, we are enabled to measure with reasonable certainty the arch

of life of capitalist society. An examination of this factor will bring us to the conclusion that capitalism is approaching its end.

The economic causes for the collapse of capitalism will also be abundant. The gigantic loans now being raised by all the warring governments are made at a high rate of interest. All government securities are being sold at a great discount. They are piling up tremendous obligations for the future generations to carry. But where is the high interest on these billions of debts to come from? There is only one source—surplus value. The war once over, the share of the capitalists in the product of labor will increase tremendously, while the share of the worker will decrease in proportion. The period after the war will be one of big profits, high taxes and low wages. Here we have the scientific and economic factors of the social revolution. But there are other factors.

This war marks the bankruptcy of religion as a moral factor, an ameliorating influence on manners and customs, and of

scientific liberalism as a refuge from ignorance, superstition and tyranny. These great controllers of social dynamics, safety valves for social discontent, may as well be junked for all the good they can do for the existing order. They were, however, the moral pillars of modern capitalism. With them eliminated, there remains nothing for capitalism to lean on, but brute force.

Force—without force no revolution was ever achieved. Without force no revolution will be achieved. The modern Socialist movement is characteristic for its hysterical nervousness at the mere mention of the word—force. I have in mind particularly our American movement. For it is composed of elements who were reared amidst peaceful pursuits. But will force hold the same terror for the proletarians now entrenched on the battlefields of Europe? Certainly not.

The conjunction of events points to a social catastrophe which must follow in the footsteps of the present war.

What will the Socialist parties do?

---

## EVERLASTING PEACE

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

TO INSURE "peace on earth, good will to men," reverse the present order of things.

Let no man pray for another man.

Let no man make laws for another man.

Let no man fight for another man.

Let no man keep money for another man.

Let no man block the opportunities of another man.

Let no man appropriate that which is produced by another man.

Let every man put his hands to the bounteous treasures of the earth, and from his brains will spring forth marvelous machinery that will feed and clothe and house and educate the children of the world in "peace and good will."



## A CRAFT UNION OFFICIAL'S CONFESSION OF FAITH.

Mr. Trenholm—All the railroads—I make no exception—have rules that are satisfactory. They are not satisfactory to the men, as to the rate of pay.

The Chairman—You think, then, the rules treat the men fairly and impartially?

Mr. Trenholm—Yes sir, I do.

Mr. Stone—Mr. Chairman, you understand I would have to file a dissenting opinion from Mr. Trenholm.

The Chairman—I understand. I am simply endeavoring to get his viewpoint, Mr. Stone.

Mr. Stone—I also want to say, neither in the way of explanation nor excuse, that the grand officers of this organization, *instead of taking the lid off, try to keep the brake on, and we are not imagining these grievances. If the men did not come to us with these grievances we would not be here with them.* And the thing we have always tried to do is to be conservative and keep the dissension down, if possible, instead of adding to it, as no doubt you would infer from the testimony of the witness. We do not dream these things and *if we simply take the brake off and let the men go, it would be a whole lot more radical than what it is.* If any fault has been found with the executive officers of this organization it is because they have been too conservative and *have allowed the railroads to capitalize that conservatism and have not got the results that the rank and file think they should have gotten.*—From the Stenographic Record of Proceedings before the Western Railroads Wage Arbitration Board, Chicago, February, 1915.

# FIXING THE PAY OF RAILROAD MEN

By CARL SANDBURG

**A**RBITRATION is a magic word. For twenty years and more it has gained in power. Now it has reached the high mark. Its magic is passing.

This article is about the machinery of arbitration; how it is working in one specific situation.

Up in Room 603 of the postoffice building in Chicago six men are sitting six days a week six hours a day. It all runs in sixes.

These six men are an arbitration board. The job they are working on is to fix the wages, hours and working conditions of

all the firemen and engineers on all the locomotives of all the ninety-eight railroads of the United States between Chicago and the Pacific coast.

Since the first week in December last year they have been listening to evidence. It is expected that all witnesses, experts, lawyers and special advocates will be heard and a decision handed down by the end of April, this year.

It is conceded on both sides that the cost of the whole job, counting expenses for experts, investigators, lawyers, printing of reports, travel and hotel money for both railroad company men and railroad



brotherhood men, will run upwards of one million dollars, and possibly above that amount.

James Sheean, attorney for the railroad companies, is down for a \$100,000 fee for his work. W. Jett Lauck, statistical expert and economist for the brotherhoods, has spent over \$60,000 for compilation and printing of reports on railroad operation costs, food, rent and fuel prices for rail workers in various districts, and so on.

On the arbitration board proper the brotherhoods have two representatives: F. A. Burgess, Assistant Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and Timothy Shea, Assistant President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. These two were elected by the general committee of delegates sent by the respective organizations on each of the western railways.

Representing the railroad companies are W. L. Park, Vice-President of the Illinois Central Railway, and H. E. Byram, Vice-President of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railway. These two were selected by the committee of railway managers from all the roads involved.

Most important of all, naturally, are the names and personalities of the two "umpires" elected and agreed on by the four men named above.

It is in the heads of these two umpires that the last and legal, final and binding decision on wages will be made. On the tongues inside these two heads rests the inevitable and irrevocable say-so as to how much more money the payrolls shall hold for 65,000 engine workers on ninety-eight railroads the next three years. That is the theory.

Therefore, the remarkable heads of these two "umpires" should truly be fastened on the remarkable shoulders of two remarkable men. Here, in brief, is who and what these two umpires are:

One is Charles Nagel. He is a lawyer from St. Louis. His special distinction that fitted him for the place of umpire was gained as a member of the cabinet of President Taft. He served there as Secretary of the United States Department of Labor. It was as Secretary Nagel that he formed close association with steam-

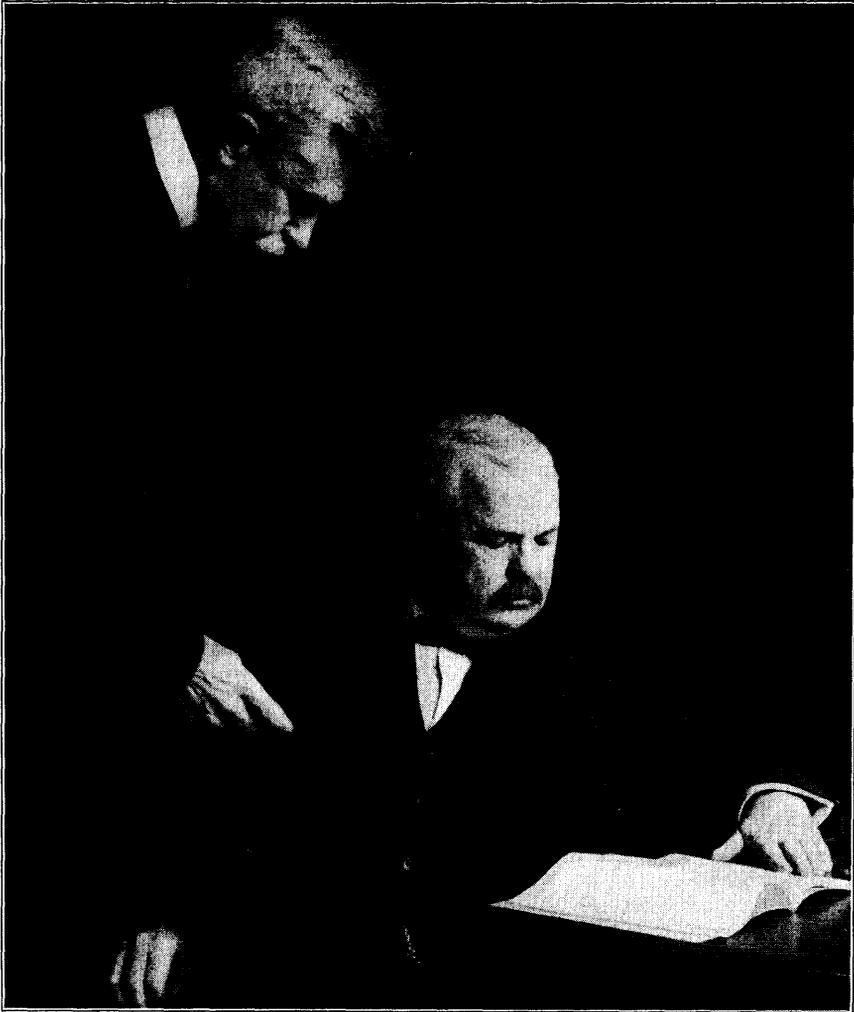
ship interests and the importation of a labor supply from Europe. The American Federation of Labor during its recent endeavor to pass a bill restricting immigration published correspondence connecting Secretary Nagel as a faithful servant of the companies who get their profits out of shipping cheap human beings from one side of the earth to another side where they are also and again cheap.

Anyway, the whole Nagel career may be searched from the time he lay in his cradle till now when the gray hairs tumble on his head and there will not be found any time he was accused of losing his control and doing something rash for the benefit of labor. So far as Nagel is concerned, the writer challenges anyone to find and name a railroad brotherhood member or official who has any hopes of Nagel handing any big extra wage dollars over to the workers. It is a common saying among the brotherhood men that little or nothing is to be expected from Nagel and all hopes are pinned on Pritchard.

Jeter C. Pritchard is the other "umpire." He is a judge of the United States District Court which sits in Richmond, Virginia. His home is in Asheville, North Carolina. Elected United States Senator by a combination of Republicans and Populists, when he left the U. S. Senate, he was appointed federal judge of the District of Columbia by President Theodore Roosevelt. During a receivership of a railroad handled in Judge Pritchard's court, he is understood to have shaded decisions in favor of the rail workers.

So there we are—two Republican lawyers, office-holders, appointed to fat jobs under Republican Presidents Taft and Roosevelt, are going to say the last word on wages and labor conditions on ninety-eight western railways. These two "umpires" are supposed to be impartial. Under the theory of arbitration, both Nagel and Pritchard are understood to have no leanings one way or the other.

Take a look, however, at the social connections of these men. Nagel is chummy with steamship capitalists. All his friendships are in the world of corporation lawyers and the whole range of capitalistic interests that were tied up with the



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CHARLES W. NAGEL (LEFT) IS A ST. LOUIS LAWYER. JETER C. PRITCHARD (RIGHT) IS A NORTH CAROLINA FEDERAL JUDGE. THESE GENTLEMEN ARE THE TWO "UMPIRES" ON THE WESTERN RAILWAYS WAGE ARBITRATION BOARD. THEY WILL HAVE THE LAST SAY-SO ON WHAT THE PAY CAR WILL BRING TO 65,000 ENGINE WORKERS ON 98 WESTERN RAILWAYS FOR A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS.

Taft administration. When he goes out for a dinner or a concert or a game of golf, he doesn't pick up any "old rail" of an engineer or fireman. They are outside his social fences.

Nagel goes out with men of the class where his law clients and his political backers are. He looks at things the way they do. His slant at wages and capital is the same slant as that of the people he eats with, drinks with, hears music with or plays golf with. The people

Nagel goes with believe investors should have an "adequate return" on the capital they have put into railroads.

The return to labor in wages for work done? Well, that's all right. Worth thinking about, maybe. But first of all "adequate return" to capital. And it's a common saying in the Taft-Nagel-Railroad politico-financial crowd: "Railroad men are the best paid workers in the country today; wait until the railways have been saved from bankruptcy and



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CHARLES W. NAGEL (LEFT) IS A ST. LOUIS LAWYER. JETER C. PRITCHARD (RIGHT) IS A NORTH CAROLINA FEDERAL JUDGE. THESE GENTLEMEN ARE THE TWO "UMPIRES" ON THE WESTERN RAILWAYS WAGE ARBITRATION BOARD. THEY WILL HAVE THE LAST SAY-SO ON WHAT THE PAY CAR WILL BRING TO 65,000 ENGINE WORKERS ON 98 WESTERN RAILWAYS FOR A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS.

there is general prosperity before any wage raise is granted."

Now, nearly all of this which goes for Umpire Nagel goes for Umpire Pritchard, too. It is everywhere understood in the inside circles of the railway brotherhoods that Pritchard is the best hope of the rail workers for a raise of wages and betterment of conditions.

Yet the significant thing bothering the heads of many a man at the throttle or shoveling coal is the fact that two men, each a lawyer, each a close personal friend of notorious corporation presidents of the United States, each a Republican politician, holds the power of fixing the prices at which 65,000 railroad workers shall sell their labor power for three years to come.

This has set railroad men to thinking. They are asking themselves: "Why should my wages, the means of life to me, be settled in the brains of two men who don't know anything about railroading except in theory? Why do the railroad companies always get the long end of it while the workers get the short end? Do these brotherhoods we have organized count for anything? Why are the companies always putting it over on the unions and on the state and national governments?"

Some people might say this is just the prejudiced view of an industrial unionist. To such people attention is invited to a Page 182 of Exhibit No. 59 presented by Witness W. J. Lauck in behalf of the brotherhoods at the Chicago wage hearing. On this page is a quotation from the testimony of Louis D. Brandeis before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, January 23, 1915. Brandeis said:

"The main objection, as I see it, to the large corporation is that it makes possible—and in many cases inevitable—the exercise of industrial absolutism. . . . We have the situation of an employer so potent, so well organized, with such concentrated forces and such powers of reserve and ability to endure against strikes and other efforts of a union, that THE RELATIVELY LOOSELY ORGANIZED MASSES OF EVEN STRONG UNIONS ARE UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION. . . . These powerful organizations of capital can af-

ford to successfully summon forces from all parts of the country, can use tremendous amounts of money in any conflict to carry out what they deem to be their business principle. You have necessarily a condition of inequality between the two contending forces. . . . The result in all cases of these large corporations has been to develop a benevolent absolutism. It is that which makes the great corporation so dangerous. It is because YOU HAVE CREATED WITHIN THE STATE, A STATE SO POWERFUL THAT THE ORDINARY FORCES EXISTING ARE INSUFFICIENT TO MEET IT."

This is precisely the philosophy workers are talking in cabs, cabooses, round houses and the hangouts where rail men tell one another what they honestly think. They are beginning to wonder why they pay Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, a salary of \$10,000 a year. And they say those are two wonderful heads fastened on the shoulders of Charlie Nagel and Jeter Pritchard. Because inside those two heads are the brains that shall understand the vast network of rail lines interwoven between New Orleans and Seattle, Minneapolis and Los Angeles, and fix for three years the price at which all engine workers in that railroad empire shall sell their labor during three years of grocery bills, rent bills, coal bills and all the other bills that make a railroad payday look cheap.

Along with an expression of complete confidence in the ability of Chief Stone to take care of the brotherhood's end of the arbitration, F. E. Wood writes from New Orleans in the March number of the Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal:

The men show that the earning capacity for the roads has been largely increased on account of longer hours, larger power, bigger cars and heavier tonnage, while their earning power to themselves has not increased but DIMINISHED. Engineers and firemen are under pay only when performing actual service on duty in the interest of the company. In other words where there is no business the men are the losers. They are far underpaid when compared with other skilled labor. The company can work them cheaper on overtime than with schedule trains or on mileage basis. Employees are worked in violation of state and federal laws and all kinds of subterfuges

resorted to by the companies to avoid punishment.

The men expect to show where not only hundreds, but thousands, yes millions of dollars have been squandered for imaginary equipments, maintenance and supplies and charged out for such, while the entire matter, save getting rid of the cash, was on paper only.

The men expect to prove hardships have increased, discipline is more frequent and severe, that only a small percentage live to be over 32 years of age and that only one out of every 33 engineers lives to hold a passenger run.

What will the harvest be? With each side contending it is the under dog, both presenting exhibit after exhibit to prove the other fellow is in error, each side trying to destroy the other's evidence, a continual rag-chewing pot pourri of conflicting statements intertwined with sarcastic retort from both factions, the real parties to settle the question between the devil and the deep blue sea,

WHAT WILL THE HARVEST BE?

Colloquies taken from the stenographic reports of testimony and argument before the arbitration board show what the New Orleans engineer meant by "a continual rag-chewing pot pourri of conflicting statements." From the official record:

Mr. Trenholm (for the railway managers)—There are lots of ~~men who~~ can shovel lots of coal. I have had ~~some~~ experience with them.

Mr. Stone (for the brotherhoods)—And there are lots of ~~men~~ who have to shovel a lot of coal to ~~keep the~~ engines hot, do they not?

Trenholm—Lots of men can shovel lots of coal and not be exhausted. There is a lot of difference in that respect. The fireman on a passenger engine works more rapidly and more continuously than a fireman on a freight train for the same time. Speed eats up the coal.

Stone—It is also a fact, when you get the long hours with a man shoveling coal on a heavy drag train, his fire becomes dirty and his engine begins to leak steam and he has to work that much harder.

Trenholm—Long hours are, of course, conducive to hard work and are tiresome. A man on his twelfth or thirteenth hour on an engine shoveling coal, it is not as easy as it is the first hour.

After an arbitration board fixes a rule for the railroads to follow, then the railroads follow

that rule as they Please. Light is given on this point in this passage:

Mr. Trenholm—I started the right of the railroads in emergencies to call on a man to do a piece of emergency work without giving him a full day.

Mr. Stone—After listening to your testimony for the past several days there is no doubt in my mind, Mr. Trenholm, whether a general manager would concede any rule that was an improvement EXCEPT UNDER PRESSURE.

Mr. Trenholm—I do not think I have given any testimony of that kind.

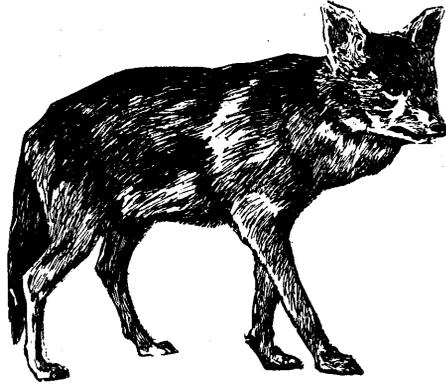
Mr. Stone—You have testified repeatedly that you don't think a certain rule would not have been granted except under pressure.

There is nothing rough-neck or disorderly about the arbitration show. No excitement. The six arbitrators sit at a long table with the railroad lawyers and managers on the right side and the brotherhood officers on the left. Seats in the court room have been vacant practically every day of the hearing. There is no high tension of enthusiasm. One newspaper man remarked to another: "This is highbrow stuff." And taking a look at page 235 of the Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal for March, we see an explanation of part of the lack of enthusiasm. Here is a letter signed "Member Div. 828," of Grand Island, Nebraska. This member writes:

In regard to our PROFESSION, it is a known fact that the depression at present is caused by the war. There seems to be an oversupply of engineers regardless of how business is. After showing how some engineers are thrown back into the ranks of firemen, the writer says, "The future engineman will have to learn two PROFESSIONS so as to have one to fall back on if he be so unlucky as to lose out on the road he starts with."

According to this railroader, some engineers are no longer workingmen. They are members of a profession. Get the difference? They haven't got any jobs like firemen, trackmen, or switchmen. Instead of a trade or a craft, they have a PROFESSION.

Other exclusive articles will appear on New Line-ups in the Railroad Game.



# SAVAGE SURVIVALS IN HIGHER PEOPLES

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

## II. VESTIGIAL ORGANS.

(Note.—This popular Course in Biology by Prof. Moore, which started in the March number of the Review, will probably run for ten months or a year. The general outline of the Course covers: Domesticated Animals, Vestigial Organs, Survivals of the Wild in Domesticated Animals, The Origin of Higher Peoples, and Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples. The minor subjects may prove even more interesting.

We feel ourselves more than fortunate in being able to secure this Course by Prof. Moore, the value of whose work in popularizing some of the more important biological laws cannot be over-estimated. Biology is the most important study in the world because it is the Science of Life. It traces the origin, descent and evolutionary DIRECTION of Man; explains the origin and use of his natural tendencies, emotions and habits.

If we did not seek pleasure and avoid pain; if we unanimously sought death on the battlefield instead of life and industry, there would be little hope of mankind surviving to bring victory to the working class. It is of vital importance to know what sort of animals we are, our necessities and desires and how far we may be counted upon, how far our instincts and habits may be depended upon in securing those necessities and satisfying our desires. We must know along what lines and for what ends we may rely upon the co-operation of our fellow men.

In all lines of education it is not sufficient to destroy the old Gods or beliefs. It is necessary to replace them with the facts of science. And this is a great deal easier. A study of biology will give men a sound basis for their ideas. It will substitute science or metaphysics and fact for blind belief. We will be glad to have you call the attention of your friends to this Course by Prof. Moore.)

### 1. Meaning of the Subject.

An *organ* is a *department*. Any particular part of an animal or plant which does a certain work is an organ—as the stomach which digests the food, the heart which pumps the blood, the brain which is the organ of thought, and the ear which enables us to hear. The body of an ani-

mal is a machine, and the different organs are the different parts of the machine. Plants have organs the same as animals. The leaves do one thing, and the roots another, and the stems do still other things. All the organs work together. They co-operate. And when they all do their part, everything is done

that needs to be done to keep the animal or plant alive and well; that is, the machine runs well.

Anything that is made up of organs is called an *organism*. Organs represent division of labor. Society is really an organism, the people in the various occupations being the organs.

*Vestige* means "remnant," or "trace." *Vestigial* is an adjective formed by adding *al* to the noun *vestige*. In welding the *al* to the noun, *e* is changed to *i* for sound's sake.

*Vestigial organs*, therefore, are *remnant* organs, organs which do not have their full size or standing in the body. The purpose of this lesson is to point out some of these organs, and to explain to you why such organs exist in animals and plants.

## 2. Adaptations.

As a rule, animals are adapted to their surroundings. They have the form and architecture which they need to enable them to exist. They *fit* their surroundings, as if they had been whittled out by some expert to suit the various places in which they live. They have just the organs they need, arranged in just the way they should be, to carry on life successfully.

It used to be supposed that this wonderful adaptation of living beings to their surroundings was the result of the skill and benevolence of the Creator. Animals were all supposed to have existed from the beginning just as we find them today. It is now known that the perfect adaptation of animals to their surroundings is the result of a world-wide struggle to live and a consequent survival of the fittest to survive. In the struggle for life most animals perish. Only the few survive. These few are the ones *best fitted* to their surroundings. *The survival of the fittest*, which has gone on for millions of years, has resulted in the production of species with natures and bodies exceedingly well fitted to the world in which they live.

## 3. The Struggle for Existence.

*More beings are born than can live on the earth.* There is an over-production of life. There is not enough food and air

and room to go round. It is estimated that a single pair of house-sparrows would, if none should die, produce enough sparrows to cover the state of Indiana in twenty years. The lobster lays 10,000 eggs in a season, and the oyster 2,000,000. A female white ant, when adult, does nothing but lie in a cell and lay eggs. She lays 80,000 eggs a day for several months. The natural increase of a single pair of gypsy moths would destroy all the plants of the United States in eight years. The eel produces eggs but once in a life-time, but it produces the almost incredible number of from five to twenty millions, depending on the size of the fish. Certain low forms of animal life reproduce so rapidly that, if they should all survive, their offspring would in a few days fill the seas. If every egg of the codfish should produce an adult, a single pair in twenty-five years would produce a mass of fish as large as the earth.

One result of this overproduction of animal life is a world-wide struggle for existence. The earth is a battle-field. How it may be on other spheres, we do not know. But on the particular globe on which we have been allotted to come into existence life is one mighty tragedy. Species are pushing and crowding and murdering each other in the effort to live. And this pushing and crowding and exterminating has gone on ever since the beginning of life on the earth, millions of years ago.

There are about a million species of animals known to science at the present time; that is, about a million that are known and named. And there are probably a million more that are not yet catalogued. And it is estimated that from 20 to 100 times as many species of animals have lived and perished from the earth entirely as today survive—20 to 100 times as many *species*, remember, not individuals. The rock masses over which we walk every day are vast cemeteries in which lie all that is left of innumerable billions who once lived, breathed, and had their existence as we do now. These facts give a little idea of the nature and extent of the struggle which has gone on here on the earth, and whose story lies locked forever in the fossil-bearing rocks.

#### 4. How Vestigial Organs Arise.

In the struggle for life species are continually displacing each other, continually driving each other out of one set of surroundings into another set. And it is one of the results of this displacement that is the subject of this lesson; that is, vestigial organs have been caused by the displacing of species.

When a species is driven out of one set of surroundings to which it is fitted into another set different from the first, it is very likely to have some organs that are left over and not needed in the new environment. On the other hand, it will probably need some organs which it does not have. Now, it is possible for it to make over an organ which it does not need into one that it does need, somewhat as our mothers used to transform a coat which we did not need into a waistcoat or a pair of trousers which we did need. The wings of birds were formed in this way out of the forelegs of lizards. Birds have been developed from lizard-like reptiles. And in the transformation of the scaly lizard into the feathered bird the forelegs of the lizard went to form the bird's wings. The bird's wing has the same general architecture as the lizard's foreleg: humerus, ulna and radius, carpal bones, and three series of metacarpal bones. Two of the five toes of the lizard have been lost in the bird's wing.

But the transformation of superfluous organs into useful organs is the exception. As a rule, organs that are not needed go to waste.

Now, it is a law that when organs are not used they tend to disappear. Organs that do nothing are not nourished, and hence tend to fade away. Then, too, organs that are not used are not emphasized by Natural Selection. And if their uselessness continues long enough, they will not only shrivel and decay, but will finally pass out of existence entirely. There are almost numberless examples of extinction of this kind known to biologists. The disappearance of legs in snakes is an instance. Snakes have come from lizards, and originally walked on four legs. But in the struggle for life they have found it of advantage to adopt a wriggling or creeping style of locomo-

tion. The legs went out of use as a result. And this change in the life of these reptiles took place so long ago that in all but a few cases every vestige of limbs has disappeared.

But there are many instances in the animal kingdom where discarded organs still survive in a dwindling and drying-up condition. These organs, in the ancestors of the animals now possessing them, were fully developed and useful, but because of changes in habits or conditions of living, they are now of no further use, and are gradually dying out. Such organs are called Vestigial Organs.

Vestigial organs are simply organs without a job. They are organs which haven't anything to do, and which are suffering the inevitable consequences of long idleness. The amount of degeneration which any organ has undergone depends on the length of time which has elapsed since it became useless. Vestigial organs are departments which have gone out of use but which have not yet gone out of existence.

The rest of this lesson is made up, for the most part, of accounts of vestigial organs in various animals and of explanations as to how these organs came to be vestigial.

#### 5. The Eyes of Cave Fishes.

One of the best known examples of vestigial organs is found in cave fishes. Fishes ordinarily live in the light, and have eyes. But in the struggle for life certain species have been driven down into the ground. They have come up the streams flowing out of the caves—up into the uninhabited region of darkness. They found no enemies up there, and the conditions of living less severe than on the outside. And they have lived there. And they have lived there so long in that world of night that they have become blind. They have eyes, but mere vestiges, and of no use. Crickets and lizards that have lived long in total darkness have suffered the same degeneration. All inhabitants of total darkness will in time, that is, after generations, lose their eyes; not only lose their sight, but also their eyes. But the eyes will exist in a vestigial condition for a long time after they have become useless, and before they disappear entirely.

## 6. Why the Mole Is Blind.

The mole is another example of this kind. It is a mouse-like animal that lives in the ground, and makes its runways along just under the surface of lawns and gardens. The mole once lived on the surface of the ground. But in the struggle for life it has been driven down into the earth, and it has resided down there so long that it has become completely adapted to its underground life. Its front feet have become shovels, and are provided with powerful muscles for opening ways through the earth. Its nose has become sharp and sensitive and serves as a plow. Its fur is exceedingly smooth. And it is *blind*. It is commonly supposed to be without eyes. But in under the fur there are two little bead-like vestiges of eyes, the remnants of organs which it had and used when it was an inhabitant of the light of day.

## 7. The Vermiform Appendix.

In the lower right hand corner of the human abdomen is a little tube about the size of a goose-quill and two or three inches long. It is closed at one end and opens at the other into the large intestine. It is called the "appendix" for short, but its full name is the *vermiform appendix*, meaning "worm-like" appendix. In times of low vitality or impure blood this organ often becomes inflamed, and we have the disease called appendicitis.

It used to be supposed that appendicitis was caused by a grape-seed or other hard object lodging in the tube, and by irritation setting up the inflammation. This is sometimes the case, but not often. A young man told me the other day that he had had appendicitis, and that when they came to operate the surgeons found a tooth-brush bristle in the appendix. He had been brushing his teeth and had swallowed a detached bristle, and it had become stranded here and by its irritations set up disease.

But it is very seldom that anything is found in the appendix except pus produced by the inflammation. The common remedy for this disease is amputation of the diseased part, although recovery is possible without an operation by a change in the habits of life. The chief causes of human disease are over-eating,

under-exercise, and bad air. Any of these may lower the vitality enough to cause disorders of any kind. And a necessary condition for the cure of most human ailments is to acquire correct habits of eating, exercising, breathing and bathing. By improving our ways of living appendicitis may be relieved, but it usually comes back as soon as the patient relapses into his old ways of living, that is, into the ways of living which brought it on in the first place.

The appendix is a useless organ in man. We would be a great deal better off if we had been born without it. It is more than useless, for it is the seat of a dangerous disease. But in the rat, bird, monkey, and other animals it is large and a regular part of the digestive system. Food enters it, and its walls absorb nourishment and contribute digestive chemicals, the same as the stomach and intestine. In the rat it is a pouch as large as the stomach and serves as a sort of second stomach. In the bird it is double. In some of the lower ruminants it is as long as the body. And in the koala, a kangaroo-like animal, it is twice as large as the body.

But in man, for some reason, it has been abandoned as a digestive organ and is headed for extinction. Food never enters it, except by accident. There is every reason for believing that this organ will in the course of evolution pass away entirely, as has been the case with the legs of snakes and the seeds of pine-apples and bananas.

## 8. The Ear Muscles in Man.

The ear is found in all animals except some of the lowest. It is an organ which enables us to be affected by air-waves. In the fish, frog and bird there is no external part to the ear. But in the more highly perfected ears of mammals there is an external part, usually in the form of a funnel, for more effectually catching the sound-waves. There are muscles connected with these funnels for turning them this way and that in order better to receive the effect of the waves. In common with other animals, man has these ear-muscles. You sometimes see them pictured in books on muscular anatomy. But in men these muscles are

so small and weak and out of practice that they cannot be used. Occasionally there is a boy who is able to "move his ears" slightly, but not enough to serve any useful purpose.

Ear-muscles are not necessary to man. Man has conquered or exterminated the most of his animal enemies. Man's greatest enemy now is himself, and it is of no advantage to him in his battles with himself to be able to turn his ears artfully this way and that like the horse.

Funnels for catching sound are much more necessary to wild animals than to those that have been domesticated, because they live in conditions of greater danger. And in all wild animals, except the elephant, the ears stand up. But when animals are brought in by man, and put in pens and pastures, and protected from their natural enemies, they have less use for these organs. And as a consequence they go into decline. The lop-ear, which is found in certain varieties of nearly every kind of domesticated animals, even in some kinds of cats and horses, is an evidence of security and civilization. The straight ears, on the contrary, are evidence of nearness to the wild.

## 9. The Whale.

The whale, from the standpoint of evolution, is one of the most interesting animals in the world. It is not a fish, as many people still believe. It is a mammal. It belongs to the hairy crowd of animals. It breathes air by means of lungs, the same as we do. It does not live in the water, like the fish, but on the surface of the water. When it dives, it holds its breath. The whale is a warm-blooded animal. The young are born alive, and nourished during their infancy by milk secreted by the mother, the same as in all other mammals.

The whale is a land animal which was once covered with hair and walked on four legs. In the struggle for life it has been driven off into the sea, as the mole has been driven down into the ground and some fishes into caves. And it has lived out on the waters so long that it has acquired a fish-like shape, and lost all connection with the land.

The whale is like the seal, which, scientists think, was originally a bear

which has been crowded off the continent somewhat more recently than the whale, and which never comes back to the land except once a year to raise its young. Some of the seals do not come to land even to breed. In order to avoid the dangers of the shore, they give birth to their young on cakes of floating ice off in the sea. The seal still has four legs, but in the fur seal the hind legs have grown permanently out behind, one on each side of the stump-like tail, and serve as a swimming or diving organ. But it has almost lost its powers of land locomotion. The seal is perfectly at home in the water, but it can merely flounder or wriggle about on land.

The whale has lost its hind legs, and its front legs have been modified into flippers for swimming, but having the same parts and bones as our own arms—humerus, ulna and radius, carpal bones, and five series of finger bones at the end. The tail has become the great driving organ in the whale. The hind legs have hence been rendered useless, and have gone out of existence. No external remnants of hind limbs exist in whales. But internally, in the place where hind limbs would naturally be if it had any, are found two bones. They are the ruins of hind limbs. In the skeletons of the whale in museums, these bones are usually seen hanging down by two wires from the backbone in the place where hind limbs belong.

Hair is a hindrance to an animal occupied in driving itself through the water, at least it seems to have been so in the case of the whale. And the whale has lost its hairy covering. It has only a few bristles about the mouth remaining. A species of whale has recently been found in the south Pacific which has a considerable growth of hair under its chin. It is bald, but has "whiskers."

## 10. The "Toothless" Whales.

Some whales have teeth and chew their food. They are called the *toothed* whales. Others are toothless and swallow their food whole. These latter are called *whale-bone* whales, because it is from them that the so-called "whale-bone" of commerce is obtained—or was obtained before we killed off the whales and had

to go to making "whale-bone" out of feathers. The "whale-bone" is in the mouth of the whale, arranged in the form of a sieve or colander. It is a device of the whale for catching its food. The whale has a capacious mouth. And it takes in a large amount of water, together with the small fishes and other animals inhabiting it. It allows the water to strain through the colander, and the fishes are caught and swallowed.

These whales are called "toothless." But in under the gums are rudimentary teeth, which they never use—indicating that the "toothless" whales once had teeth and chewed their food like the toothed whales today. But they went into the colander business and got to swallowing their food without chewing it. The teeth went out of use, and have now almost, but not quite, gone out of existence.

The sea-cow has rudimentary nails on its flippers.

### 11. The Lizard-Bird.

Another animal of much interest from the standpoint of evolution is the bird. The bird is a feathered animal. Instead of hair and scales, its body is covered with that most wonderful of skin creations, the *feather*. For a long time it was a problem where birds had come from. They seemed to stand off alone, without any intermediate forms connecting them with any other group of animals.

But in 1861 there was found in the slate quarries of Bavaria the fossil remains of an animal which solved the problem of the relationship of the birds. And since the finding of this fossil scientists have never had any doubt that birds have come from lizards. Another fossil of the same

animal was found a few years later. One of these fossils is now in the Berlin Museum and the other is in the British Museum. The animal was a bird, because it had feathers. It has been called the *Archeopteryx*, which means "ancient bird." It was about the size of a crow. It was about as perfect a connecting link between lizards and birds as could be formed by taking a lizard and a bird and mixing them. Its bird characteristics were its feathers, its general bird shape, and its wings. But it had teeth, like the lizard, and a long vertebrated tail, with a pair of feathers extending from each vertebra. It had three fingers in its wing, all of them entirely free, and each ending in a claw, as in lizards. (There is one modern bird that still has claws on its wings—the hoazin of South America.) Its feet and legs and fingers were covered with scales. The principal feathers of the wing, instead of extending from the fingers, as in modern birds, were attached to the forearm (the ulna-radius region of the wing), and corresponded to the secondaries of living birds. It was the first rough-draft of a bird.

In the modern bird's wing there are two fingers and a vestige of a third—the "thumb." The main or primary feathers of the bird's wing are attached to the first and second fingers. The "thumb" is vestigial. It supports a small bunch of four or five feathers, called the "bastard wing." The three fingers of the modern bird's wing correspond to the three fingers (or toes) of *Archeopteryx*—only in the modern birds one finger ("thumb") has become vestigial.

The rudimentary hind toe in certain birds is also vestigial, never touching the ground.

(To be continued)





## THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

By EUGENE V. DEBS

**O**N A speaking tour in the middle and eastern states some time ago I was given the benefit of a line of free advertising from a new and unexpected source. It had all been prearranged and covered practically every point on the trip.

This advertising consisted of a hand-bill, placed on every doorstep the night before my arrival, warning the people against me as an infidel, the friend and defender of Gorky (who was denounced in the same circular as a moral leper), the champion of free love and the enemy of religion, morality and Christian life. In short, I was pictured as a monster going from place to place corrupting the morals of the people, undermining the fabric of society, blaspheming the church, reviling religion, breaking up the home,

destroying the family, and sowing the seed of violent and bloody revolution.

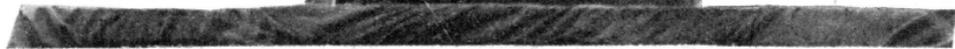
This hand-bill was signed, THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS.

It did not bear the union label.

In some places it was supplemented by a half-page advertisement in a local paper containing substantially the same matter. At several points it was still further supplemented by the priest's warning to the faithful, issued from the pulpit, to beware, as they valued their souls, of the Socialist free-lover and home-destroyer who was about to invade the city.

Of course the effect was exactly opposite that intended. Curiosity to see the monster was aroused and could not be resisted. Instead of empty chairs the house was crowded at every point.

The experiment was abandoned as sud-



denly as it was undertaken. Never since have my lectures been openly advertised by the Knights of Columbus. I am still the recipient of their knightly religious and moral attention, but covertly and in the dark, and no longer by public advertisement.

On the same trip a workingman who was at the same time a Catholic and a Socialist asked me to account for the venomous hostility of the Knights of Columbus to the Socialist movement. I did not, in answering, attack or denounce the Knights of Columbus. I shall not do so now. I did, however, put a series of questions to my questioner and let him answer them for himself, with the result that he now understands as clearly as do all well-informed Socialists, as well as all well-informed Knights of Columbus, just why the Knights of Columbus, ostensibly a social and mutual benefit association, has vaulted into the arena as the special champion of the church and religion against the alleged onslaughts of the Socialist movement.

I have had occasion to observe closely and study carefully this organization, its backers and promoters, as well as its purpose, its policy and its tactics; I have been on the trail of its agents and emissaries and could easily, were I so disposed, convict some of its leading lights of personal falsehood and slander, but I have no time for that. If they find it necessary to hurt me and help themselves in that way it is only because the truth will not serve them and I am satisfied with the compliment and willing to let it pass.

I am not going to descend to the level the Knights of Columbus found it necessary to do when it spread the report broadcast that I was a monster of meanness and depravity at a time and under circumstances when I had little or no chance to be heard in my own behalf. I am willing that it shall exhaust its entire capacity in the attempt to discredit Socialists and destroy Socialism, but I insist that it shall fly its true colors and be known to the working people for exactly what it is in its relentless warfare upon their revolutionary movement.

The vast majority of the Knights of Columbus are honest, but their minds have been methodically poisoned against

Socialism. Of their own knowledge they know, and are permitted to know, little or nothing about Socialism. They have taken the word of their "superiors" for it and hence regard Socialism as an unclean, hateful thing to be resisted as religiously as if it were led by the devil himself.

To these misinformed and misguided Catholic workingmen I wish to admit in all candor that the Knights of Columbus has a sound reason and a well-defined purpose in fighting Socialism, but that it is not because Socialism is a menace to religion, or morality, or the church, or the family, or the home. That is but the pretext, the excuse behind which lurk in the dark shadow the *real reason, the true purpose* for arousing hatred against Socialists and inciting bitter opposition to the Socialist movement.

The enemies of the human race have always persecuted reformers and resisted progress in the name of religion. The scribes and pharisees (whom He denounced as hypocrites) and who conspired to have Him crucified, accused Jesus Christ of "spreading a false religion," the same charge the Knights of Columbus are repeating today in their warfare on Socialism.

But it was not on account of His alleged attack on religion, but on account of His real attack on the robbery of the poor by the rich that He was branded as a blasphemer and crucified as a convict.

"Religion" was the excuse, the subterfuge of the money-changers, the shyllocks, the grinders of the poor then as it is today, to discredit the man and crush the movement that threaten the system in which the workers are robbed, impoverished and brutalized by the master class.

When Mark Hanna extolled the virtues of the Catholic church and declared it to be the bulwark of the future it was not because he had a particle of use for the Catholic religion, but because as a captain of industry he had a keen eye for the possibilities of the Knights of Columbus.

If the members of the Knights of Columbus, the rank and file, the common herd as they are known in "upper class" circles, will persist in having the following questions truthfully answered by those of their leaders and preceptors who

are in position to know the truth, they will no longer be deceived by their professed religious advisers and spiritual saviors, but they will understand the real reason, the sole and only reason, why their association is so desperately opposed to Socialism:

*First.* Did Mark Hanna, E. H. Harriman, John D. Rockefeller, John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., Andrew Carnegie, August Belmont, James J. Hill and other Wall street magnates and captains of industry, all Protestants, contribute financially in support of the Knights of Columbus, and to what extent?

*Second.* By whom were the bulk of the funds furnished for the building of the palatial K. of C. club houses which sprang up spontaneously all over the United States?

*Third.* How many millions of dollars is the Catholic Archbishop Ireland, boon companion of James J. Hill, the Protestant promoter, worth, and how did he acquire his great fortune?

*Fourth.* What interest has Wall street in building up and patronizing the Knights of Columbus?

*Fifth.* How does it happen that every plutocrat, every labor exploiter, every enemy of union labor, every grinder of the faces of the poor, every devourer of widows' houses and every corrupt politician in the land is a friend of the Knights of Columbus and a foe of the Socialist movement?

*Sixth.* What interests have Protestant capitalists in the "religion" of Catholic wage-slaves?

*Seventh.* Who pays the salaries and expenses of the gentlemen who travel over the country under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus to defame Socialists and warn the faithful against the Socialist movement?

*Eighth.* How does it happen that the great capitalist newspapers, owned by Protestants, are so extremely friendly to the Catholic Knights of Columbus that they give columns and columns of space to the attacks made by its speakers upon Socialists and Socialism, and laud them to the skies editorially, while at the same time they either ignore the great meetings held by Socialists or deliberately misquote and malign Socialist speakers?

*Ninth.* Do you not think it strange

that the rich who live out of your labor, who look down upon you as the low, vulgar and ignorant herd; who never associate with you or have anything in common with you, are so painfully concerned about your "religion," your "morals," and your "spiritual salvation"?

*Tenth.* Does it not seem a trifle unusual that the rich and respectable "upper class," who look down upon you as the "lower class"—the great majority of whom have no homes you can call your own—are so bitterly hostile to Socialism because it will break up your homes?

*Eleventh.* Can you account for the Knights of Columbus receiving large contributions of funds from Protestant gentlemen who, according to the Catholic religion, are heretics and therefore doomed to damnation?

*Twelfth.* Do you know of any Jew, outside of the Knights of Columbus, who turned Catholic from the sole desire to save the souls of the working class from Socialism and damnation?

*Thirteenth.* Can you think of any possible reason why Socialists, who are human beings like yourselves, would want to destroy your homes, and what they would have to gain by breaking up your families (those of you who have any), and sending your souls to purgatory?

*Fourteenth.* Have you ever paused to take notice that those who are so profoundly interested in having you lay up treasures in heaven have swiped about all the treasures on earth?

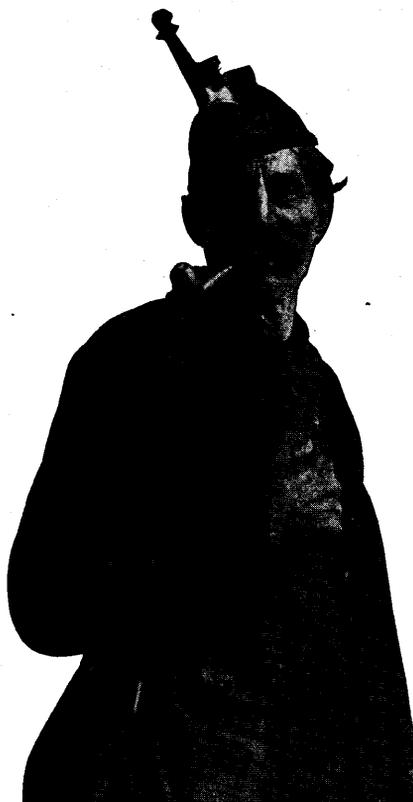
*Fifteenth.* Does it not strike you as rather remarkable that the rich war lords who declare war and have millions of you workers, Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles, white and black, fall upon and cut one another's throats—does it not seem at least a bit strange that these eminent gentlemen, all of them friends of the Knights of Columbus and all of them enemies of Socialism, should be so fearful that you workers may not get to heaven—soon enough?

Sooner or later the Catholic workingmen will know the truth and when they do they will line up, as thousands of them have already done, with all other workmen in the Socialist movement, the movement of the working class in the world-wide conflict for the destruction of wage-slavery and the emancipation of the workers of the world.

# THE REWARD OF THE MINERS

By

MARY R. ALSPAUGH



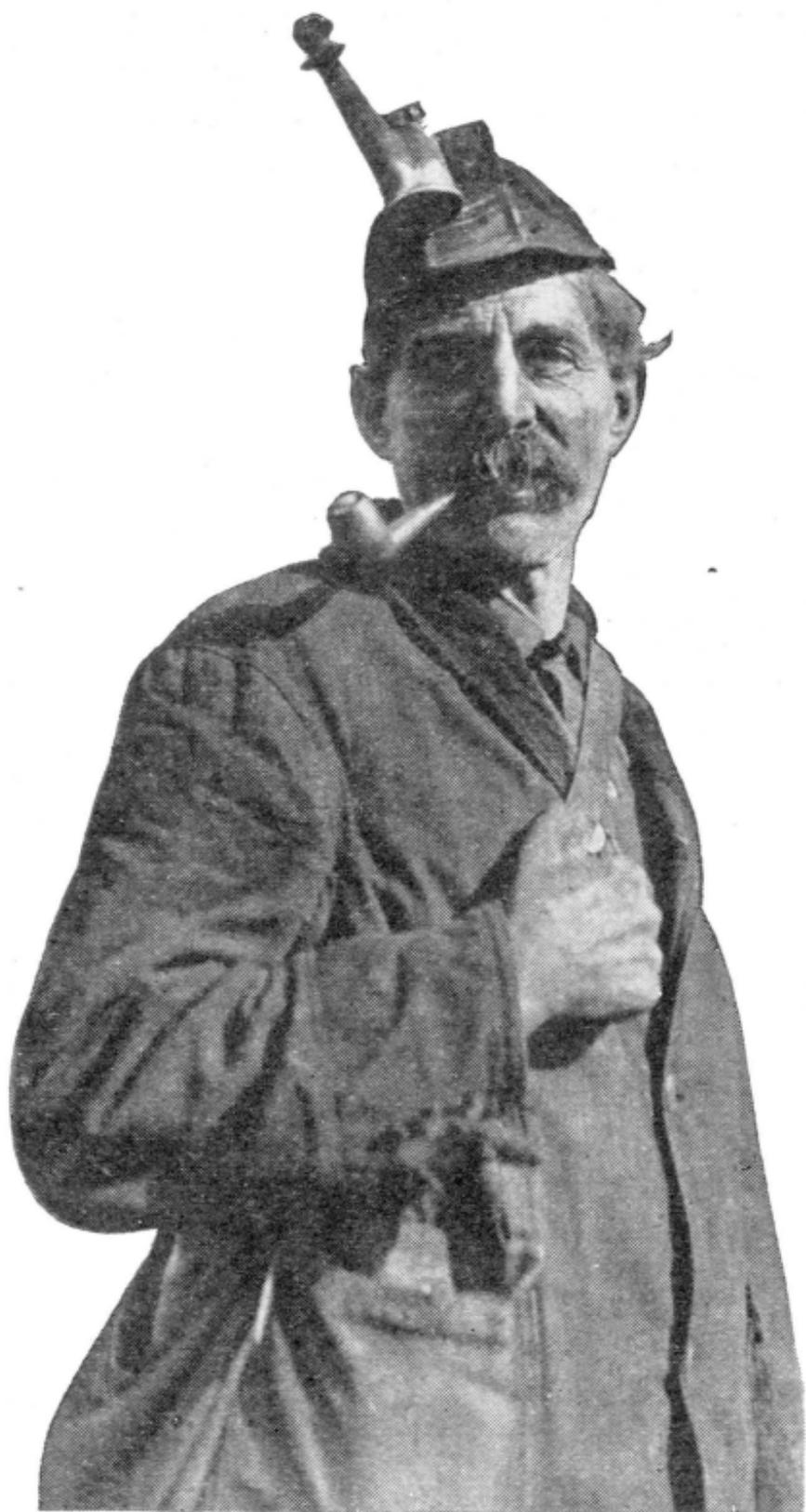
**T**ODAY the United Mine Workers of Colorado are starving in the golden West—in the “land of opportunity.” There is no bread to give the children. We have not even prison fare—not so much as bread and water. We have only water.

It is cold. The snow in my door-yard is hip-deep. We go about on skis. Last Saturday the last shred of strike relief was cut off; and only scabs and Christians are able to get work at the mines. We were left without one day's food ahead of us.

O, you United Mine Workers of America, who go into towns and call strikes and break up Socialist Locals! Is this the best you can do for your comrades who, for more than fourteen months, faced hot lead and cold steel—who kept their children out all night in

winter storms and in holes in the ground—who had their tents burned over their heads and their children cremated before their eyes in the interest of a common cause—your cause as well as ours! Is this really the best you can do by us or have you just naturally lost interest in us now that we are no longer necessary to carry on a strike? Is starvation for our children the reward you offer us for having fought a good fight? Or has your whole fund gone to pay officers' salaries?

We are curious about this, and we feel peeved. We should like to know just how our organization regards us. And we more or less respectfully make the suggestion that when a labor union is no longer able to take care of its strike victims until they can get their bearings, it might be advisable to cast about a bit in search of more progressive, up-to-date



and effectual methods of gaining our point than those now employed.

Truly, we are "The rear guard of a forlorn hope." We fight always a losing fight. We employ seventeenth century methods. When have we won a strike in recent years?

The United Mine Workers of America is afflicted with the creeping paralysis and another year will see it relegated to oblivion. There are many United Mine Workers in Colorado who will hesitate a long time before repeating the experience of 1913-1914, with only starvation awaiting them at the finish. Craft unionism has just about lost its lure for the majority of us, and one hears much talk of industrial unionism these days.

Notice the demoralized condition of the Socialist movement and the Socialist vote in every district where the craft unions have conducted a strike. The Socialist Press and the Socialist purse have ever been open to the strikers' cause since I have known of the organization. The union and the Socialists have fought as one man for the cause of labor, and always where the Socialists chanced to be in power they gave the strikers their undivided support. The Socialists are the only friends that labor has, and yet when election time has come the strikers have joined forces with the business element, the church people and the scabs—all of whom had literally stood over them day and night with drawn guns—and fought the Socialists with all the fury of beasts.

I am writing from Oak Creek, Routt County. Four miles east of this town, on the railroad, there is a little settlement called Phippsburg. It is the property of one of the coal companies operating here and persons employed at the mine live at Phippsburg. During the recent strike this town was, of course, occupied exclusively by scabs. Last fall's election returns showed that there were more Socialist votes cast in Phippsburg than in Oak Creek, although it is a smaller town and has fewer inhabitants.

We fight the boss industrially and support him politically. What operator could ask more of union people! Who ever heard of the boss voting the workers' ticket! What influence is brought to bear upon union people to cause them to act in this manner? There is a cunning

and a craftiness at the bottom of it all so fine and so finished that it compels admiration. And the pity of it all is that our people stubbornly refuse to see it or to use their own heads, but seem to have a vague idea that some time, some how, some one is going to do something for them.

In this connection one cannot refrain from thinking of Father Peter Dietz and the Catholic Church working through the A. F. of L. Of course if the A. F. of L. is controlled by an agency that is bitterly opposed to all forms of industrial and political progress we can hardly expect results to be other than they are. Personally, I have never been able to understand why a priest of any church should be allowed to sit in a labor hall. It is absurd. Verily our heads *are* "solid ivory" and twenty-five years from now people will be digging them up and using them for billiard balls and saying what a useful race of people inhabited this world in the dark ages.

And, in the mean time, please remember that we are starving. When I was a child I was taught that "whatever is, is right." So perhaps after all it is right that we *should* starve, for it means that John D. will have more to give for charity, and charity, you know, covereth a multitude of sins. The ship that carried the Rockefeller gifts of food to the stricken Belgians was wrongly named. It should have been called "The Ludlow," in commemoration of a deed that enabled John D. to give vast sums of money to charity.

If the Socialist movement harbored a man like John D. Rockefeller it would be the scorn of honest men and women everywhere, and it ought to be. Better that we should bury our children tomorrow than have them sit in Sunday-school and take council of the human hyenas acting as teachers there. But to a powerful strike-breaking agency John D. is a fitting ornament, and perhaps we should not criticise the organization for its acquisition. Rather we should feel flattered that he would scorn to become a member of our movement.

During the strike no one who valued their good name would attend church for fear of being considered a scab. The gunmen were dubbed "Boy Scouts," and the

Chamber of Commerce, "The Thugs' Alliance." Last spring one of the churches here celebrated Lincoln's birthday. This was regarded as a huge joke, and some one said, "Would not Lincoln turn over in his grave if he knew the scabs were celebrating his birthday?"

Yet despite all this, when it came time to nominate a town ticket the union people united with the Christians and business people to elect the bosses' ticket. They called it (unofficially) a United Mine Workers' ticket. Of the five candidates on the ticket three were business people, two were United Mine Workers. It would have gone through smooth as clock-work but for the fact that a mere handful of loyal Socialists, who were union people as well, had raised a horrible roar about it, and that one of the "United Mine Workers" was employed as a strike breaker before he was sworn into office. I think this was a little disconcerting to some of the union people who had called the Socialists scabs for opposing the ticket, but the enemies of humanity were equal to the occasion and played their trump card with a skill that I have never seen equaled anywhere. To the union people they said:

"Now all this is the fault of the Socialists. If the pesky Socialists had not been so all-fired contrary and so set in their ways it never would have happened. If they had been just a little bit reasonable we'd have had a Socialist ticket with one or two popular non-Socialists on it and everything would have been lovely. You can only thank them for this result." And the rank and file took it up with parrot-like intonation and sent it down the line with the speed of chain lighting: "The Socialists; they did it."

The streets were hardly wide enough for Socialists and union people to walk in at the same time. Somewhere there was a mailed fist pulling wires with a dexterity and skill that comes only of long practice. And when the fist moved, our people danced.

In all this disgraceful piece of political cunning there was no more prominent nor active figure than the school principal, formerly a minister, who occasionally conducted funeral services. I believe conditions here are typical of conditions in the labor movement all over the country and it behooves us to wake up and use what little gray matter we possess.

## RULES AND THE GAME IN WEST VIRGINIA

**T**HERE are some people simple-minded enough to imagine that in their fight to keep the workers in subjection the capitalist class is going to adhere to LEGAL conduct. They fondly hope the class that robs us on Saturday night is going to play square at the ballot box and permit us to elect our comrades and seat them in office according to the rules of the game.

But the capitalist class is not going to permit us to take anything anywhere, to gain any offices, to conquer any counties or states unless **THEY ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE THE POWER BACK OF OUR VOTE TO MAKE IT STICK.**

We want you to read the following quotations from a letter we have received from Local Star City, West Virginia,

Socialist Party. And then we want you to think over what the National Socialist Party is going to do if we are nationally disfranchised (illegally) as our comrades have been in Star City.

Are we going to calmly sit down and fold our hands and say, "Well, goodness gracious! It is all off with the revolution now!" when the capitalists refuse to seat our elected officials? If we are, we may be certain sure that the master class is going to do that very thing. They will merely throw out the socialist votes and seat their own tools. And unless we have some way of fighting back we are going to be absolutely helpless. What shall we do about it?

From Local Star Resolution:

"The overwhelming power of concentrated capital has been massed against

Local Star City S. P., and is trying to stamp out of existence the little band of revolutionary socialists banded together under the glorious crimson banner of Socialism. Whereas, the Court of Monongalia County, W. Va., has disfranchised the socialist voters by deciding that the duly elected socialist mayor, John F. Higgins, is ineligible to serve, we feel that the attack is not only on the Star City Local and the socialist voters, but that it threatens the very existence of our National Party, and is also a direct blow at the fiat of the ballot and the principle of political democracy. If this case stands the expressed will of the people as recorded at the polls will be null and void; and

"Whereas, the Russianized State of West Virginia was the first to try strikers at a military drum-head and has always been quick to set aside the law of Habeas Corpus, we believe that this latest move is but the beginning of a capitalist scheme to set aside the will of the people in elections all over the U. S.,

"Be it resolved, that the S. P. of Star City, W. Va., do hereby call upon the S. P. of the U. S. for moral support in our fight for justice. Attacked as we are on every side by corrupt capitalist powers, we call upon our comrades in the

U. S. and the world to uphold us in this fight against those who would rob us of our last political right—the ballot."

Recording Secretary Stansberry was instructed to send copies of these resolutions to the S. P. officials and papers. The resolution closes with these words:

"We earnestly solicit the advice and moral support of our national officers and the National Executive Committee and the fearless party press."

The Class Struggle is *war* and the capitalist class believes that all is fair in war as well as in peace. They are not going to tamely sit down and permit the workers to take the control of industry. We believe they will pay their soldiers to fight till the last ditch if need be. What we need is, not street barricades, nor guns, but a compact, wide-spread, ever growing working class UNION on the economic field that will enable us to paralyze industry and establish our victories.

The only way we can make an election stick is to have the industrial strength back of us to ENFORCE them.

Later—We have received word from Comrade Higgins that the State Supreme Court of Appeals has upheld the decision of Judge Sturgiss. Harold W. Houston is fighting the case for the socialists.

## THE IMPENDING CONFLICT

By SCOTT NEARING

THE student will search in vain through the annals of economic history for a situation more fraught with destructive possibilities than those now confronting the American people. The recipients of property income (derived from property ownership) and of service income (paid for the expenditure of effort) face each other and prepare for the conflict. Those who have put forth the effort declare their right to the products of that effort. Those who own property hold fast to their property and to the prerogatives which are inseparable from it.

Law, custom, and business practice have made property income a first charge on industry. There can be no considerable readjustment of income values until

the preeminent position of property is overbalanced by some social action.

The present tendency should greatly increase the total amount of property income and the proportion of property income paid with each passing decade. Land values should continue to rise as population grows denser, demand for land increases, and methods of using land are perfected. The returns to capital (the interest rate) show every indication of advancing. It certainly will not decrease in the near future.

Meanwhile the immortalization of capital proceeds apace. The day when capital could be easily dissipated has passed away. Accounting systems, insurance devices, depreciation funds, boards of directors, and trusteeships conserve capi-

tal, reduce risks, distribute dangers, and in general, provide against misadventures for which interest, at least in part, is supposed to be a recompense. When once created, capital does not disappear. Instead, every conceivable method has been devised to perpetuate it. It may even add to itself, as it frequently does, when earnings, instead of being used for the payment of dividends, are reinvested and turned directly into new capital.

The workers, meanwhile, are living, for the most part, a hand-to-mouth existence, successful if they are able to maintain health and keep up appearances. Against the value of the products which their energy creates, is charged the property incomes for which the labor of someone must pay. Today the producers of wealth are saddled with an enormous property income charge, which increases with each passing year—increases far faster than the increase in the population—and which, from its very nature, cannot be reduced, but must be constantly augmented.

Were there no protest from the producers of wealth, the future for capital would indeed be a bright one. With increasing stability, increasing safety, decreasing risks, an increasing interest rate, and increasing land values, the property owners might face a future of unalloyed hopefulness.

Fortunately, no such situation exists. On the contrary, there is every indication that, with the passing years, the producers of wealth will file a protest of ever increasing volume against an economic system which automatically gives to those who already have.

While the spirit of protest grows in intensity, the form remains a matter which future years alone may determine. An appeal to the available facts leads to the conclusion that the most effective protest the producers can make will be based on a clear recognition of the distinction between service income and property income. Shall the economic world decide that only those who expend effort shall share in the wealth which is the result of that effort? Shall the economic world decide that each person expending effort is entitled to all the value for which his effort is responsible—no more and no less? Shall the economic

world set its stamp of approval on effort, and its stamp of disapproval on parasitism, by turning the income from activity into the hands of workers, and denying income to all others? Has the time arrived when a few may no longer live in idleness upon the products created by those who give their lives to labor? Shall not the social blessing be bestowed upon those who labor and the social curse be hurled upon the idler and the wastrel? Lo! these many years has mankind looked forward to a day when economic justice could prevail. Is not this the day and this new century the seed-ground for this new idea?

Who shall say? Who but those who carry the burden of production, and are bound by the bonds of economic necessity to the tread-mill of toil?

Could the remainder of the world view life as the worker is forced to view it, could the favored few look upon life through the same medium of discipline and stern necessity which surrounds the worker, there would be but one answer. Few, indeed, are they who are sincerely convinced that justice is fulfilled where the many labor and the few enjoy. Few, even among that favored few, can face the facts unmoved.

During these dawning years of the twentieth century, where so many questions have been answered, in part, and where so many issues have been raised and laid to rest again, men and women innumerable in every walk of life have awakened to a new realization of the realities of life. Great and small, they have been turned aside from the false gods of their youthful training to a better understanding of their obligations to mankind, chief among which stands the obligation of creating an economic world in which he who expends effort shall be rewarded, while he who is unwilling to enter the workshop of life shall receive but the barest subsistence which will hold life intact. What other message save this one can the producers of wealth dispatch to the recipients of property income? The human race must finally learn "the immorality and practical inexpediency of seeking to acquire wealth by winning it from another rather than by earning it by some sort of service to one's fellow men."—University of Pennsylvania.



# THE COCOANUT IN THE PHILIPPINES

By MARION WRIGHT

**T**HE poor of the human race—and they are many, indeed—would indeed be left to the yellow fangs of famine if the palm tree should become extinct. There are hundreds of varieties of palms, and all of them are useful in a way that may be utilized by the poor. We may class dates and pineapples as luxuries coming from the palm tree, but the cocoanut is a dire necessity—it is the staff of life to millions.

Medical men will tell you that if the druggist were to banish from his shelves all the medicines derived from coal tar and opium the corner drug store would be practically empty except for the "side issues" carried to be sold. Similarly, if the cocoanut and its products were banished from the Philippines, the home of the native would be stripped clean. He would have no roof over his head; no mat under his feet; no cup for his drink—in fact, no drink—and his bill of fare would be restricted to rice and fish. The cocoanut is the most valuable tree in the world, supporting as it does many millions of human beings in all tropical countries besides the uses to which its products are put by the people of civilized countries.

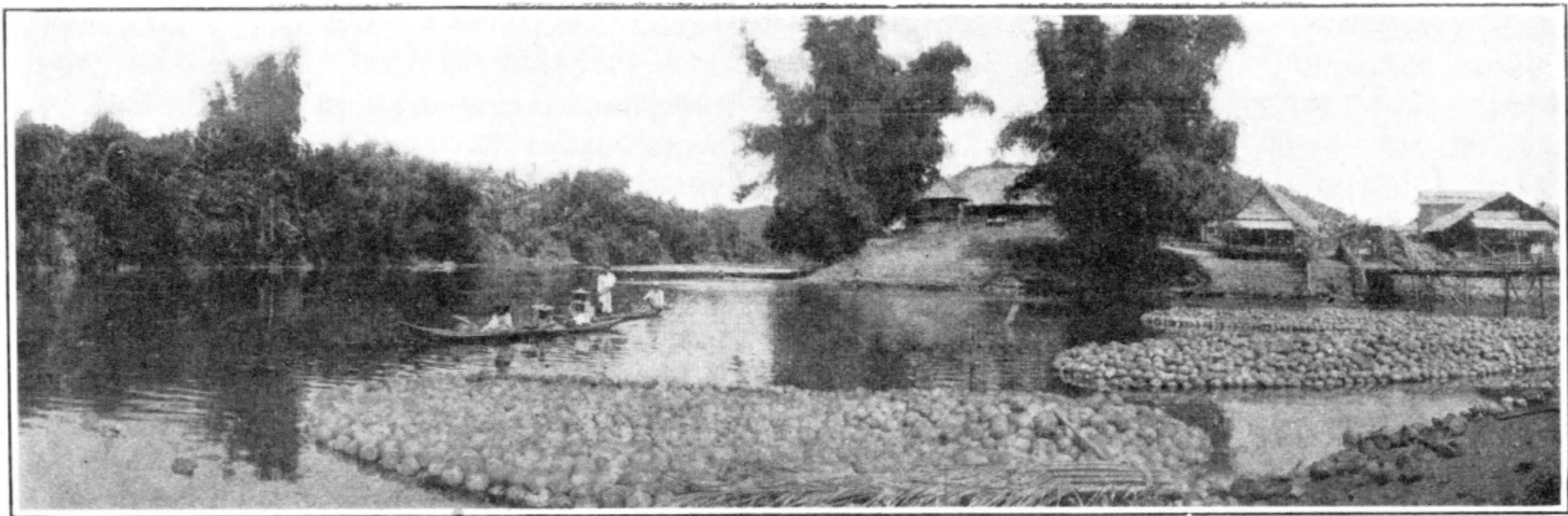
Every child has seen pictures of the royal cocoanut palm and has wondered at the big brown nuts piled up at the

corner grocery, but how many, even among the grownups, know anything worth while about the nut—where and how it grows, and the manifold uses to which the tree and its products may be adapted for the well being of mankind? One of the greatest cocoanut countries in the world belongs to the United States, the Philippines.

Already the American capitalist is grabbing up the rich lands adapted to the growth of the nut and pushing the native with his few trees into the background. Before many years—just as the rich sugar lands were taken from the Hawaiians—no Filipino of the working class will own a tree, but he will tend the trees of the capitalist and receive enough fruit for his labor to enable him to exist.

Cocoanut trees begin to bear from seven to ten years after planting and continue to bear indefinitely. Groves known to be more than one hundred and fifty years old are still producing. Thus the expense to the exploiter of these lands is in maintaining the grove for seven years and then the profits begin to roll in and the profits never cease during his lifetime or that of his grandchildren.

There is no harvest season in the tropics. The trees bear all the time and the nuts are gathered every three or four months. Nimble naked men scamper up



the long trunks with knives in their teeth and cut the nuts from the tree. The nuts are sent to market by sled, cart or packhorse, and sometimes are made into big rafts along a river and floated down to the sea.

To begin at the top of the tree, the native uses the leaves to roof his hut and obtains fibre from the stems to make hats, baskets, brooms and mats. When the tree begins to flower he taps the blossoms and obtains a sap called *tuba* from which he distils cocoa wine and another intoxicating drink. This gathering of the sap destroys the nut, but as there have been plenty of trees the native finds enough for both his drink and his food.

From the matured nut the Filipino drinks the rich milk and eats the soft white meat, both excellent articles of food. And let it be recorded here that a cocoanut just off the tree is vastly different in quality from the dried specimen you pay a dime for at home. The milk of the fresh nut is thicker and sweeter and the meat is much thicker and softer and more palatable than that obtained

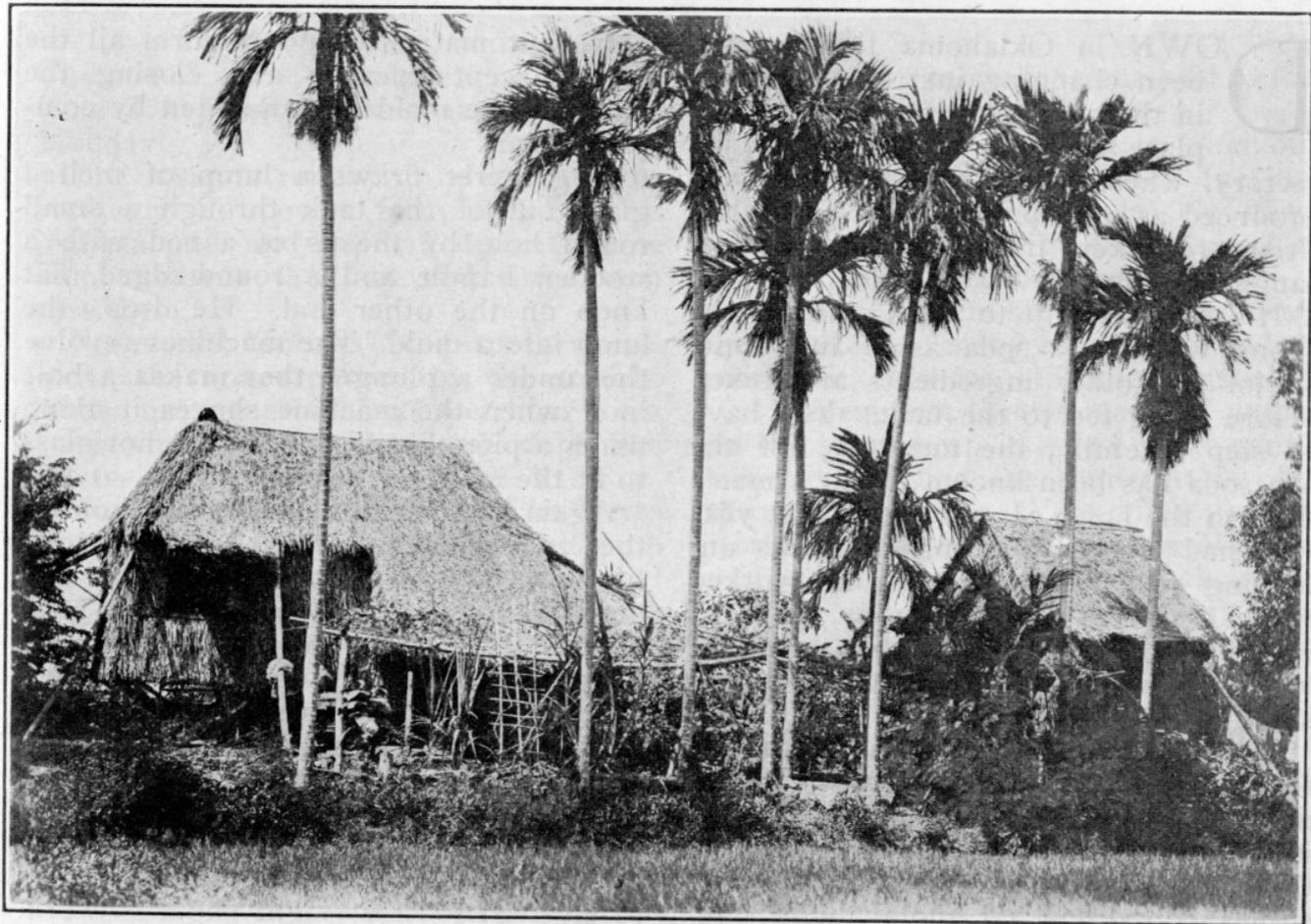
from the nut after it has been shipped across the sea and stored for months in warehouses. From the *coir*, a tough fibrous jacket two or three inches thick which covers the nut, matting and cordage is made. And the shell is made into cups, ladles, bowls, spoons and useful articles of every description.

The white man gets far more out of the cocoanut than does the native. He converts the milk into fine vinegar; produces excellent charcoal by burning the shell; manufactures brushes, brooms, caulking and cordage from the fiber, and makes his big profit from the copra, or dried meat.

In the manufacture of copra the nuts are husked and cut in halves and dried in the sun until the meat can be easily removed. This dried meat is then sacked like potatoes and sent to market. It gives off a very offensive, oily odor, and anyone familiar with the San Francisco water front knows the smell of a copra ship. The copra is sent chiefly to France and San Francisco. The French city of Marseilles has many factories for extract-



COCOANUT PALMS.



COCOANUT PALMS.

ing the oil from the copra and refining it into various bases to be used in making fine soaps, face creams and proprietary articles. A great deal of the oil is shipped to Denmark, where it is converted into cocoa-butter, used extensively for medicinal purposes and also as a food.

Husking cocoanuts is an art. It has been said that a white man would starve to death in a cocoanut grove for the reason that he would be unable to get the husk off the nut. It would certainly take many hours' patient work with a strong pocket knife to overcome the tough fibers. In fact, they are hard to cut even with a heavy knife. The native cuts down a green sapling about as big as one's wrist with his bolo or head knife, drives a piece about three feet long into the ground with a club, leaving a foot exposed. He sharpens this end with his

knife and, swinging the nut above his head, brings it down hard on the pointed stake. This rips a seam in the husk and he inserts the stick again and works it around until the fiber is torn so that the nut drops out. He can then hold the nut in one hand and with one sweep of his big knife take the top off neatly without spilling the milk.

If the wonderfully rich resources of the Philippines could be socialized and its wealth of fine hard-woods, hemp, tobacco and cocoanuts utilized for all the people, each and every one of its inhabitants would be what is known in this country as "well off." Only Socialism will prevent the Filipino going the way of his Hawaiian cousin, robbed of his land and his right to make a living except on the hard terms of his plutocratic masters.

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## MAKING FRUIT JARS

By ORAN BURK

**D**OWN in Oklahoma things have been changing just as they have in the old capitalist East. In one place there is a glass fruit jar factory, where sweat shop workers are produced as a by-product and little children are taken from the schools and taught to labor.

It is interesting to visit the batch-room, where the soda ash, sand, lime, vitriol and other ingredients are mixed before being fed to the tank. You have to step carefully, the men say, for the ash soda has been known to eat a man's flesh to the bone. I saw a man last year who had worked a couple of weeks unloading soda ash. One day he worked while the wind blew the soda ash back into his face. He looked like a corpse when I saw him and did not recover for some time. These men get \$2.00 a day.

The tank into which this mixture is fed is fired by natural gas from gas wells near Sapulpa. The compound is shoveled into the tank by hand. From the tank the white hot mixture is run off into machines containing jar molds, which re-

volve automatically and perform all the work except opening and closing the molds. The molds are operated by compressed air.

A gatherer draws a lump of melted glass out of the tank through a small round hole by means of a rod with a wooden handle and a round-edged, flat knob on the other end. He drops the lump into a mold. The machines revolve this under a plunger that makes a hole in it when the machine shoves it along under a pipe that blows out the hot glass to fit the mold.

Again the machine pushes the mold to the "turn-out" boy, who opens the mold, lifts the jar out with an iron fork and deposits it on a carrying pan. As soon as the jars have partially cooled they are again transferred, by boys, to an endless chain moving table that bears them through a gas fire and out to the cooler air, thus tempering them so they will not break easily.

The gatherers are paid 18 cts. per 100 jars and the "turn-out" boys and carriers receive \$1.50 for eight hours' work.



AUTOMATIC MACHINES AND THE TENDERS.

These automatic machines never stop from 3:00 p. m. Saturday to 7:00 a. m. Monday.

The layer is run by an electric motor receiving its power from the Sapulpa plant a mile and one-half distant. One man removes the jars and three men sort them.

From the "sorters" the truckers remove the boxes packed by the sorters. These men receive 17 cts. per hour for a twelve-hour day. There are only two shifts—night and day.

The box-makers are girls. The boxes are shipped flat and joined and made up by them. They receive 3 cts. a hundred for pasting on bottoms and making the body of the boxes.

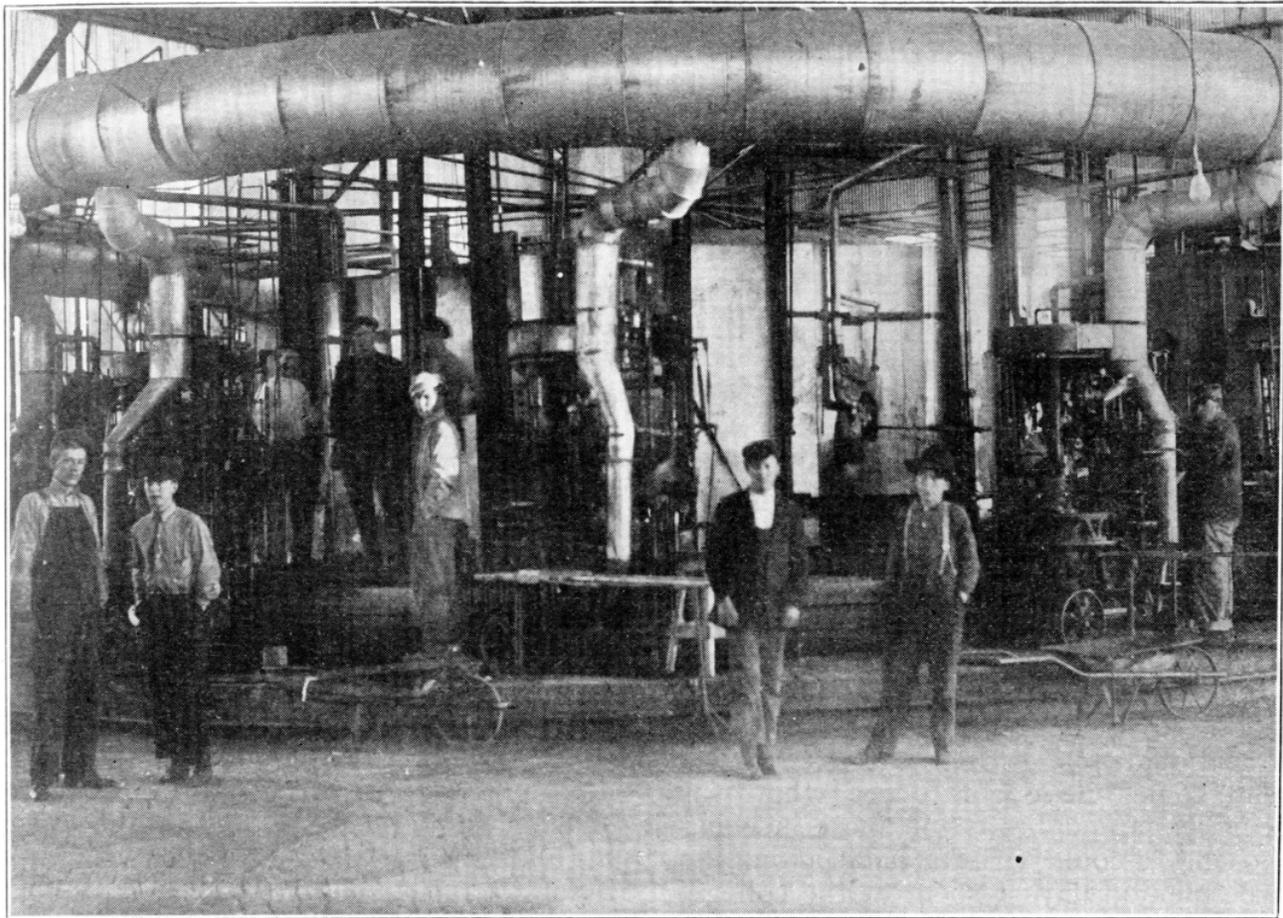
After the jars are put into the boxes, which have separate compartments for each vessel, they are sent to the capping department.

The Oklahoma law is supposed to prohibit boys and girls under sixteen from working in factories, but here, as elsewhere, the law is only used when con-

venient to the capitalist class, and evaded at other times.

The manufacturers come to Oklahoma because they can get cheaper fuel and cheaper labor power than elsewhere. Here no concern is given the working human beings, neither men, women or children. They are burned out, or burned up, just like so many feet of gas, and the market is, thus far, still unexhausted.

A system that throws men and women on the scrap heap in a few years cannot long endure, and the sooner it is overthrown the better. Year after year the working class mothers bear weaker and weaker children, until now thousands of the Southern children are dying every year from pellagra, the new Poverty Disease—the disease that comes from INSUFFICIENT nourishment, or from misproportioned rations. Doomed to early deaths are the children of the South, and doomed to be born into a world that cares only to exploit them. Meanwhile Margaret Sanger goes to jail for teaching mothers how to prevent conception.



AUTOMATIC MACHINES AND THE TENDERS.



Administration Building

# THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

By

LESLIE H. MARCY

**A** SOCIALIST dream is coming true at Ft. Scott, Kansas—the dream of a working class college is becoming a reality.

The loyal comrades who are on the educational job invited the REVIEW to send some one down to see what was being done and I was fortunate in being chosen. I could write a book about the two splendid days I spent at the college, but will have to confine myself this month to a couple of pages.

From time to time you have read in the REVIEW of the splendid work the Central Labor College is doing in England, and we also know the great educational work which has been carried on by our German comrades through the Socialist Party schools. In England the College is now receiving substantial support from the powerful miners' and railwaymen's unions. In Germany, particularly in Berlin, every trade union is entitled to one student in the Party Schools. All the student's expenses are paid, and if he is a married man, his family is taken care of. The result is the party schools have turned out hundreds of trained speakers and writers, and broadened the minds of thousands of workers.

We have often dreamed of doing the same thing in this country, but it remained for our Fort Scott comrades to put the big idea to work on this side of the world. Comrade J. E. Shepard, the secretary of the college, saw the possibilities ahead along this line while conducting the Appeal Law Classes. He interested Comrade Arthur LeSueur in

the idea and soon a little group of socialists were laying plans which culminated in the People's College.

They early realized the fact that every worker has a little time and a little money with which to educate himself; but because he is tied up to a job it is necessary for the school to go to him or to her, and they began to investigate the correspondence schools throughout the country, of which they found there were over a thousand. This fact alone demonstrated the practicability of teaching by mail. They also discovered that capitalists had found many of these correspondence schools were good investments. Not only in a money-making way, but through the control of these educational schools they were able to instil into the minds of the workers the old ambition to ride on somebody else's back, at the same time developing in them a slave psychology which made them absolutely submissive to the boss when they got on the job.

Both Comrades Shepard and LeSueur were educated in the school of Hard Knocks, and therefore they recognized the necessity of beginning at the bottom by teaching reading, writing and spelling.

After looking over several hundred courses in English they could not find what was wanted and therefore they built up an English course of their own. They were fortunate in securing the services of Marian Wharton, of the University of Chicago, to work up the course, and hundreds of students are today enrolled in



Administration Building

the department of plain English. The price for the course, \$18.50, made in monthly payments, is within the reach of every worker; whereas other correspondence schools charge from \$40.00 to \$60.00 for a much inferior course of instruction along this line.

The law course is the result of years of experience of both Comrades Shepard and LeSueur in the practice of law. They recognize the fact that as the class struggle becomes more intense the need for workers legally trained steadily increases. There are good Socialists now behind the stone walls in various States serving long sentences because they were unable to secure the services of a competent working-class lawyer. A three years' course is given for \$97.00, payable monthly, and both Comrades Shepard and LeSueur give the papers their personal supervision. Hundreds of students are now enrolled.

A course in public speaking as well as shorthand and typewriting are also offered and the demand for courses along other lines of work will be supplied as soon as competent teachers can be secured to produce them.

I looked over hundreds of letters from young men and women who are eager to broaden their lives by securing a better education. I will quote one:

"The Peoples College, Ft. Scott, Kans.

"Dear Comrades:

"Please send me circulars containing the particulars of your college. I am one of the Socialist factory girls of this city and was obliged to quit high school and go to work to help support the family. I am anxious to get a better education so that I may be of future use to the girls of my class. Signed R. R. Ft. Wayne, Indiana."

Our comrades recognize that there are also many workers who cannot secure an education in any other way than by working their way through, so a residence college is to be established. An

option has been secured on two thousand acres of land, beautifully located in the suburbs of Fort Scott, and buildings are going up as fast as money, brains and hands co-operate.

This land contains coal, lime and clay and there will be work for hundreds of students in putting up the buildings. Vocational training will be taken up as soon as the residence college is in working order.

In the May number of the REVIEW I hope to tell you more about our college, its magazine, the People's College News, the open forums which are being organized, and of the work that is being done in establishing circulating libraries. I cannot close this article without giving you the credo of the college, which sums up the ideas and aspirations of our comrades who have taken up the big task of educating the worker while he is on the job.

#### WE BELIEVE

In the right of every man and woman to live and know the joy of living; to work with hand and brain and find joy in the doing; to possess in peace the fruits of their labor.

We believe in the boys and girls, the men and women of a great tomorrow and in their right to laughter, to love, to growth in full freedom and happiness.

We believe in education as the open door to life, as the foundation stone of progress, democracy, freedom.

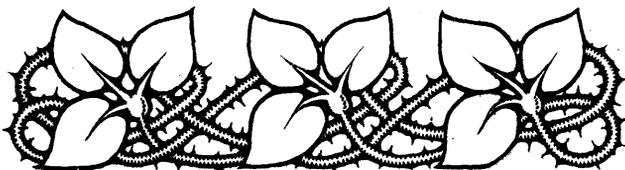
We believe in education free from bondage to superstition or tradition, free from Theocracy, Aristocracy, or Plutocracy, free to teach the TRUTH.

We believe in education whose keynote is service not profit, the education which will herald the day when there shall be no exploiter and no exploited, no master and no slave, but only free men—only one great class—the workers of the world.

We believe in the right of every man, every woman, every child to this education, which will mean equal opportunity to all, which will open the door to life, complete, free, joyous.

"TO REMAIN IGNORANT IS TO REMAIN A SLAVE."

"FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS—BY THE WORKERS."



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By FRANK BOHN

**T**HIS is now the most discussed subject in school circles. What should the schools do toward making the child a worker, toward developing his "efficiency?" We can understand the subject only by approaching it from the point of view of the history of education and especially the history of our American public schools. It would be a very great error to conceive that educational systems have in the past been founded by ruling classes for the sole purpose of maintaining and developing their power over subject classes.

The first public schools for peasants and working people were established by the absolute monarchs of Prussia. The cause lay as much as anything else in that dogma of Protestantism that the free will required that each should read the Bible for himself. This view was emphasized more by Puritanism than by Lutheranism and led to the foundation of the public school system of New England, under the Puritanic theocracy. Yet, naturally enough, class interest has been the greatest force in the upbuilding of the public school system of America.

When the agricultural democracy established its power in the frontier states west of the Allegheny mountains, they introduced universal suffrage. For once on earth the spade and hoe took the place of sceptre and the sabre. It was the theory of the frontier that good citizenship required at least a modicum of education. When, a generation later, under the influences of the first labor movement and the Jacksonian democracy, the working class of the middle eastern states fought for political enfranchisement, they demanded free public schools as well. Even today it is the theory of the average old-fashioned bourgeois that the worker should have just enough education to make him a "good citizen." That is, he should learn to read and write and learn to remain silent in public meetings while

lawyers and politicians tell him how to vote.

The progressive bourgeois, however, has brought forth a totally new view of education. This is now being developed in detail and discussed from every angle in scores of books and magazine articles. The child should be made more "useful"—that is, useful to his employer. He should spend less time at books and more in learning how to handle tools. Girls should be taught how to cook economically, to the end that the worker's grocery bill may be kept within the limits of his weekly wage. The schools, in short, should be turned into workshops and the capitalists saved the trouble and expense of producing skilled workers through private effort.

This is the argument, open or covert, of the bourgeois advocate of extensive manual training in the schools. It has naturally followed the tremendous industrial development which has marked the past generation. The capitalists of the United States are now girding on their armor for their greatest conflict—that with Germany, England and Japan for the conquest of the open markets of the world. Our victories thus far have been won much more through the possession of colossal quantities of cheap raw material than through any large knowledge or degree of adaptability on the part of either our capitalists or workers. So our factories and offices are hungry for cheap brains—young brains from the middle class, trained in the great technical schools of our universities, and young brains from the working class, developed in the technical departments of our high schools and grammar schools.

## Two Sides to Manual Training

Right here let us go slow and not be misled into hating something simply because the capitalist loves it. That is a mistake which Socialists make only too

often. I recall once discussing the matter of manual training with the head of that department in one of our most distinguished state normal schools. I was then much opposed to the increase of the manual training courses and placed the conventional Socialist and labor union argument squarely before her. The reply she made to me was something like this: "Our public arguments in this matter are purely Machiavellian. We tell the capitalists and the school boards that industry will greatly profit by manual training in the schools. The hard-headed parent of any social class likes to think that his child is learning how to work and will thus be able to make a living when he leaves the school. So we never have any difficulty in getting appropriations. But, as a matter of fact, our courses are developed for a totally different purpose. Manual training is a part of the necessary education of a child to the end that his brain may develop. You must educate the hand or the mind will lag. For instance, we teach girls how to use a hand saw and make a straight cut through a board. We don't expect them to become carpenters, but we do know that they will learn their lessons in language and arithmetic better, and in half the time, after having done manual training work."

This latter argument is undoubtedly correct. The country boy uses saw and hammer and spade and axe. It is because the city boy lacks the opportunity to apply himself to these processes that he so often lags behind physically and mentally. The use of tools is a form of delightful play for most children which should not be denied them. Of course, this work should not be conducted to the neglect of training in language and pure science. But the argument against it results largely from the fear of the skilled mechanic that he will have too many applicants for membership in his union. Let the member of the job trust not be unduly alarmed. Our manual training departments so far have not turned out many candidates for real jobs. Whether or not they do so in the future they should be retained and developed by Socialist teachers and school boards as an essential feature of modern education.

### School Extension

Progressive educators are everywhere developing the movement for the use of school buildings on evenings, holidays and Sundays. Moving picture entertainments are being furnished free. Our excellent school auditoriums are being thrown open for public lectures of all kinds. The school center is being organized in many cities, the leader of which is Rochester, New York. This movement is bound to develop in every community and the Socialist party should everywhere seek to urge it forward as rapidly as possible and make it serve the ends of sound working class education. With the coming of the eight hour day, young working people will wish to continue their studies after they leave school. At present the evening courses, like the high schools and universities, are being perverted toward the production of an army of Socially worthless and largely unemployed professionals. The watchword of the new higher education in school extension work should be "education for the worker on the job." Let the unskilled proletariat be given instruction in French, German and Italian literature, in history, government and economics, in pure science and the fine arts. What nonsense for the young boiler-maker to go to a night school and employ his free time in learning to make more and better boilers when he should be reading Plato's Republic and learning to play the violin.

This thought suggests the ultimate of our Socialist attitude toward education. "EDUCATION IS NOT A PREPARATION FOR LIFE; EDUCATION IS LIFE ITSELF." AS the time allotted to labor grows less and less and thus the time for leisure increases, our schools will grow and grow and grow. Municipal theaters, gymnasia, playgrounds, bath-houses, music halls and art galleries will eventually be placed under the direction of school committees. Everybody will be going to school throughout life.

Only with such an ideal of public education can a Socialist school teacher or board member today perform his full duty to the working class.

# THE LOVE STORY OF THE TAPE WORM

By WILHELM BOELSCHE

Being an Extract of "Liebesleben in der Natur" Translated by Rheanivea Dredenov

THE tapeworm is a most troublesome fellow if he happens to be an inhabitant of our bowels. He is one of the worst parasites of our body, which, together with his field of action in the intestines gives him the character of loathsomeness.

However, from the standpoint of the naturalist, the tapeworm is one of the most interesting creatures, and little less than a wonder. There are three different species, one becomes ten feet long, the other one twenty-five feet, while the longest one attains a length of about forty feet. Their way of propagation is also somewhat variant. In order to take away some of the repulsiveness of our friend, just think that from his viewpoint you have not "missed your calling," but that you have yielded to him a homestead in your intestines. So as long as it is a question of your tapeworm there should be for you less distastefulness about it. Like everything alive, the tapeworm must live before he loves. Now let us see how he gets his living.

Imagine you are in a chemical factory, where the work is going on at full capacity. There are laboratories where the material is being analyzed, formed and shifted. The raw material, right after coming through the entrance of the factory, passes first through a mill, where it is cut and crushed and ground; at the same time it is thoroughly mixed with a liquid and shifted down through an elevator into a large storage room (your stomach). Here the chemicals are more or less prepared for further elaboration and the material is transported further down through an elevator into other galleries.

Large retorts are working here, where the chemicals are sifted, separated, analyzed and transformed. The worth-

less part is taken aside and thrown into a deep shaft. The remainder is being transformed and distilled until it is absorbed by ingenious pumps in the main pipe line of the establishment as purest extract. In this extensive pipe line system circulates a wonderful red fluid in fixed rhythm.

This fluid is your blood. Through the chemical and mechanical work in the laboratories of the bowels the food has been distilled into pure nutritive extract. This extract joins the circulation of the blood, where it fulfills its purpose as fuel and motor force in the larger engineering establishment, of which the bowels form only a part. But the most astounding part of this factory is that it seems to run entirely automatically, not even light is required.

In this large factory the tapeworm has smuggled himself. Like a small competitor he has clandestinely connected his little motor with the powerful engine of the factory. He whistles at the old saying that he who does not work shall not eat, and represents an ideal type of workless parasitism. Everything is done for him. He does not even take up the food with his mouth—in fact he has none. As the human intestinal system prepares the food extract for him, he lacks also stomach and bowels, and absorbs everything he needs through the surface of his body. In many cases the blind passenger is never noticed. Only occasionally does it occur that the manager (brain) of some factory finds out a mysterious deficit in the balance between the supply of raw material and the actual benefit in blood strength, so his presence is traced by figures. In the meantime, vigorous and well-fed and free of all sorrows, the tapeworm undertakes with matchless energy the fulfillment of the mission of his life through love.

Here is a description as to what a tapeworm looks like: First, the so-called head, with a kind of a hook, by means of which he gets a firm hold, and the sucking cups, which are usually taken for eyes. Then comes an endless chain of so-called links, which only gives to the whole combination the appearance of a worm. These links are smaller near the head, while they grow larger and wider towards the end; they are pretty loosely connected and detach themselves very easily.

Now let us scrutinize this "worm" with a scientific eye. What is supposed to be the head and neck is already a complete outgrown tapeworm, a true type of the class of the so-called "flat worms." In the system of the worm family these stand much below their well-known representatives, namely, the rain worm and the leech. The tapeworm shows a tiny beginning of a brain and a concentrated system of nerves; however, he is without ears and eyes. But how does the tapeworm spread? There are no sexual organs—not a trace of them.

Which means to say that your strange, unwelcome guest is neither a male nor a female, not even a hermaphrodite, who is said to have embodied both. And yet watch him. He just has had a decent meal and feels himself fit to proceed.

Right behind the apparent neck, which is in reality the rear end of the body of the whole tapeworm, starts to grow out a young creature. It grows like a bud out of a plant, without any special act to this effect, and like a bud it does not detach itself from the parent body. The connection is not even interrupted when a new bud develops between the bud and the body, it simply looks as if a new link had been added. It doesn't last long and the chain grows again, and if you happen to be a good boarding house the love energies of the tapeworm turn out to be inexhaustible. Bud after bud thrives out of the parent worm, and link by link is added to the long chain of tapeworm youngsters and seems to become endless. Instead of the one original tapeworm the chemical factory of your intestines

is lodging a huge family of them. But now comes the most interesting thing.

These worm kids which come into existence in the described way, are not like the parent worm. They have their nerves and certain remnants of organs; they absorb the food extract—in short, are so far regular tapeworms. But outside of this, they possess complete sexual organs—indeed, both male and female organs in one and the same body. Each young one generates his own sperm, which can be transferred by means of an extensible limb, and besides has an ovary provided with a sheath, behind which the eggs are lying ready. So while the original tapeworm is still busy in turning out bud after bud, his offspring are already in love with each other. However, they do not actuate their love through "budding," but do it in the superior way. Every member of this large family is male and female in the same individual.

Two neighbors form a pair and they unite in a crosswise manner so that their family tree does not die out. One fertilizes the eggs of the other and in turn offers the female to the male of the neighbor for the same purpose. Like in all hermaphroditic cases, self-fertilization seems to be the exception.

Sooner or later after due fructification the eggs are enclosed in strong shells. The number of eggs produced in such a love affair is tremendous. For instance, the "broad tapeworm" has a chain of double-sexed youngsters forty feet in length, or about four thousand in number. Each of these produces about 50,000 regular fertilized eggs, which means in all, two hundred million grandchildren of this tough crowd.

Once the eggs are ready to be shifted, the days of the second generation are counted. It is physically impossible for the chain keeps on growing indefinitely. Although the original tapeworm may remain as long as ten or fifteen years, the ends detach themselves from time to time. The members concerned, together with the waste of the chemical factory is thrown way down into a deep shaft where it is awfully dark \* \* \* \* and finally leave the whole establishment. They die now and leave their eggs as the only sign of their existence.

The eggs can have different fates, but

a good number of them find their way home. Sometimes they are transported into the open field, sometimes they go down the river into the blue ocean, and another time they make a short cut into the warm stomach of a hog. The eggs that come to the field are fed occasionally to a cow between the grass or cabbage leaves. Those in the water have burst their shell and are swimming freely about and are waiting to be swallowed by a fish.

In every case the little embryo knows exactly what to do. Those still in the egg are freed by the acids of the hog's or cow's stomach. By means of their hooks they pierce the wall of the stomach and penetrate into the best part of the animal's muscle flesh. Here they throw off the hook and develop into a fat bladder of the thickness of a bean; gradually they envelope themselves in a strong shell. In this state they are commonly called bladder-worm and are seldom taken for a tapeworm in disguise.

The bladder-worm seems now to be condemned to inactivity. Being sexless, he cannot do any mischief in this direction, nor can he leave the new boarding house by his own will. But after a little while new mysterious life begins.

Out of the bladder-worm grows out like a bud, a tiny little head and neck, which is nothing else but a regular tapeworm in miniature. Some species develop hundreds and even thousands of these babes.

Now the situation is singular enough. The tapeworm kindergarten is well packed in the muscle flesh of the cow or hog or the fish. How can they get out? But they are not in a hurry and can bide their time. The day comes when the cow and hog are led to the slaughterhouse and the pike goes into the net. It is easy now to imagine how the tiny babe reaches the human stomach. But if a single one should gain yours, then you'll have twins and the second edition of our love story begins.

Now, don't worry and think that one tapeworm produces two hundred million young ones. He does not seem to be increasing, and it may be said that each tapeworm creates practically only one new one which survives.

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\*NOTE—Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have published English translations of William Boelsche's "Evolution of Man" and "The Triumph of Life," in cloth; 50c each.

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## PLENTY OF JOBS!

One day last week a fat, greasy, overfed individual, wearing those quack-doctor side whiskers that make a man look as though he were peeking through the sage-brush, sauntered into the office of the REVIEW to Let His Light Shine for a few moments.

He said there were some good things about us socialists, and that if the workmen would submit to be "guided" by men of a higher intellectual order, we might hope to persuade such men to accept office and pilot the good ships of Industry into a safe harbor.

But there was one point upon which he insisted, we would have to change our

minds. There were not enough jobs to go around in the world and there never were going to be, so it would be necessary for the socialists to inaugurate some world-wide charitable organizations if they ever hoped to "settle the world's problems." In fact, according to his view, "the broad view," the chief function of socialism ought to be "Charity work."

And this reminds us of a short communication which we received some time ago from a Chicago workingman, S. B. Davidson, entitled "Work for the Eight Hour Day." Some of the things Comrade Davidson says are so good an answer to our would-be side-whiskered

Saviour, that we are going to try to give them here. When it comes to mental illumination, Comrade Davidson's advice is like a metropolitan electric light plant set upon the top of a high hill, beside which our "charity" friend looks like a fire-fly in comparison. It goes a long way toward establishing our faith in working class ability to save the working class.

You may line up college and professional brains beside the most ordinary day laborer when it comes to solving the problems of the unemployed or shedding some light on how to abolish the wages system, and you will nearly always find our professional friends piffing away over some minor phase, while the hard-handed, rough-neck lays his finger on the cause of the trouble.

If you want to know how utterly bankrupt the capitalist class is both in brains and efficiency, you want to read what our high-browed statesmen have had to say on the problem of unemployment. One and all have almost invariably come to the conclusion that there is not enough work for everybody, and that we may as well make up our minds to facing a constantly growing Army of Unemployed.

And now comes Comrade Davidson with his suggestion:

"We can only work effectively on the political field by backing up our efforts on the industrial field. We can only work effectively on the industrial field by backing up our efforts on the political field. The two go hand in hand. Let us now give our earnest efforts to the industrial field and win for ourselves the eight-hour day. Make this our slogan: 'Not a man or woman shall be working more than eight hours a day at the close of the year 1916.'

"Some one has suggested that we co-operate with the unemployed, and we know of no better way to co-operate than **BY ABSORBING THEM IN INDUSTRY BY REDUCING OUR HOURS OF LABOR.**

"If we reduce the hours of labor of four men from ten to eight, we can give eight hours' work a day to one man who is now idle. If we reduce the hours of one hundred men from ten to eight, we can **GIVE EIGHT HOURS' WORK A**

**DAY to TWENTY-FIVE MEN WHO ARE NOW IDLE.**

"By the time we have reduced the hours of ten million workers from ten to EIGHT, we will have **ABSORBED TWO MILLION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.** Then our jobs will be more secure, and when we demand more wages there will be fewer idle men to take our places. Don't forget that the idle workers are the ones who set your scale of wages.

"So work for the Eight Hour Day. It will benefit you. Enough can be produced in less than eight hours a day to supply every human want. You have no need to work more than eight hours a day in order to live in comfort.

"Capitalists pay the workers just enough to keep them in working condition and to produce children to take their places when they can no longer be used at a **PROFIT** to the owners of industry. But the boss has **GOT** to give you a living while you are on the job, for when **YOU STOP, PRODUCTION ALSO STOPS.** As long as the profit system lasts you are going to get a living while you are at work, and that is about all you are going to get. If you get any more you will have to fight for it. You will have to fight to keep on getting what you receive now. Life is a constant warfare between the employers and the employed."

Did you ever hear anything like this from the great "Institutions of Learning" (?) or from our presidents or ministers or U. S. senators? Did you ever hear Jim Hill or John D. Rockefeller suggest that the way to help the working people would be to cut down the hours of labor and give work to the unemployed?

There **ARE PLENTY OF JOBS,** there is plenty of work for every human being in the world. Take the steel mills, where men labor ten or twelve hours a day seven days a week. Here is an opportunity to make **FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND GOOD JOBS OUT OF 250,000 rotten jobs** by cutting the hours of labor in **HALF** and paying out the profits that are absorbed by the idle mill owners **IN HIGHER WAGES FOR THE MEN.**

The same thing applies to the farms,

the railroads, the mines and factories all over the world. Millions of human beings NEED food, clothing and homes, and millions of men and women want to go to work to produce these things. The only thing that prevents them is the fact that the EMPLOYING CLASS ARE UNABLE TO MAKE PROFITS BY EMPLOYING SO MANY MORE WORKERS. And they prefer to let men and women starve to employing them when there are no profits to be gained for themselves.

And this is why we intend to abolish the profit system. We intend that the value of their products shall go to the

workers when the Glad Day arrives. And we are not going to MAKE UNNECESSARY work for anybody. We are going to cut down the working hours just as low as possible for everybody, and we are going to use machinery where it will do the work of men and women, so that every factory, mill, mine and shop in the world will be turning out things with as little labor and as little time as possible to supply all the needs and desires of Man.

And, as the workers will themselves own and enjoy the things they have produced, there will be no poverty for any man who wants to work.

## Billie Sanger and Anthony Comstock

**A**NTHONY COMSTOCK'S latest antic has been to arrest Billie Sanger of New York, because he handed to a visitor a copy of a pamphlet by Mrs. Margaret Sanger on "Family Limitation." The charge is circulating obscene literature. And the trial is set for March 15.

Anthony Comstock stands unmoved before the sweated, tubercular child workers in the cotton mills. His heart is untouched at the reports of thousands of little ones who have died from the new Poverty disease, pellagra, which comes from lack of food and proper nutrition. And he arrests and sends to jail those enlightened, decent human beings who teach the mothers of these children how to avoid bringing more children into the world. What has he to say to the high-browed statesmen who say that UNEMPLOYMENT has come to stay? What assurance does he offer these enforced mothers of the working class that their children shall have wholesome food, homes, education and opportunity?

A hundred years from now people will write about Billie Sanger and Margaret Sanger and they will be remembered for the things they have done and the sufferings they have endured to spread a little knowledge in a benighted land that suffers from Anthony Comstocks, a little

knowledge that means the saving of thousands of lives from a society that neither cares for nor desires them.

And Anthony Comstock? What will the future say about him? Perhaps some playwright, ambitious to faithfully portray the ignorance of our time, will resurrect him for the youth to laugh over and marvel on—the Genie who touched the purest, the most beautiful things in life into vileness with the magic of his evil vision and who hounded the trail blazers of progress into prison.

In Holland, Belgium, France and England books on the Limitation of Offspring are legally distributed to all young folks who are about to be married. The London "Malthusian" carries a standing advertisement offering to send FREE information on Hygienic Methods of Family Limitation.

Help to free Margaret and Billie Sanger. Send your donations to the Free Speech League, care of Leonard D. Abbott, 241 East 201st street, New York, N. Y. They, and other pioneers like them, must be free to carry the fight into the camp of the enemy. We must be free to spread the light of Knowledge among the working class. This fight may decide the issue—and it is YOUR FIGHT.

## To Repeal the Full Crew Laws

By W. B. MILLER

**S**OCIALISTS and organized labor should not overlook the movement lately instituted by an association of railroads of the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to have the Full Crews Laws of these two states repealed. Twenty odd railroads of these states have banded themselves together for this purpose, which is probably the initial act in a general movement against the few laws of this country which are in any way favorable to the workers. Beside the advertisements in the newspapers, etc., they have issued circulars which they have distributed among their employes requesting them to petition the Senate and House of Representatives of these two states to repeal the Full Crew Laws.

They have even furnished their employes with letters addressed to the House and Senate ready for their signatures asking them to show these letters to all employes, except trainmen, and give them an opportunity to sign them. Of course the trainmen would not sign it and might dissuade others from doing so, hence it is not good policy that they should see it. They have been able to get a few signatures from various sources, but the railroaders, except some section men and a few others, have not fallen for it.

The railroads probably figure that if they can entice the other railroad organizations to use their influence toward having this law repealed it will help to revive the fastly disappearing antagonism among the various railroad unions.

The Full Crew Law calls for an extra trainman on all freight trains of thirty or more cars and on passenger trains of five or more cars.

These railroads assert that instead of making for safety the law has acted to increase casualties. They show figures for the P. R. R. for six months before and six months after the law went into effect, the first half of 1911 and the first half of

1914. Their 1911 figures show 15 trainmen and 1 passenger killed and 1,046 trainmen and 99 passengers injured. The 1914 figures show 16 trainmen and 2 passengers killed and 1,699 trainmen and 141 passengers injured. We can see how it might possibly increase the casualties among the trainmen. But what method did they employ to kill and injure so many more passengers? Probably they used the brake club or maybe chloroform.

They also state that the extra man retards efficiency. We know that when a freight train is en route that it should be looked over for defects occasionally, and this is the practice with all roads. The conductor and middle man are the only available men for this job, and the middle man has more time for it than the conductor has. To remove the extra brakeman is to remove the middle man. One man can very seldom inspect both sides of a train of thirty or more cars at the stops for coal and water, the only convenient time for this work, while two men can and do inspect both sides. If this is harmful, why do they ask the crew to do it? The larger crew can do switching or other work better and faster, in a fog, on a curve, or under almost any other conditions. But of course the extra man may have some faculty of interfering with the movement of trains that is beyond the ken of any but the trainmaster or spotter.

We are told that, "Were the claims of those who arbitrarily force the railroads, under the Full Crew Laws, to employ men for whom no job exists just and warrantable claims, the railroads themselves would be the first to recognize those claims." Now we have at last found our friends. Our ignorance blinded us to the fact that the Nine Hour Law which organized labor forced upon themselves was detrimental to the best interests of the railroad telegraphers, but the

omniscient and humane railroads were awake to our needs and fought like demons against this pernicious law which makes it possible for the block operators to get enough sleep to properly do their work. We will leave it to the impartial observer to decide whether or not the Nine Hour Law has worked for or against safety.

They assert that anything that makes for safety they themselves will install as a matter of business policy. Sure enough they will, provided it costs nothing more than the tacking up of "Safety First" signs.

This "Safety First" would be a fine thing if it were applied to railroad opera-

tion as diligently as it is to dividend gathering. They are going to make their dividends safe, regardless of public, employes, or anybody else. During these times of "Watchful waiting" the hobo complains of being unable to get "pinched," but the man who looks as though he might have a few dollars is not as immune from the railroad "Bull." This all is, no doubt, due to that inexorable law of "Safety First" working from the stockholders' viewpoint.

The state Legislators and Senators of Pennsylvania and New Jersey should be apprised of the sinister motives of the railroads, also of the one-sidedness of their argument.

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## Government Owned Railways and Government Blacklist in South Africa

By K.

The Superintendent sits in his office, a pile of papers in front of him. Suddenly he reaches out his hand and rings a bell. A boy in uniform appears, and awaits instructions.

The Superintendent speaks: "Boy," he says, "those drivers who were summoned to attend here, have they arrived?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then send them in, one at a time."

"Right, sir."

The messenger retires and presently the door opens, letting in a man dressed in the familiar garb of an engineman, who on catching the eye of the Superintendent, mutters, "Morning!"

"What's your name?" the Superintendent throws at him, ignoring the greeting.

"Harry Jones."

"Now look here, Harry Jones, do you want an eight hour day?"

"Well, sir," begins Jones, taken by surprise.

"No 'wells.' Do you or do you not want an eight hour day?"

"It's like this, sir. My mates—"

"Never mind your mates," thunders the Superintendent. "Do *you* want an eight hours' day? Answer me, yes or no."

"No, sir."

"Good." Rings the bell. "Boy, show the next man in. All right, Jones, you can go, but just sign this paper before you leave."

So it goes on the State Owned Railways of South Africa to day.

Twelve months ago, when the General Strike was declared, the Railwaymen came out on strike with the rest of organized labor. They presented their demands and were promised a Commission of Inquiry. They accepted the Commission and elected their General Secretary, H. J. Poutsma, to represent them. Then the Government forced a strike on them in January, 1914, and calmly deported Poutsma along with eight others.

It is well known how the Government broke the strike with all the armed forces of the State. The men returned to work and the *Government*, to show it bore no ill feeling against its rebellious slaves,

circulated a *black list* amongst all other employees of labor, containing the names of 591 men they would never again re-employ. The Railwaymen were later asked to elect another representative on the Commission to replace Poutsma. They replied by electing the Acting General Secretary, J. M. Nield, by a larger majority than Poutsma went in by.

Since then the battle has begun in earnest. The Government has engineered a well organized opposition to prove that the Railwaymen neither want an eight hour day, a minimum wage of 8 shillings, or the abolition of piecework, although these were the three chief demands in July.

The men have been frightened and coerced into signing petitions praying against the alteration of hours as an eight hour day would mean so much less pay to them.

The men have allowed themselves to be bullied into signing because they have never got rid of the vision of our railways and streets being overrun by those low, degraded specimens of humanity, the military forces of the country, and the vision of their 591 colleagues, some of whom are still walking the streets. They are timid as they face the bosses, but they mean not what they do when they sign. They can see how the land lies and from the point of view of tacticians they must fall in with the bosses, for none know better than they how they are economically situated. The Government organized the State forces for the Strike of January in revenge for the workers' victory of July. As soon as the Railwaymen raised their hands, the Government stepped in and hoped, as the Salvation Army puts the fear of hell into the weak and the timid, to put the fear of Starvation into their own employees.

So, on the face of it, it would appear as if the Government really had succeeded, but, on deeper inquiry, one cannot but realize that they haven't. The iron heel methods of the Government must and will have a boomerang effect.

Then the Government has got the "Loyalists"—it will soon be illegal to call a man a "scab" or a "blackleg," as the Government has a bill in the House of Parliament providing for the fine of £200 or two years' imprisonment of the

person committing such a "crime"—to come forward and give their valuable testimonies.

Lastly, all the Assistant General Managers, Divisional Superintendents, etc., have been brought forward to give the benefit of their "wide" experience. Yes, experience! Half of them have been pitchforked into the jobs because they have influential friends in the service.

It would be interesting to give a few samples of the evidence.

"The men today are quite satisfied with nine hours a day. Certain birds of passage came and tried to undermine them, coming forward and condemning overtime, by which men could make and save money. Agitators were asking them to revolutionize the old system, which would be detrimental to their interests."

"The men feared with an eight-hour day and no overtime they would have to reduce the standard of living considerably."

"The running staff were opposed to an eight-hour day, as it would increase the inconvenience already experienced of staying away from home."

"An eight-hour day was unnecessary and not desired by the men."

Then hear the "experts."

"An eight-hour day throughout South Africa would cost an additional £690,000."

"The introduction of an eight-hour day on the system at Cape Town alone would involve an additional expenditure of £106,000."

"The estimated cost of an 8-shilling minimum wage on that system would be £85,000."

"There was no need and no demand for a general eight-hour day."

"The introduction of an 8-hour day on 'A' system alone would involve the employment of 1,306 extra men on the railway and 166 at the harbors."

"The men are so content and happy that if left alone and not interfered with from outside we would have no unrest at all."

And so on. Such are the brainy statements that the capitalist press of South Africa is flaunting in the faces of the workers.

The Commission will no doubt close

during the next two months, and will find—

1. An eight-hour day is not wanted by the men and its introduction would be unpopular.

2. It would be inadvisable to abolish overtime.

3. A minimum wage of 8 shillings per day would prove too expensive for the finances of the country.

4. Piece-work should be encouraged, as it finds great favor with the men, enabling them to increase their earnings and incidentally their savings (save the mark).

And the report will wind up saying that the cause of industrial disturbances is the fiery and revolutionary speeches of agitators whose salaries are secure, and who make it their business to go about preaching strife and seizing and enlarging upon petty matters, magnifying them and deluding the peaceful workers into believing them real and grievous injustices.

And we can be thankful when the Commission is over, when the curtain is rung down on the farce. Then the work of reorganization can begin.

Tom Mann has spent considerable time

traveling around amongst the railwaymen, and the seed which he is today sowing will surely bear fruit when the reorganizing begins.

The inevitable, of course, will be another resort to direct action. Guns will not frighten, nor will uniforms scare the railwaymen next time. And they will not be put off with Commissions. They will grab at the substance, ignoring the shadow. And not alone. Along with them will stand another branch of the state service. The post office. This department is seething with discontent; it is steadily organizing, and at the right moment will also raise its hand to strike a forcible blow.

South Africa will truly be the field of battle between the working class and the highest form of the capitalist system—state ownership. I venture to predict that, barring a slight reaction following the election of a government of labor politicians to parliament, the workers of South Africa will be amongst the first to rise and to grapple with the capitalist system, seize it by the throat and settle once and for all who shall reign, by putting it out of its misery.

Speed the day.

## An Appeal for Starving Miners of Ohio

FOR twelve long months past the coal miners of Eastern Ohio have been on strike.

They have been fighting bravely against the greatest odds.

Fifteen thousand men with their wives and children have carried on the struggle for more bread.

The self-proclaimed law-abiding Mine Owners for a year have refused to obey the provision of the State mine run law. They have carried the law from court to court and put it to the test of constitutionality even before the U. S. Supreme Court. In every instance the case has been decided against them. But these Mine Owners, drunk with power and feeling safe from legal prosecution at the hands of their political tools whom they own body and soul, have continued in

their conspiracy to pay no attention to the law or the decisions of courts.

The authorities of Jefferson and Belmont county have been the co-partners and accomplices of the Mine Owners; they have winked at this open violation of the Mine Owners and have been veritable watchdogs for the Mine Owners, scenting and closing their iron jaws upon the least opportunity against the workers.

Dozens of workers guilty of no offense have been arrested on various charges ranging from assault to "treason against the State of Ohio." Some of them have already passed through the Claudian forks of the law and have been sent to prison, others have had heavy fines imposed upon them—failure to pay meant loss of liberty to these workers.

In the following simple, yet touching,

language the miners are asking for solidarity. What worker is there who upon reading the letter of these fellow workers can refuse his or her help?

DILLONVALE, OHIO, Feb. 26, 1915.

Fellow Workers:

At our last meeting, on the 20th of February, attended by all our members, we decided to appeal to you for some small help in our case to win a fight for a larger piece of bread. As you are aware, we have been on strike for eleven months now and only part of that time we have received benefits, and now they are cutting our benefits down and next week it will be only \$1.00 a week. With everything rising so high, we are expected to live on that; so we sent out an appeal to help us as much as you can.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

JAMES DOLEZAL, Secretary.

In the name of working class solidarity and on behalf of these long struggling workers of the mine pits of Eastern Ohio, we appeal to all the men and women for contributions to aid these fighters on to victory. Send all contributions to James Dolezal, Box 247, Dillonvale, Ohio. Those who wish to contribute to the Belmont County Miners can send their contributions to D. Massimo, Box 36, Bellaire, Ohio.

In appealing for these fellow workers we are not unmindful of the fact that contributions of money alone will be insufficient. These struggling coal miners are face to face with the same situation as the heroic miners of Colorado. They are surrounded by miners in adjoining districts who are digging coal, many of them

with union cards in their pockets, and filling the orders for the coal barons of Eastern Ohio. If these coal miners on strike go down in defeat as their brothers did in Colorado, it will be another defeat added to the already long list of failures because of division among the miners by districts.

Miners of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Western Ohio and all others digging coal in the adjoining districts: Your fellow workers need your solidarity, they must have your help, not mere moral help, but material aid.

Erase from your minds the imaginary county and state lines that cause you to feel in a separate world from your fellow miners and make you scab on them.

Lay down your picks, blow out your lamps, and go out in the free air and light in aid of your Ohio fellow coal miners. Refuse to mine coal under conditions except that the coal barons in Eastern Ohio come to terms.

Railroad Workers! Stop, think of your struggles in the past and of the many failures for lack of solidarity. Let the past be a part of history, but learn its lesson. Refuse to haul coal, union or non-union, to fill the orders of the Eastern Ohio Coal Masters.

An injury to one is an injury to all.

The coal diggers of Eastern Ohio are now appealing for aid from their fellow workers. Extend it to them with an open hand and a free heart; it may be any one of you next to ask for solidarity.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, General Sec'y. Treas.  
JOS. J. ETTOR, General Organizer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.  
307-164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

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London, March 16.—The national conference of the Miners' Federation held in London decided today to demand an immediate increase of 20 per cent in wages to compensate for the increased cost of living due to the war. The conference represents 800,000 workmen.

A strike of 150 stevedores at the London docks has thrown 2,000 other dock laborers out of work. The stevedores demand a "war bonus."

# OUR ASIATIC FELLOWS

By BRUCE ROGERS

THE space allowed me here will permit of no more than a syllabus of the case for the Asiatic.

It was when he entered upon business pursuits that the Asiatic became a "yellow peril." From a standpoint of service, excellence and condition of stock, economy of methods, he is the superior merchant and soon takes his place as such, if unhindered. As a competitor he practices a sort of mercantile jiu jitsu that puts the white merchant out for the count.

As a worker he constitutes no peril to white labor, *of himself*. Long under repression, he takes to unionism and Socialism like a duck to water. These are new found privileges to him. He can give us lessons in militancy and solidarity of action. It is only as we exclude and ostracize him that he is any sort of menace.

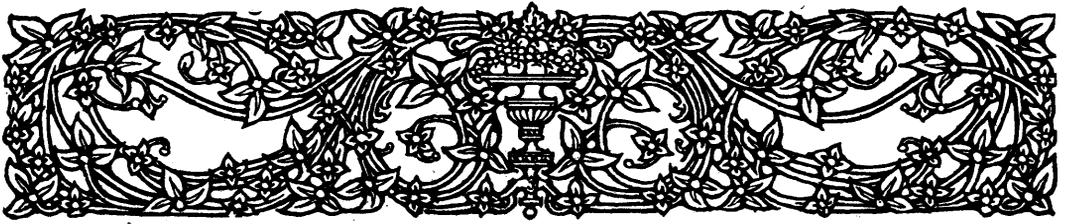
In the sense of infidelity to his kind there is no such thing as yellow scab. They see to it that scabbing is an avocation in which the mortality rate is total. A yellow strike cannot be broken with yellow labor, and to break a white strike—a rare occurrence—yellow labor must be herded and kept in ignorance of what it is doing. The rule is that a white strike must be broken by white scabs. In the Vancouver traction strike steps were taken to call out other crafts in sympathy. The white carpenters "affiliated," stood upon their agreement and their "craft rights." The yellow carpenters, unaffiliated, came out, although excluded and ostracized.

On the Pacific Coast, Japanese workers are slowly crawling their way to job control in those employments wherein they are peculiarly adapted and without reference to the degree of skill required. In

domestic service the Japanese drudge has done more to standardize household work than has ever been done. This is uniformly the housewife's experience. She engages a Jap. He agrees to any hours she may name, but when he does what he thinks is enough for the money, he is simply not to be found. Milady is irritated. She storms. She notes that his work so far is exceedingly well done. When he makes his appearance she has decided to keep him until "she can do better." When wash-day comes she shows him the linen, and the soap and the tubs. He takes the clothes and begins carefully to sort and to check them. She knows that he is going to make the same methodical, thoroughgoing job of it, and she departs for a club meeting. Completing his careful count, the Jap calls up the laundry. Milady is irritated again and would fire him if he were about. She frets, but fretting, sees that her house is in order as never before. When Newah comes in the morning she has surrendered and holds him ever after as a treasure.

These are the workers whom the American Federation of Labor excludes from membership, without reference to skill required or developed. Can it be said that in any genuine sense the A. F. of L. seeks the organization of the working class?

And these are the workers whom the Socialist party in America, joining with the capitalist state, seeks to exclude from citizenship. Has the national soil become so sacred to the Socialists? How coyotish then becomes our yelp at capitalism that it deprives us of the right to work and live. What, then, is to become of our legendary "Workers of the World, Unite," etc.?



# EDITORIAL

## WE MUST FIGHT IT OUT

Comes a friend, P. A. Levene by name, with a thought-inspiring article in the New York Sunday Call, in which he says that the war in Europe is, perhaps, only the BLIND striving of the big capitalists of the world for real, international capitalism.

Just as, in national boundary lines, the big oil interests fought for the oil wells until the Standard Oil Trust was evolved, just as the small packing companies battled until there grew up the Packing Trust, and as the steel companies fought each other in the competitive markets until we have the Steel Trust, so, says he, the great capitalists of the great nations are today engaged in a BLIND struggle for industrial and economic world supremacy.

And the rising economic class has ever used the exploited workers to help fight its battles. Thus, says Mr. Levene, the capitalists of Europe are today using the working classes of the various nations to fight their battles. And out of the storm and stress of the struggle he believes there will evolve gigantic international capitalists, gigantic world-trusts, international corporations. And with the coming of these international trusts, he believes we shall have the basis for a REAL International of Labor, an international wherein the workers of the world will be FORCED to join hands to fight the international capitalistic monarchs.

And when all is said and done, he may be right. Europe may today be going through a tremendous shaking down, from which may spring actual, working, international Capitalism, a Capitalism

that will render futile and comic anything short of a REAL International of Labor.

And if Mr. Levene IS right, he has shattered another of our illusions. We have been receiving jolts and shocks in such close succession during the past few months that it is hard to adjust ourselves to the new viewpoints.

Is it true that the European war was NECESSARY to the complete development of international Capitalism? Is it true that the only way we can have a real International of Labor is when the economic basis for such an organization becomes a crying need through the organization of international Capital?

Is it true that, if left to itself (as we have apparently had to leave it to itself) Capitalism, in its effort to develop to perfection, will make way and PAVE the way, and even (industrially) ORGANIZE the workers for Industrial Democracy?

These last few months have upset many of our old ideas. They have taught us that even we all-wise socialists have much to learn. They have shown us that we cannot count on plastering the earth with our Ideas and looking for the Co-operative Commonwealth the next day. In fact, if we have learned anything, we have come to see that IDEAS, even RIGHT ideas, are not all it is going to take to make the revolution.

Perhaps some of us are thinking that it is barely possible that we may not be able to THINK the workers out of wage slavery. They thought a long way in France and Germany (apparently), but

when they came to cash in their Ideas, we find they amounted to very little in plain brass tacks. Their ideas did not prevent them from being led into war. Perhaps our ideas will not prevent us from being dragged, or forced or deceived into war.

But all these jolts and jars and shakings-up are good for us. They are teaching us that we do not know ALL about it. They are preventing the Socialist Parties from becoming FIXED institutions. And FIXED things neither grow nor progress.

And some of us are beginning to suspect that perhaps instead of THINKING our way out of Poverty, we may have to FIGHT our way out. If IDEAS alone are not enough to save us, what more do we need? Perhaps it is this very jolting, these shocks and breakings of habit. Perhaps we had to be thrown into the water before we would even TRY to swim.

Evidently the Revolution is not going to be as easy as some of us prophesied. The capitalist class has not done developing its own supremacy. At least the

stronger capitalists have not yet thrown out, or fought out, or squeezed out the smaller capitalists of the world. The new monarchs mean to supplant the old ones. The capitalist king is coming to replace the Czar and the Emperor.

And perhaps this further development bears in its accomplishment a constant measure of AID to the revolution.

Anyway, study as we may—history, economics, biology—much of our progress is going to be CHANCE progress, blind luck discovery that comes from CONSTANT STRUGGLE. The wisest among us have failed in the war in Europe. Sometimes the Capitalist way may DO MORE for us THAN OUR OWN WAY. I do not know. I only know that we shall never get anywhere on our own initiative unless we revolt, unless we rebel, unless we struggle.

The class war will have to be FOUGHT OUT. And every act of rebellion and revolt will make us better fighters for the overthrow of Capitalism, fighters with weapons tried and found effective. Revolt! Revolt again! And again Revolt!

M. E. M.

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## To the Dumps

Theodore Vail, president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, in his annual report lets out one loud howl because "there are 2,000,000 unemployed persons in this country," and these unemployed are compelled "to live on their savings, their friends, or the public."

The Wilson administration is moving along with a bill for the United States government to buy the whole Bell telephone system, have a long distance phone in every postoffice in the country, and so wreck and sabotage the whole Western Union telegraph system, which is also a part of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company.

The United States Express Company

went to the scrap pile busted and bankrupt when the United States government went into the parcels post business and the Western Union will go the same way if the United States government goes into the phone business.

Which is why Vail howls that the government is not giving business a square deal and therefore we have "2,000,000 unemployed persons."

Fat Mr. Vail says the same thing as the street corner soap boxer, only Vail has another reason for saying it.

Those who know the cowardly, thievish tactics of the Western Union in beating down labor organization won't be sorry for anything that happens to it.

To the dumps!

# A Pamphlet for Farmers

You want Pearson's Magazine to grow.

Well, here's a way to help.

Distribute the Russell pamphlets among your farmer friends.

Russell's article, "The Revolt of the Farmers"—(the grain elevator trust), is something that will make every farmer sit up and take notice.

Give him the April Pearson's to read, and he will be sure to want the May number, and to get it he will subscribe. Our stock of April magazines is sold out—**exhausted**.

That's why we have printed Russell's article in pamphlet form. It is printed from the page plates in Pearson's, and on superfine paper. We don't want or expect to sell this pamphlet at a profit. All we want is cost of printing, plus postage or express cost of delivery.

No need to tell you anything about the pamphlet. Read the article in the magazine. You have been asking for years for something to give the farmer.

Here it is. A beginning anyway.

An education must be begun. Unless there is a beginning there is no education.

Give the farmer something easy to start with. Get him **started**.

Feed him **Pearson's Magazine**. He'll land **right**. Of course other people besides the farmer are interested in the wheat and bread question. So you can use the pamphlet on any one. Go as far as you like. We will print all you want to use—and if you can use a million copies the price will get cheaper.

## PRICES OF THE RUSSELL PAMPHLET

|                                      |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 1000 copies express paid by you..... | \$6.00 |
| 500 copies express paid by you.....  | 3.50   |
| 200 copies prepaid.....              | 2.00   |
| 100 copies prepaid.....              | 1.25   |
| 50 copies prepaid.....               | .65    |

Address: Pearson's Magazine, 435 East 24th St., New York, N. Y.

The above pamphlet is a reprint from Charles Edward Russell's article in the April Pearson's entitled "The Revolt of the Farmers." A second article on the same subject will appear in the May issue.

If you subscribe now your subscription may begin with the April number. **Pearson's** with the **International Socialist Review**, both one year, \$1.50. Send your subscription to the **Review** and if you want some pamphlets, include same with your subscription. Orders for pamphlets will be received and forwarded.

**Address: International Socialist Review, 341-349 East Ohio St., Chicago.**

# NEWS AND VIEWS

**A Red Card Railroader's Record.**—Can you beat it? I have seen 29 years' service on this road as an engineer. In limited service five years. A socialist since 1886. Last year bought and distributed fifteen thousand leaflets, besides taking subscriptions for socialist papers. Sold \$10.00 worth of three-month subscription cards for the REVIEW without trouble.

The reason it is so hard to get the dollar now is that we have many single men in train service. Men both in the ranks of trainmen and enginemen were sure of promotion at the end of four years. The introduction of large engines together with slack times have placed an engineer of one to six years' experience at every firemen's job. There is not a single man firing here today in New England but is qualified to act as engineer.

These men all have families and their wives, having no insight into coming events, have rented expensive houses. Many of them bought homes which are mortgaged from cellar to chimney. Every cent is spent before the pay-car door opens.

We have a few members who are not afraid to go through every shop, or any other place, with subscription cards and sample copies, so send them along.—From One of the Rank and File.

**A Socialist Maker.**—“Have been a reader of the REVIEW for the past five years, as well as other Socialist papers, and have come to the conclusion that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the best Socialist maker in the market. Send me your Taylor Efficiency Talk as I think it is time for the likes of me to get into action and help along the educational work. Having lost a leg I am not good enough for a boss any longer to make a profit of, besides, the labor market is overstocked with able bodied slaves at the present time.”—W. J.

**From a Mountain Local.**—“Dear Comrades: Received your bundle of REVIEWS and my youngest boy got on the job and sold them. We have a little local up on a big mountain but the members are wise to their class interest and are the best bunch that ever came down the pike. In winter we meet in neighbors' houses; in summer, under trees, and we are doing our part to put the wage system out of business.”—W. B.

**From the Live Ones.**—Comrade Debs sends in a five spot with instructions to send the FIGHTING MAGAZINE to ten young wage workers, young men and women, for six months. You bet your life we will!

A railroad engineer in Massachusetts orders \$5.00 worth of three month subscription cards and is going to round up every railroad worker in the division. More power to him!

There never was a time when the wage workers were so anxious to find a way out as the present. They are not interested in penny telephones, but pay envelopes. Get into the game and help us wise them up by giving them the real class struggle dope.

The following “live ones” have slipped over ten or more subscriptions during the past twenty days:

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Jackson, Sturgis, Mich.....        | 12 |
| Mitchell, Tower, Mich.....         | 10 |
| McGowan, Nordegg, Alta., Can.....  | 16 |
| Bernat, Kansas City, Mo.....       | 10 |
| Clanin, Canton, Ill.....           | 10 |
| Bavly, Ann Arbor, Mich.....        | 10 |
| Peters, Flint, Mich.....           | 40 |
| Rehm .....                         | 12 |
| Koster, Grand Rapids, Mich.....    | 10 |
| Hayes, Dowagiac, Mich.....         | 21 |
| Johnson, Cuyahoga Falls, O.....    | 15 |
| Merrill, Tacoma, Wash.....         | 10 |
| Schoenberg, Muskegon, Mich.....    | 13 |
| Hein, Youngstown, O.....           | 10 |
| Miller, Jerome, Ariz.....          | 11 |
| Huff, Easton, Pa.....              | 10 |
| Jacobsen, Alamosa, Colo.....       | 10 |
| McLeod, Hayre, Mont.....           | 10 |
| Lewis, Pittsburg, Kan.....         | 10 |
| Grocott, Beaver Falls, Pa.....     | 20 |
| Messenger, Nampa, Idaho.....       | 16 |
| Moe, Burlington, Wash.....         | 11 |
| Camagar, Columbus, Kan.....        | 10 |
| Bowser, Irwin, Pa.....             | 10 |
| Witter, Newmanstown, Pa.....       | 10 |
| King, Porthill, Idaho.....         | 11 |
| Ruth, Lancaster, Pa.....           | 10 |
| Wirth, Bayard, Kan.....            | 12 |
| Sanvik, Star Route, Mont.....      | 12 |
| Terry, Oneonta, N. Y.....          | 10 |
| Seltmann, Nekoma, Kan.....         | 10 |
| Frederick, Souderton, Pa.....      | 10 |
| Haugen, Roseglen, N. D.....        | 17 |
| Wheeler, Hamilton, Mont.....       | 13 |
| Dellinger, Lititz, Pa.....         | 10 |
| St. John, Kokomo, Ind.....         | 11 |
| Kaminkovitz, Washington, D. C..... | 10 |

**Help From Debs**—Comrade Eugene V. Debs sent in the money for ten yearly REVIEW subscriptions which he asks us to enter for ten young comrades. Can't you follow suit and put the REVIEW into the hands of your fellow workers?

**From a Coal Miner.**—“I am only a poor wage slave, but am on the firing line for the FIGHTING MAGAZINE and intend to stay there until we get the whole cheese. Enclosed find check for 50 March REVIEWS.”—T. F., Wyoming.

**From Cody, Wyoming.**—“I like your February number. It was a dandy.”—H. G.

**Disciplined Out of the Party.**—Impressed by the summary way in which the militaristic "Discipline" of the Socialist party was used to bludgeon some German Socialist deputies into voting for the war budget, and which more recently has been used to threaten punishment to Liebknecht for having had the daring to break away from paper rules and regulations and stand by his principles, various American Socialist publications are now at last deservedly exposing the self-evident mockery of this fetich of "Discipline."

Have we not seen it in the United States used to punish members or boycott and black-list Socialist publications? To antagonize the machine has been equivalent to the crime of high treason, and to offend any of its leaders equal to the enormity of lese majeste.

It may be excusable for me to point out at this time that it is now nearly three years ago since I deliberately chose to set an example of defying this sacred "Discipline" and treating it with a justifiable and publicly-expressed disdain. Mr. Hillquit and his satellites in local New York no doubt have not forgotten that memorable occasion. For the high crime of having effectively retorted to Mr. Hillquit's cheap sneers, an ancient pretext, some years old at the time, was suddenly trumped up against me, and I was "summoned" to appear at the bar. This trick was sprung at a time, too, when I was absent in Canada, absorbed in writing my "History of Canadian Wealth." I not only showed my supreme contempt for the whole proceeding but exposed it, and the Canadian Socialist party, with a full knowledge of the facts, at once invited me to membership.

This is a personal note, but it well illustrates anew the point that you have so well raised of the abuses, degeneracy, paralysis and even petrification that this system of "Discipline" has brought about. Who can withhold scorn for a "Discipline" under cover of which trickeries, subterfuges, compromises and contemptible and cowardly actions have been brazenly done?—Gustavus Myers.

**It Can't Be Done.**—Replies are coming to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW from Canada and various states in response to an article that appeared in the March number in reference to selling the REVIEW and boosting the circulation as well. Any comrade out of employment can do as much as I am doing here in Chicago selling single copies of the REVIEW. I am making from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a day with my Taylor Efficiency Talk, which will be sent on application and will enable you to make a living as well as to assist in increasing the circulation of the REVIEW, which is doing something for the Social Revolution as well. My appeal to you is to try the game like I did and be convinced.—M. C. Walsh.

**A Word From Wyoming.**—"Please send me your Taylor Efficiency Talk. I am out of a job and would be very much pleased if I could do only a small part of what you have done in educating the workers to their class interest. I want to do my part on the circulation end."—J. A. B.

**\$2.50 A Month**

The masterpiece of watch manufacture—adjusted to the second, positions, temperature and isochronism. Encased at the factory into your choice of the exquisite new watch cases.

**19 Jewel Burlington**

All sizes for both men and women. The great Burlington Watch sent on simple request. Pay at the rate of \$2.50 a month. You get the watch at the same price even the wholesale jeweler must pay.

**Write Today for Free Watch Book** See handsome color illustrations of all the newest designs in watches that you have to choose from. Your name and address on a postcard is enough. Get this offer while it lasts.

Burlington Watch Company, 19th St. & Marshall Blvd., Dept. 5924, Chicago

**The New "Arrow" Read! Electrically Lighted!**

Easy motorcycle saddle—New coaster brake—motorcycle mud guards, stand and parcel rack—motorcycle pedals—long rubber grip motorcycle handle bars—re-inforced motorcycle frame. **Flak Red Tread Clincher Tires**—beautiful finish. Write.

**New Motorcycle Type**

Write for our new 1915 catalog. Read the wonderful 1915 improvements above. Nothing like this bicycle ever offered before. Other features, too. Send for catalog. **The New Arrow**—the most wonderful bicycle value ever built. Perfect motorcycle type. All sizes for boys, men and women.

**Pay As You Ride** A small amount down brings you the 1915 Arrow—enjoy riding it right away—pay just a little each month while you ride. Write for rock-bottom direct offer.

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**Without cost or obligation send me by mail, prepaid, your free book and your free lessons offer in Drugless Healing.**

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**Michigan Against War.**—"Whereas, The European Socialist movement has suffered severely by the present war because of unpreparedness to meet the crisis with true revolutionary solidarity; and,

"Whereas, Militarists of the United States are bending every effort to involve this nation in this conflict and in such an event we, too, may find ourselves weak and unprepared, therefore be it

"Resolved, In case of war between the capitalists of the United States and the capitalists of some other profit-mongering nation, we, the Socialists of the state of Michigan, do hereby agree, that we shall allow the said capitalists to patriotically do all the fighting and dying for THEIR country; and we do hereby offer this pledge to them, and to one another, as

Socialists, that we will, under no circumstances, take up arms in defence of THEIR country, nor will we bear arms in an aggressive move on the country of any of their fellow capitalists, of Europe or elsewhere, leaving the defence of all privately-owned land, buildings and machinery to their patriotic owners, who claim 'a legal right to do what they please with their own property.'

"Furthermore, be it resolved, that in case we, the Socialists, are forced to take up arms, *we hereby agree to use said arms wholly in self-defense, considering as our enemies only those who rob us of the products of our toil, or who attack us personally to do us bodily harm or to deliver us of liberty.*"—Adopted by the Socialist Party of Michigan in convention assembled at Grand Rapids on February 20, 1915.

# No More Restless Nights!

Bladder Weakness Quickly Corrected by Recent Scientific Discovery in Old and Young

## SLEEP ALL NIGHT—DON'T GET UP ONCE

Read What Noted Washington, D. C., Scientist Says of Basic Agent in Kellogg's Brown Tablets

### Send for FREE 50c Package

You who have to get up at least once, and maybe six or eight times every night because of bladder weakness, and who have almost forgotten what the restfulness and luxury of an unbroken night of untroubled sleep is like, should surely welcome the wonderful, scientific discovery incorporated in Kellogg's Brown Tablets. Of this agent, a noted physician and scientist of Washington, D. C., said, in an address before the American Therapeutic Society: "That the aged sufferer passes his nights like in the days of his prime \* \* \* is the reason of the claim for a symptomatic cure."

cure is usually achieved. \* \* \* The frequent impulses to urinate and the recurring desire at night cease. Successes with this salt \* \* \* have been had in men of ninety years."

Think of it! Isn't an agent that will draw forth such statements from a scientist who has studied it and tried it for years, worthy of your confidence? Isn't it worth a trial—especially when the trial is FREE? Just because you have given up hope of a cure by ordinary medicines, should not stop you in the face of such evidence as here offered. It will not take as much effort to fill out and mail the below coupon as it takes you to get up just one night.

Send coupon today, with six cents in stamps to help pay postage and packing, for a free 50c trial box of Kellogg's Brown Tablets, to Frank J. Kellogg, 2859 Hoffmaster Block, Battle Creek, Mich.



"Oh-hi-hum! It's Tough to Have to Get Up This Way Every Night."

The principal cause of this trouble is chronic enlargement of the prostate gland, and of this and of the new agent upon which Kellogg's Brown Tablets are based, the medical authority quoted above says: "A symptomatic

#### FREE TRIAL COUPON

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Battle Creek, Mich.

Kindly send me, Free, a 50c box of Kellogg's Brown Tablets. I enclose 6c in stamps to help pay postage and packing.

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Dr. Hannen's discovery of the **basic process of life** gives a new impulse to scientific thought.

His "**Corollaries**" prove Darwin, Spencer, Marx and Huxley.

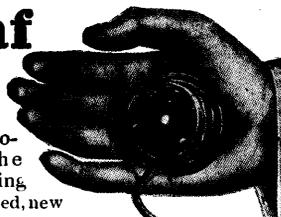
Shows in a marvelously simple manner the Origin of Life. Establishes the theories of Evolution, Materialistic Conception of History, Education, and Philosophy, on a foundation of proven facts.

Clinches the victory of Modern Science in its long struggle with ignorance, superstition and class-rule.

The most thought ever written in a few pages.

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**Mears Ear Phone** MANY times as efficient and powerful as the old model. 36 degrees of sound in 8 adjustments, instantly changed by a touch of the finger.

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## INVESTING FOR PROFIT FREE

**FOR SIX MONTHS.** It is worth \$10 a copy to any man intending to invest any money, however small, who has invested money unprofitably, or who can save 65 or more per month, but who hasn't learned the art of investing for profit. It demonstrates the real earning power of money, the knowledge financiers and bankers hide from the masses. It reveals the enormous profits bankers make and shows how to make the same profits. It explains how stupendous fortunes are made and why made; how \$1,000 grows to \$32,000. To introduce my magazine write me now. I'll send it six months, absolutely FREE. H. L. BARBER, Pub., 507 26W Jackson Bld., Chicago, Ill.

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Can you succeed where 4100 men from every walk in life—from every state in the Union, are making big money in a new business?

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Will you let us lay before you the full, comprehensive and convincing evidence—the facts and figures showing what hundreds have done—are doing—what YOU too, can do? Will you use this coupon today—NOW? The results of your investigation will please—will astonish—will certainly Convince you.

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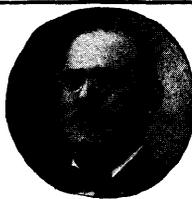
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I want to investigate your proposition. Please send me without charge or obligation your POINTERS ON THE COLLECTION BUSINESS telling me how to get a real start.

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**The Finnish Comrades.**—The State Committee of North Dakota have sent the following letter to National Committeeman, Comrade Arthur LeSueur: "The State Committee of the S. P. of No. Dak. feels that section 5 of the decision of the N. E. C. in the matter of the controversy within the Finnish Federation imposes gross injustice on the Finnish comrades, who by that ruling stand expelled from the party. We request you to second the motion of Comrade Ruthenberg of Ohio or endorse the action of Comrade Latimer of Minnesota or take such other action as will secure justice to these revolutionary comrades in the Finnish Federation." The North Dakota State Committee also adopted a resolution declaring that in the event of war the S. P. of the U. S. "REFUSE TO ENLIST and if forced into the military service to participate in the wholesale murder of members of their own class, shall choose to die in their own ranks fighting the enemy of humanity rather than die for the pleasure of the capitalist class." We hope every party member will read these resolutions at their locals and get the comrades there to follow the lead of the North Dakota friends.

**Local Madison, So. Dak.**—Also has passed a resolution as follows: Whereas, the subcommittee of the N. E. C. upheld the executive committee of the Finnish Federation in unjustly and arbitrarily expelling members from the Federation for supporting a radical Socialist newspaper and other similar justified actions; and whereas the N. E. C. consisting of Comrades Berger, Germer, Maurer, Duncan and Wilson upheld the subcommittee in its nefarious decision, and whereas the said ruling is contrary to the Constitution, Article X, Section 4, and opposed to a spirit of fairness; whereas should this ruling be allowed to stand it will lead to a disintegration of the party and make of it merely a bourgeois reformist party, we the members of Local Madison, declare that we are opposed to such bossism and propose to fight this ruling and other similar decisions to a finish.

**Wants Workers' Party.**—Comrade Michelson of Portland writes: What the workers need is a class-conscious Socialist party and such a party can only be run by the workers themselves. As A. Fillmore says, "Let us keep the issue clear. You can't expect anything from the professors, business men or ministers." Comrades declare on which side you belong and don't let the professional class lead you by the nose any longer, in order to provide a meal ticket for them. You can't expect business men to help you. They are looking for more profits and we want to do away with the profit system. We must work out our own salvation. The capitalist class wants profits and you may be looking for a job. Well, why not own your own job? You CAN OWN it but you will have to study Socialist literature instead of newspaper lies and you will have to organize with your fellow workers and be a class conscious Socialist instead of a reformer. Build up a strong fighting organization of workingmen and women and then I know you will vote and strike right.

**Rider Agents Wanted**



in each town to ride and show a new 1915 model "RAIDER" bicycle. Write for our liberal terms. **DELIVERED FREE** on approval and 30 days' trial. Send for big free catalog and particulars of most marvelous offer ever made on a bicycle. You will be astonished at our low prices and remarkable terms. **FACTORY CLEARING SALE**—a limited number of old models of various makes, \$7 to \$12. A few good second-hand wheels \$3 to \$5. Write if you want a bargain. Tires, lamps, wheels, sundries, parts, motorcycle supplies of all kinds at half usual prices. Write us before buying. **MEAD CYCLE CO., DEPT. C-225 CHICAGO**

**\$300 in 30 Days!**



Made by one Robinson salesman. You—yourself—can positively make \$60 and expenses every week. I want men like you, hustling, energetic, ambitious fellows, anxious to make money, who are willing to work with me. Not for me, but *with* me. I want you to advertise, sell and appoint local agents for the biggest, most sensational seller in 50 years—the ROBINSON FOLDING BATH TUB. Here's an absolutely new invention that has taken the entire country by storm. Nothing else like it. Gives every home a modern, up-to-date bathroom in any part of the house. No plumbing, no waterworks needed. Folds in small roll, handy as an umbrella. Self-emptying and positively unbreakable. Absolutely guaranteed for 5 years. Hustlers, east, north, west, south,—coining money. Orders, orders, everywhere. Badly wanted, eagerly bought, for remember, *fully 70% of homes have no bathrooms.* Immense profits for you. Two sales a day mean \$300 a month. Here's proof—real proof. Breese, of Idaho, made \$400 profit in 30 days. A. Bernier, Kansas, made \$30 in four hours. Hamlington of Wyo., made \$60 first two days. Hundreds like them. Pleasant, permanent, fascinating work. This is not idle talk. Make me prove it. Write a postcard. Let me write you a long letter. Then decide. No experience needed, no capital. Your credit is good if you mean business. But you *must* be ambitious, you must want to *make* money. That's all. Write a postcard now. I want to pay you sixty dollars every week.

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AGENTS we have some choice territory that must be filled at once. There is an opportunity to earn \$50 and upward a week for any ambitious or willing worker. We want men quickly to take orders for ZANOL Concentrated Extracts. FOR MAKING WHISKIES, LIQUORS or CORDIALS of all kinds AT HOME. The genuine article can be made in a few minutes in any home. Saves over 90%. One of the largest and fastest sellers ever put on the market. Every home a possible user. One taste makes a customer for life. A steady, every-day repeat business. A STRICTLY LEGAL and LEGITIMATE PROPOSITION. No experience necessary—all or spare time. If \$50 a week or more looks good to you—get busy. Just send a postal today for full particulars. Address

Universal Import Co. Dept 244 Cincinnati, O.

**Charles Cline Given Life.**—It is with a feeling of great loss that we have to report that Charles Cline, our comrade on trial in Texas, has been given a sentence of "99 years in the penitentiary." Comrade Cline writes to us: "Well, it came out 'all right.' The jury found me guilty and on what I do not see. It looks as if the way had been paved to produce just such results for they showed moving pictures in the moving picture theatres, the pictures being lectured on by the State's CHIEF witness. Of course all he said was purposed to be facts. How in the world can a man get a fair or impartial trial after that? My lawyers tried to get a change of venue and we produced witnesses to show how prejudiced this district was, but our motion was overruled. But I don't want to bother you too much. Best regards to the comrades. Yours for Industrial Freedom, Charles Cline, County Jail, San Antonio, Texas." We think Comrade Cline will never serve out his term. Partly because of the very work he has done in the revolution, the workers will arise and abolish all prisons which are becoming more and more the modern Bastilles for those who organize the working class for revolt against the exploiters of labor.

**From Honolulu, Hawaii.**—A comrade writes: "After four years' residence in these islands, I find that it is impossible for me to make a living here and will return to the United States. These semi-tropical islands are certainly beautiful but they have been made abhorrent by a few men who own and control everything. Neither free thought or free speech are tolerated in opposition to our grand old United States corporations which flourish on this soil."—R. M.

**Sold One Hundred Reviews in Five Minutes.**—"I could not get along without the FIGHTING MAGAZINE and will renew my subscription shortly, also purchase a share of stock. Put me down on your Red Card Railroad men's list and I will send you a list of Red Card Railroad boys in a few days. The Debs' meeting which was held here February 12 was a great success. The theatre was packed with 1,300 enthusiastic people. The 100 REVIEWS which we ordered were all sold in less than five minutes; could have sold two or three hundred more if we had had them. The unemployed situation here is very acute. It is estimated that there are 4,000 out of employment in this city. Two large demonstrations have already taken place."—A Salt Lake City Red.

**From Idaho.**—"Dear Comrades: Enclosed find \$1.50 for the REVIEW and Pearson's. You probably have felt that I was of the strongly political group of the party and did not agree with your work. I see no greater danger to our movement than the fellows willing to "soften" a bit the real basic facts under our movement to win the crowd on elections. I have wanted the REVIEW every month. Am on a homestead and know something of the 'back to the land' struggle."—George F. Hibner.

**From Kentucky.**—"I cannot do without the REVIEW any longer so I am enclosing subscription card and send me your latest catalogue."—R. H. C.



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## BOOK REVIEW

**The Harbor**, a novel by Ernest Poole; published by the Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.40 net.

This is a remarkable book . . . an achievement in itself. It is one of the most brilliant novels added to American fiction in many a year. As the reviewer on the *New York Tribune* declares: *The Harbor* is "the first really notable novel produced by the new democracy . . . a book of the past and the present and the future, not only of New York and of this country, but of all the world. Mr. Poole is an author of exceptional gifts, of ideas and convictions."—*New York Tribune*. We quote from this very able critic only because we do not want to go to press without telling the REVIEW readers that we have discovered one of the greatest American novels that has appeared for many years. The REVIEW staff wants to declare right here that Ernest Poole's *Harbor* was one of the treats of the year—in fact—THE big treat. Through the pages of this book we relived our college days (those of us who were fortunate enough to attend college) and glowed again with the hopes and joys and illusions of youth. Through the varied and ever human experiences through which Mr. Poole takes his hero, the one phase that he was happy enough to miss, and with which, alas! we were inoculated, was the season when Youth imagines that it will set the old World by the heels and will solve all the problems that are worrying society. Mr. Poole's hero fell in love with the great God Efficiency, but the labor agitator, who reminds us of Bill Haywood, took him behind the scenes at the Harbor and the young man takes part in a great strike of the transportation workers. And this is what he says:

"I have heard them (the workers) say to these governments:

"Your civilization is crashing down. For a hundred years, in all our strikes and risings, you preached against our violence—you talked of your law and order, your clear deliberate thinking. In you lay the hope of the world, you said. You were Civilization. You were Mind and Science, and in you was all Efficiency, in you was Art, Religion, and you kept the Public Peace. But now you have broken all your vows. The world's treasures of Art are as safe with you as they were in the Dark Ages. Your Prince of Peace you have trampled down. And all your Science you have turned to the efficient slaughter of men. In a week of your boasted calmness you have plunged the world into a violence besides which all the bloodshed in our strikes and revolutions seem like a pool besides the sea. And so you have failed, you powers above, blindly and stupidly you have failed. For you have let loose a violence where you are weak and we are strong. We are these armies that you have called out. And before we go home to our homes we shall make sure that these homes of ours shall no more become ashes at your will. For we shall stop this war of yours and in our minds we shall put away all hatred of our brother men. For us they will be workers all. With them we shall rise—

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and rise again—until at last the world is free!"

"What change was coming in my life? I did not know. Of one thing only was I sure. The last of my gods, Efficiency, whose feet had stood firm on mechanical laws and in whose head were all the brains of all the big men at the top, had now come tottering, crashing down. And in its place a huge new god, whose feet stood deep in poverty and in whose head were all the dreams of all the toilers of the earth, had called to me with one deep voice, with one tremendous burning passion for the freedom of mankind."

**Chants Communal**, by Horace Traubel; published by Albert & Charles Boni, 96 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 25 cts. net.

A popular edition of a wonderful collection of Horace Traubel's writings has just been issued. Horace Traubel has the distinctest personality of any man of letters now before the American people. Although a loyal disciple and devotee of Walt Whitman, he not only brings the old Prophet of Democracy up to date but he traverses untrodden fields and explores new realms in quest of the truth that is to light up the heavens of humanity, banish darkness from the face of the earth and set free the countless captive children of men.

**Social Evolution**, by Benjamin Kidd. The Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50 net. A revised edition with additions to date.

Mr. Kidd says, the philosophy which seeks to find in the nature of things a rational sanction for human conduct in society must sweep round and round in futile circles because "the interests of the social organism and those of the individuals comprising it at any particular time are actually antagonistic." Therefore, he says "there never can be any rational sanction for the conditions of existence prevailing."

Mr. Kidd thinks it is religion that makes people sacrifice conditions today for better conditions tomorrow. What about parents who deny themselves to give their children a happier life and a better economic status? We do not think it is religion, but actual personal satisfaction in looking after the welfare of their offspring. We think this may be explained on strict materialist biological laws. As we see it, the key to progress is man's endless striving for food, clothing and shelter, his material struggle for more of the good things of life, for himself and his offspring—often blind and erring, but coming ever and ever nearer to the heart's desire. What has religion to do with these problems? Self-preservation and race-preservation (through our children) is the answer to social evolution. Religion has always taught that a man might lose his life in order to save it (his soul). This may be good religion but we can't see where it would help the future generations. In fact, if followed consistently it might mean the death of the human race.

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# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

**Wiping Out the Deficit.** As already explained on page 503 of the REVIEW for February, we have a deficit of \$1,112.84 to provide for. If allowed to stand or to grow, this deficit will be a serious menace to the future of the publishing house. We are therefore wiping it out by contributions from stockholders. Those thus far received are:

|                                 |         |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| L. A. Jayne, Oregon.....        | \$ 2.30 |
| C. D., Missouri.....            | 1.00    |
| O. J. D., Washington.....       | 1.25    |
| G., Victoria, B. C.....         | 2.50    |
| Edward C. Peters, Michigan..... | 5.10    |
| Charles H. Kerr, Illinois.....  | 500.00  |

Total to date.....\$512.15

The publishing house is the property of 2,500 Socialists, most of whom have each subscribed just one share of \$10.00. Up to this time we have been discounting all printers' bills and repaying all loans from comrades as fast as asked for. But the European war and the business depression in the United States have cut our receipts in two, and it is impossible to reduce our expenses in the same proportion. That is why Charles H. Kerr has contributed \$500 toward the deficit and is ready to contribute \$500 more, provided that \$1,000 is contributed by other stockholders and friends, thus making up the deficit for 1914 and the probable deficit for 1915. All contributions will be acknowledged in the REVIEW by name unless we are requested to use initials only.

**Removal to New Building.** On or about April 1, we shall move to the new concrete building at 341-349 East Ohio Street, with windows looking out on Lake Michigan. We shall have a large floor, well lighted and heated, at a lower rent than we have been paying for cold and dark rooms at 118 West Kinzie Street. The new building is less than a block from the Grand Avenue car line, running west from the lake and connecting with north and south lines on State, Clark, Wells and Halsted Streets, so that it is easily reached from any part of Chicago. Next month we shall publish a picture of the building with further particulars. We shall be "at home" to our friends any time after April 10.

**Closing Out Pamphlets.** We have for some time been selling Socialist pamphlets at a loss, when the cost of handling and advertising, as well as manufacture, is considered. We have come to the conclusion that we can do better work in future by giving up the publication of booklets selling for less than 10c, and by limiting our line of 10c books to a few of the best ones. While our present stock lasts, which will be only a few weeks, we shall continue to mail **fifty Socialist books, all different, for fifty cents.** We also offer the following titles at 90c a hundred or \$6.50 a thousand, postage or expressage prepaid. The omitted numbers are of booklets which can no longer be supplied except in the assorted sets of fifty:

1. Woman and the Social Problem, Simons.
2. Economic Evolution, Paul Lafargue.
4. The Growth of Socialism, Eugene V. Debs.
7. Wage Labor and Capital, Karl Marx.
8. The Man Under the Machine, Simons.
9. The Mission of the Working Class, Vail.
10. The Origin of Great Private Fortunes, Myers.
11. Socialist Songs.
12. Socialism and Primitive Christianity, Brown.
13. Rational Prohibition, Walter L. Young.
15. How I Acquired My Millions, Corey.
16. A Christian View of Socialism, Strobell.
17. You Railroad Men, Debs.
18. Parable of the Water Tank, Bellamy.
19. The American Movement, Debs.
20. Why I Am a Socialist, Herron.
22. Science and Socialism, LaMonte.
23. Unity and Victory, Debs.
24. The Federal Government and the Chicago Strike, Debs.
25. Breaking Up the Home, Mary E. Marcy.
26. Intemperance and Poverty, T. Twining.
27. Where We Stand, John Spargo.
28. Socialism and the Home, May Walden.
31. Methods of Acquiring National Possession of Our Industries, N. A. Richardson.
32. You and Your Job, Carl Sandburg.
33. Liberty, Eugene V. Debs.
34. Class Unionism, Eugene V. Debs.
36. An Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.
37. The Issue, Eugene V. Debs.
38. Easy Lessons in Socialism, Leffingwell.
41. Forces that Make for Socialism, Spargo.
42. Danger Ahead, Debs and Russell.
43. Craft Unionism, Debs.
44. The Scab, Jack London.
45. Confessions of a Drone, Patterson.
47. Revolution, Jack London.
48. Useful Work vs. Useless Toil, Morris.
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**Sample Sets of Booklets.** We shall continue for a few weeks more our special offers of sample sets of Socialist books in paper covers. We will mail:

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- III. The Materialist Conception of History and Its Critics.
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- VII. Economic Contradictions and the Passing of Capitalism.
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- X. The Social Revolution.
- XI. Conclusion.

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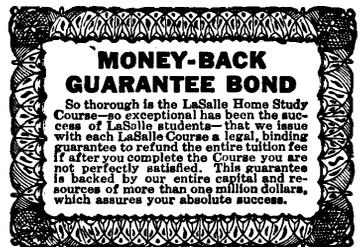
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