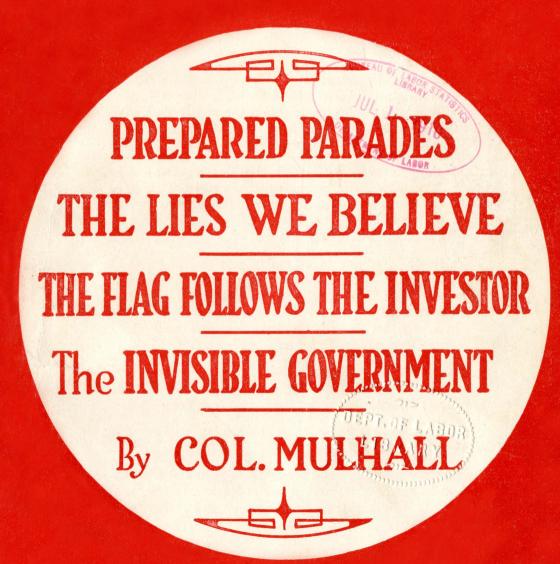
JULY 1916



PRICE TEN CENTS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW





By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

A new and important work, advance extracts from which have appeared in the International Socialist Review during 1915. The entire work contains about double the matter thus published, with twenty new illustrations from original drawings.

It is the story of Man's instincts, developing from the lower animals through savagery and barbarism to the present time. The author shows how many instincts that we still possess have survived from the old pre-historic times when they were essential to the preservation of man, but that they have today become vestigial, that is, no longer useful and even positively injurious.

Professor Moore, as Jack London says of him, "uses always the right word." No other scientific writer possesses half his charm of style or his simplicity of expression. This new book is full of science that reads like romance; the author handles his facts in a way that will command the respect of naturalists, and at the same time makes the information fascinating to the young.

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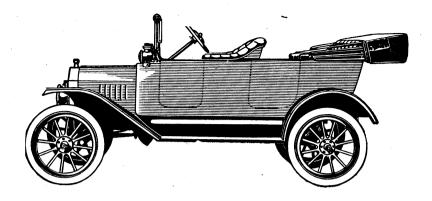
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XVII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 1

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

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DEPARTMENTS

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From the Masses.

Army Medical Examiner: "At Last a Perfect Soldier!"

WARS

By Carl Sandburg

In the old wars drum of hoofs and the beat of shod feet.

In the new wars hum of motors and the tread of rubber tires.

In the wars to come silent wheels and whirr of rods not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

In the old wars clutches of short swords and jabs into faces with spears. In the new wars long range guns and smashed walls, guns running a spit of metal and men falling in tens and twenties.

In the wars to come new silent deaths, new silent hurlers not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

In the old wars kings quarreling and thousands of men following.

In the new wars kings quarreling and millions of men following.

In the wars to come kings kicked under the dust and millions of men following great causes not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

-From Chicago Poems.

TOGE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

JULY, 1916

No. 1



DOINGS OF THE MONTH

By Jack Phillips

HE Chicago folks who packed the Auditorium last winter to hear Irvin S. Cobb lecture on war, will never forget his terrific indictment of war and the promoters of war. He talked straight from the heart and the head and without resorting to any of the cheap oratorical tricks of our famous silver tongues. He walked straight into the hearts of the big audiences that greeted him. All the glamour, glory and cheap tinsel with which the campaign orator will enshrine the average soldier was shown up as counterfeit when Cobb described the men who are doing the fighting in the trenches of Europe today, as looking like a bunch of sewer diggers after a hard day's work in mud and water.

His lectures were the biggest thoughtbombs of the season, and so a multitude of people were waiting to read what he had to say about the big political conventions of the year. They felt and knew they would hear the truth. We were, therefore, not surprised to find him writing the following in the Chicago American of June 13:

"The most foolish, most time-wasting, most money-squandering institution known to these United States at the present time is the National convention. All of us were converted to this regard by what we saw at Chicago last week. Our opinions are being strengthened by what we are seeing in St. Louis this week.

"There may have been logical excuse for the Progressive convention. Its delegates really had something to thresh out upon the floor of their meeting place; they really had a mission to accomplish, or anyway they thought they did, until that sad hour befell when their candidate stepped nimbly out from under, leaving them with the bag to hold and nothing to

speak of in the bag, either.

"But the Republicans could have accomplished all they did accomplish without bother and tumult by asking Senator Reed Smoot and Senator Murray Crane and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to meet somewhere in a quiet room and spend a congenial and fruitful afternoon in drafting a platform and naming the candidates, because in the final analysis it amounted to that anyhow.

"And now here are the Democrats on the eve of repeating the same giddy farce. There is no opposition whatever to the nomination for re-election of President Wilson. There is no real opposition to the renomination of Vice-President Mar-

shall.

"Over the principal points in the platform there is but little difference of opin-In the proper stage of those proceedings those points of dispute will be thrashed out by a group of men whose names might be ticked off on the fingers

of your two hands.
"The delegates aren't needed. So far as the outcome is concerned, so far as the results in November are concerned, they might as well have stayed at home. The entire business could have been transacted by mail much more expeditiously. Of course, it would have facilitated matters perhaps for the leaders of the party to hold a conference before putting the O. K. of their sanction upon the candidates and the platform, but the matter could have been settled through an interchange of letters.

"But, of course, it would be folly to dream of such a thing coming to passalmost as great a folly, in fact, as the spectacle of this week's doings here in

St. Louis will be.

"To the number of a couple of thousand, the delegates and the alternates are assembling. They will perspire and cheer and stand around all day in crowded hotel lobbies and at night they will sleep three in a bed. They will tag along behind blaring brass bands and they will

emit an unfathomable number of cubic feet of hot air. And because it is in accordance with the ethics of traditions and the custom they will drag out over a period of four days proceedings which any live business organization could dispose of in one afternoon and one evening. And when it is all over they will go back home, just as the Republicans have done, solemnly to tell the boys at the postoffice and around the general store that a great deliberative body has done a great job of work."

We Socialists can be thankful that we escaped the farce of a National convention this year. We have saved \$25.000 which the rank and file would have had to dig up and there are many places where it will come in handy during this campaign,—especially down in Indiana, where Comrade Debs can be sent to Congress, if the party bosses will consent to blow a little money that way. It has generally gone to Wisconsin to "capture" something or other.

Gene Debs has done more solid propaganda work than all the politicians piled together. Say we send this coal-shoveler

to Congress!

R. is a dead fish. The Roosevelt whom Labor has fought and denounced for years as a double-crosser and a faker, is down and out so far as any of his old-time leadership is concerned. He pulled a big bluff in the Chicago conventions. His bluff was And he quit. called. Quit yellow. Sneaked out of the game. Took his cards and chips out of the game just the minute all his oldest and strongest worshipers of the Progressive Party wanted him to run.

First, he showed his yellow streak in offering Henry Cabot Lodge, the Massachusetts capitalist codfish, as a fair compromise choice for Republican Presidential candidate.

Second, he tried to chloroform and kill and deliver the Progressive Party move-

ment to the Republicans.

Third, he stood out as the pet hound and nice doggy of the Steel Trust and munitions interests and preparedness fakers as embodied in George Perkins, the Morgan, U. S. Steel and International Harvester magnate head of the

Progressive National committee.

T. R. bungled the job of delivering the goods. The machinery he was working on broke and everybody saw him for a quitter. Labor men got his number long ago. Now the whole country sees his yellow streak. He may come back a little ways. But among the real people of this country from now on he's a goner.



THE greatest mobilization of the working class of Chicago ever seen in that city took place on June 3. Never before has working class power been massed anywhere in the United States since the Civil War as on this day.

It was a day to make any thoughtful man or woman do a whole lot of thinking about the mass power of the working class. Though the occasion was a Preparedness Parade, engineered and dominated by the economic masters of Chicago, it was a good and proper time for every live working class fellow to look at the marching platoons passing by hour after hour and gazing on miles and miles of workingmen moving elbow to elbow, then say to himself:

"Here's power! This is a human Niagara. If we can only harness this up to a solidarity of action! Look at 'em. They can tear the town down and build it again. These moving masses of mechanics and day laborers, they can pull the skyscrapers to pieces and stick up new skyscrapers any time they want to."

They marched by industries. That was the most significant feature of the parade outside of its display of human mass power. The meat industry was there. Not by crafts, but with pig-stickers, hambone cutters, hog hair shavers, fertilizer laborers, steer driers, beef truckers, quarter-beef luggers, and second assistants to sheep shank handlers, marching together. No such American Federation of Labor craft divisions in this parade. It was the whole industry, all the crafts that take

the bellowing steer and the grunting hog and change them from animals on the hoof into food commodities going forth hung on hooks or packed in cans to feed the world.

An aviator, Capt. Horace B. Wild, hung a sign out in front of the Lake View Building. It was addressed "To the Marchers" and said:

"Five million farmers and a half million mine workers are against what you and Wall Street are marching for."

Ted Richardson, police captain, saw the sign. He asked some cavalrymen about it. They agreed with him it ought to come down. So the cop ordered the sign down and hauled the aviator, Capt. Horace B. Wild, to the station, where he was booked under the charge of "disorderly conduct," and the Chicago Tribune the following day put the headline "Treason" above the story of Wild's arrest.

It didn't make any difference that Wild was the first airman to fly over the city of Chicago. Nor did it bother any police skulls that Wild is a Spanish-American War veteran and served in the Eighth Army Corps, U. S. A. Nor was it any of their business that he is now a member of the United States Army Aeronautical Reserves, and holds a government license as one of only five "Master Pilots" in the United States of America who have qualified by flying feats in balloons, aeroplanes and dirigibles.

Let the record stand. The bone-headed police of this country stick their fists into a thing when they want to and it doesn't make any difference what a man is in the way of an intelligent, courageous human being. If he does something that their ivory domes don't see clear, they pinch him and slew him into the stink-house.

Mrs. W. I. Thomas, secretary of the Woman's Peace Party, stood in a window of the Lake View Building, just across the street from the main reviewing stand at the Art Institute.

"What is it?" a man asked Mrs.

Thomas.

"It is a mobilization of stomachs," said

"The only thing they are the woman. sure they are marching for is that they have been told to march, and by obeying

orders they hold their jobs."

"The Spirit of 1776" was the slogan for the big Chicago Preparedness Parade. Yankee Doodle fife and drum corps were scattered through the line of march and the brass bands played Yankee Doodle.

Was there any banner reading, "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyrany," the slogan of the Boston Tea

Party? None at all.

Was there any banner saying: "To hell with tyrants, kings, kaisers, czars, and all hereditary forms of government and all rights of entail," which would have voiced the Declaration of Independence and the fundamental spirit of 1776? No, my boy—and nix, my girl—and again nix-nix, kiddo-there was no such sign. Nothing at all speaking the rebellion and the iconoclasm of those who fought an eight-years' war repeating the trilogy of the French philosophers who "Liberty, Equality and Fratercried, nity."

MANUFACTURERS' NEWS, official organ of Illinois Manufacturers' Association, springs this one under the head of "Organized Labor's Idea of a Good Time":

"No police.

"No militia.

"Low tariff.

"High wages. "Cheaper rent.

"Cheaper food.

"An hour for lunch. "Six hours a day work.

"Minimum wage of \$5 a day.

"Eventual elimination of all work.

"Let no young workers learn a trade. "Keep all immigrants out of this coun-

"Abolish all taxes except for em-

ployers.

"Laws applied to employers but not to employes.

"Legalized boycotting of unmanageable manufacturers.

"Prohibit all time clocks, stop watches and efficiency systems.

"No children allowed to attend public schools without a union card."

And to all but one or two of these

every real working class man says, "Why

But if the working class can TAKE less than six hours for its fixed workday,

Or if it can TAKE more than \$5 a day for its fixed wage,

Or if it can TAKE anything else it

Why stop at any point where a sponging parasite like Marshall Field III is in the wav?

Or where an intensifiedly cunning WOP like Charlie Schwab is in the way?

Why shouldn't the working TAKE what it needs and wants?

Y OUNG MARSHALL FIELD III has quit Chicago and is going to live in New York "for keeps."

When this kid is 50 years old he will step into the ownership of a fortune of

more than \$350,000,000.

There is no record, report or rumor that at any time anywhere in his life he has done a day's work.

An army of people work for him.

A brigade of 8,000 pour into the doors of the retail and wholesale establishments of Marshall Field & Co. in Chicago every week-day morning.

Thousands of the girl slavies of the Field store get under \$6 a week for pay.

This \$6 covers room rent and food and car fare.

And clothes, music and fun must come from somewhere else for a lot of these

So the talk is that the young man, Marshall Field III, will have his fingers on a lot of dirty blood money when he's fifty years of age.

Something about Chicago he didn't

like.

Too close to his girl slavies?

Too much talk about what a cheap imitation he is of his brainy, cunning, brutal, two-fisted fighting grandfather, Marshall Field I?

Hail, American prince of the thin

blood!



CYRUS H. McCORMICK, head of the Harvester Trust, and Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears-Roebuck, were leading speakers at the dedication of a new \$1,350,000 hotel to be managed by the Young Men's Christian Association at Wabash Avenue and Eighth Street in Chicago.

Bedrooms at 30 to 50 cents for a night. And 1,821 such bedrooms. That's what

this Y. M. C. A. hotel offers.

Its announced purpose is to provide a "temporary home at low cost to the young man starting life in Chicago, through which he can find good associations and come into contact with the city's best agencies."

We almost forgot John G. Shedd. He's the president of Marshall Field & Co. He spoke at the dedication of the hotel and complimented the Y. M. C. A. on the fine work it is doing in training young

men the way they should go.

Would it have been honest and openhearted if McCormick, Rosenwald and Shedd had all blurted out:

"God bless this slave-kennel!"

IN Kansas City on June 9 the Reverend William A. Sunday preached to an audience of women only.

He went after the assemblage of skirts hammer and tongs and said there wasn't enough of Jesus in the lives of men and women and for that reason men with rotten diseases were infecting women with rotten diseases, and if they would all get more of Christ in their lives everything wouldn't be so rotten as it is.

At the high peak of this sermon there were fourteen women keeled over in a

dead faint.

At other points in the sermon more women keeled over. A total of thirty-five (35) went down for the count, slimpsy and exhausted. The thirty-five (35) mothers and daughters were carried away in stretchers to the tabernacle emergency hospital.

Some day this foul-mouthed, ruthless savage whose regular game is to knock women silly with rotten talk, will get

what's coming to him.

We don't know what it will be. But the frothy-mouthed, violent blatherskite of this type always gets binged. According to physiology and psychopathy, Billy Sunday is scheduled to collapse in convulsions on the platform, foaming with human hydrophobia.

To knock down thirty-five (35) women with a sermon on venereal diseases may be a good record, but it doesn't thrill

men with real sporting blood.



A CONTRACTOR, Patrick Dignan, shot and killed George Hammond, business agent Excavators and Asphalt Teamsters' Union of Chicago.

Evidence at the inquest over Hammond showed he didn't have a gun at the

time he was killed by Dignan.

At the trial nearly two years later, in April, 1916, there was no evidence to show that Hammond had a revolver on him.

An employer slipped a lead slug into the body of a union official—and a jury brought in a verdict that it was not murder and the employer was not guilty of any crime against the peace and decency of the state.

Two weeks after the jury brought in its verdict setting Contractor Dignan free, somebody placed a bomb under the front porch of Dignan's home, blew the front part of the house off, and came close to killing the contractor and his wife and children.

Whereupon the Daily News, run by a Christian gentleman named Victor Lawson, came out with a loud howl that organized labor should be law-abiding and should not "seek to dominate by terrorism."

A FEUDAL lord is dead. An American Stars and Stripes feudal lord. He owned a town. The town was named after him.

They made an article of commerce in the town. And the article was named after him and sold round the world.

Thirteen hundred men and women

worked for him. And the last Saturday in July every year they would all come together and he would bless them. This day, in celebration of his birthday, was named after him.

He aimed all his moves at having his personal psychic phizzog dominate, control and commandeer every one of his

Twentieth Century slavies.

John V. Steger was his name. He made pianos at Steger, Illinois, where they made Steger pianos and celebrated Steger Day and worshipped in a Steger Church, went to Steger Schools, and heard lectures in Steger Halls.

He was found one morning floating face up in a fish pool at a country house. He had been out feeding goldfish in this pool. A coroner's jury decided his heart got jerky, stopped running, and weakened

him so he fell in the pool.

He was buried in a coffin and laid in common dirt of the earth like any one of the 1,300 slavies who are to die and be

laid away.

He lay in state and hundreds of his slavies came and looked on his face for the last time. And this satisfaction of having your face looked upon by crowds who view your remains in a coffin—this, of course, will be refused the minions at life's end.

The local editors of his local newspaper will say that he always fought for the rights of labor, that when a strong labor union appeared, he rose like a noble gladiator and crushed it and thus preserved the right of any and every man to work without being forced into membership in an organization.

GOVERNOR DUNNE of Illinois has signed extradition papers toward bringing Guy Biddinger from New York to Chicago for trial on charges of bribery

and running a confidence game.

Biddinger is the guy who did the star dictagraph work for the Burns Detective Agency in the McNamara cases. According to States Attorney Hoyne of Chicago, Biddinger was crooked as a corkscrew or a dog's hind leg. While wearing a detective sergeant's badge in Chicago, Biddinger was a pal of and sharer with thieves, the state charges. Yet the accused man was a leading witness against

Frank Ryan, Billy Redding and the group of workingmen now in Leavenworth prison.

OTH the managers and the men owe it to their own interests to respect the interests of the whole country. There must be no general railway strike or lockout. If agreement cannot be otherwise reached, there must be arbitration."

This is the line of argument popping up in editorials of the railroad-fed daily newspapers. Arbitration is the last leg the railroads stand on now. The deep call for arbitration will be sounded louder and louder the closer the danger of a strike comes. Any time we are wondering just what is going on, whether the threat of strike will be more than a threat, we can tell exactly how near the railroad brotherhoods are to a strike by the kind of noise for arbitration made by railroad-fed newspapers. there's no call for arbitration, and the usual stories are appearing about the splendid organization of the railroad workers and "wise, intelligent, well-directed leadership" of the brotherhoods, we know the railroad managers have 'em where they want 'em. But when the deep guttural cry of "Arbitrate! Arbitrate!" comes rolling from editorials and from business men in interviews on the news pages, then we know something's gone wrong. Somebody is holding out.

THE birth control movement is being attacked by moving picture censors with curious explanations.

Movie censors of Chicago shut off the production of a film entitled "Where Are My Children?" with this comment:

"Permit refused because this film tends to open up for general discussion a topic that can lead to no good and will certainly do harm. It indicates numerous murders by abortion, the great frequency of the crime, and ease and safety with which it may be perpetrated."

With more than 250,000 abortions and 50,000 resulting deaths in the United States yearly, where is the evil in a film that "indicates numerous murders by abortion?"



THE FLAG FOLLOWS THE INVESTOR

By Frederick C. Howe, Ph. D.

The investor ventures forth to new (foreign) fields only when he has his country behind him. Left to the ordinary civil proceedings for the collection of his debts and the protection of his concessions, he would be at a sorry disadvantage with foreign states and weaker na-* * * The nation has become an insurance and collection agency for the investing classes. The doctrine only applies, however, where weak and defenseless nations are involved. This is the keystone of high finance. * is the basis of the aggressive policy of the investing and exploiting classes. * * * As it works in practice, a government is seldom called upon to protect the lives of citizens in foreign countries.

The second element in the programme (of imperialism) is the organization of forces for the promotion of overseas

finance under the guise of promotion of trade. The first expression of the movement is the organization of a gigantic \$50,000,000 international corporation, organized and financed by interests closely identified with the munition firms and the financing of the present war. This organization, as its promoters announce, is for the purpose of enabling the United States to take a larger part than heretofore in the industrial development of other countries where capital is needed.

The countries where "capital is needed" are the weak and helpless peoples of Mexico, Central and South America, or Morocco, Tunis, Persia, Africa, China and the insular possessions of the U. S. and elsewhere. * *

A Patriotic Sanction.

As happened in Europe, it is necessary to give a patriotic sanction to financial imperialism to identify the nation with its programme. Wall Street can easily finance a dozen \$50,000,000 corporations. But that would leave them Wall Street corporations. The flag would not willingly follow their investments; the nation would not be a complacent collection agency for such questionable claimants; so the new international corporation is to include as many other interests as possible.

Such strength is needed, the announcement says, as can only be found by arousing the interest and securing the cooperation of the entire country. It is necessary to make it a national undertaking and appeal to the confidence, enterprise and patriotism of the Amer-

ican people. * * *

This is the programme of preparedness offered by those who have monopolized the railroads and public-service corporations, who have seized the iron ore, coal and copper deposits of the nation, who have enclosed the public domain (land) and laid their hands upon the banks and credit resources of the nation, and who, having exploited prostrate America, are now turning wistful eyes to the virgin opportunities of weak and defenseless peoples in other parts of the world.

It is these that are now active in urging a colossal naval programme and

a large standing army.

The Issue That Confronts Us.

Certain forces have been set in motion by the European war whose coincident appearance seems hardly a matter of accident. These forces are:

1. The billion dollar war orders that have filled every available shop and factory with the most profitable orders they

have received in years.

2. The agitation for preparedness involving the expenditure of billions of dollars for an increased army and a navy equal to that of the strongest European power.

3. The promotion of powerful financial organizations for foreign exploitation

and overseas financing.

These, as we can see, are the forces of imperialism. Colossal profits in munitions, the agitation for a great navy, and the organization of overseas trading cor-

porations were so simultaneous in their appearance as to suggest cause and effect, especially as the classes most active in promoting preparedness include the leading stockholders in the new promotion corporation, the *munition factories*, and banking institutions which are reaping such colossal profits from the present European war.

Here is the same merger of interests, here is the same "invisible government" which for the past twenty years has been waging war on democracy. It is the merger responsible * * * for the monopolization of industry that menaces our life and our institutions. It is an old enemy in new clothes. It is the same merger (war munitions, industrial capitalists and financiers) that for thirty years has involved the greater powers of Europe in war and preparation for war.

The Munition Makers and Their Profits.

Since the outbreak of the war. European war orders have been placed with American firms in excess of \$1,000,000.-000. The profits on these orders are colossal. War securities have advanced in price on the stock exchange by nearly \$1,000,000,000. This much has been added to the wealth of a small number of persons who had the controlling interest in the greater companies which have the important war contracts. * * * The largest orders have been placed with the Bethlehem Steel, Midvale Steel, General Electric, du Pont Powder, Westinghouse Electric, and American Locomotive Companies, all closely identified with Wall Street interests. Hundreds of millions have gone to lesser companies.

Before the war Bethlehem Steel fluctuated around \$40 a share. It has since sold as high as \$600 a share, etc., etc. * * * .

One of the results of the war has been to identify the financial powers with the munition makers as in the warring nations of Europe.

Coincident with the advance in the value of war stocks, the cry of unpreparedness was raised against an unnamed power that threatened us. The cry sprang as if from the earth. It was born with the formation of various leagues for its promotion whose officers and promoters are closely identified with the great bank-

ing houses and munition makers of the East. The press echoed the hue and cry. The navy, which, prior to the war, was said to be second only to that of Great Britain, is now said to be that of a third or fourth power. The army is a paper army. Our coast defenses will not withstand an attack. Any one of the great powers could land an army on our shores and bring us to our knees in a few weeks' time, and 100,000,000 people, separated from these powers by 3,000 miles of sea, would be powerless to prevent it.

We must have a navy equal to that of the greatest power on earth, is the demand. Even that seems far from adequate to some. Hundreds of millions must be immediately spent. There must be a large standing army, some say, of 400,000, others of 1,000,000 men. Universal conscription is insisted on by some. The whole nation must devote itself to preparing for an invasion, no one knows from where, and no one knows quite how it will come. * *

No device of the munition makers of Europe for awakening fear, in the promotion of war scares, in the agitation to "scrap" existing armaments, in the lobbies and press control is wanting in the campaign that has been systematically carried on for the last few months. Every attack on the alleged weakness of the army and navy can be duplicated in the disclosures of the tactics of the war traders of England and Germany. * * *

Only a handful of congressmen have exposed the activities of the munition makers and their practices in this and other countries; they have shown the international monopoly which exists, the colossal profits enjoyed, and the gains to be expected from the thousands of millions to be spent on the army-and-navy programme of the next few years. * * *

If we give any thought to the subject we probably think of the makers of war munitions as rather unimportant concerns that sell to their respective governments along with other private customers. As a matter of fact, the munition makers form one of the most powerful industrial combinations in the civilized world. The capitalization runs into the thousands of millions. The companies include among their stockholders and di-

rectors the most powerful individuals in their respective countries. * * * Their annual contracts, even in times of peace, approximate a thousand million dollars. The profits are colossal, and the munition makers (in peace times) approach very closely to a world monopoly. * * *

Directors and stockholders of the munition companies are closely related to the owners of the press in their respective countries which are active in the promotion of preparedness and the stirring

up of war scares.

Firms of different nationalities cooperate in raising war scares across each other's frontiers, and transmute national jealousies into gold for themselves. The German Arms and Munition Factories, which is not a single firm, but a group of firms forming an organization second only to Krupp, and having the Mauser and Dollingen Works among its members, wrote to its agent in Paris a year or two ago:

"Get an article into one of the most widely read French newspapers—the FIGARO if possible—to the following effect: 'The French Ministry of War has decided to accelerate considerably the provision of new pattern machine guns, and to order double the quantity at first intended.'"

The news was intended for German consumption. * * * This and similar scandals were exposed by Dr. Liebknecht in the Reichstag and published in the Socialist Vorwaerts. * * *

No other business (as the manufacture of war munitions) has such an easy entry into the public prints; no other group is so immune from criticism or investigation; no other class is so eminently respectable or powerful. It is possessed of unlimited resources. It can maintain publicity agencies and propaganda organizations for national defense, for peace through preparedness, for the maintenance of the dignity and honor of the nation.

Their Patriotism.

There is no narrow-minded patriotism, no insularity among the armament makers and war traders. The whole world is their fatherland. The ensigns of every country fly from the mastheads of their battleships, and men of every race and

creed man the guns made by German, English, French and American. * * * The intelligence and the capital of the war traders (and munition makers) are for sale to the highest bidder. * * *

Among the revelations of Dr. Lieb-knecht in the Reichstag a few years ago was the fact that preferred shares in the steel-plate works of Dollingen were in the hands of Frenchmen, who enjoyed the profits from the exorbitant prices paid by the German Government for armor-plates. * * *

In the United States patriotism should rise to exalted heights in such companies as the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Midvale Steel Company, and the du Pont Powder Trust. * * They have been permitted to acquire vast iron ore, coal and other deposits. * * * The U. S. Government spends annually \$240,000,000 on its army and navy, a large percentage of which goes to the four firms mentioned, which constitute the ammunition syndicate. * *

In 1893 the American Armor Syndicate sold armor to Russia for \$249 a ton, while at the same time it charged the United States \$616 a ton. * * * The armor syndicate is active in Washington. In 1913 the War Department purchased 7,000 4.7 inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring at \$25.26 each. At the same time the government in its own arsenal at Frankford was able to manufacture the same article for \$15.45. And this instance of excessive profits is not the exception. It is the rule. * *

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that the people do not make war. War has little or nothing to do with national ambitions; it has nothing to do with the desires of peoples. It is in no way related to their needs, their safety, or their lives. Wars and preparations for

war are economic. They are born of privilege in politics, privilege in finance, privilege in trade. All other causes have become secondary. In many ways war is more selfish, more cruel, and more senseless now than in any previous age in history. In the distribution of burdens it is far more unjust than it was in the Middle Ages.

Privilege is as ruthless in its international activities as it is in domestic politics; as it is in Germany under the Junkers; as it is in Great Britain under the aristocracy; as it is in Russia and Austria; as it is in the United States * * The ruling classes supported armed rebellion in Ulster. And privilege has not hesitated to go to similar lengths in (Ludlow) Colorado, in West Virginia, in city after city where its power was challenged by the community. * * *

People do not want war. War springs from causes wholly outside the lives, interests, and feelings of the people. * * * The present European war was not made by the people. In none of the warring nations were the people considered, in none of the countries was there any dis-* * * Tens of millions of cussion. men have been taken from their homes and sent to the trenches for reasons which have not been explained to them or by virtue of secret alliances in whose making and as to whose propriety the people had no voice. * * * * Wars are made by irresponsible monarchs * * * by privileged interests, by financiers, by commercial groups seeking private profit in foreign lands. Wars are made in the dark behind closed doors.

(This article is composed of extracts from "Why War?" by Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., the best book giving the economic causes of war that has yet appeared. The book is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and sells for \$1.50 net. It is worth nearly all the other books on the war combined. Ask for it at your public library, or order a copy.)

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

F Col. M. M. Mulhall, who for ten years was lobbyist and field worker for the National Association of Manufacturers, and who in June, 1913, created so much consternation among the politicians of this country by his disclosures made before the Washington Overman lobby investigation committee, were to take the stump this campaign, he could flood the country with a wealth of illuminating facts, backed up by over 200,000 letters, that would show the working class just who runs this "free" republican United States of America.

Some of you may still fondly believe that we possess a representative government, a government representing the People. But the letters of Col. Mulhall prove beyond the whisper of a doubt, that we possess only government of, for and

by, the capitalist class today.

THE REVIEW staff had the pleasure of several visits with Col. Mulhall during his recent trip to Chicago and our hope is that his volume of letters and other documents may be printed in book form before the coming fall and that every workingman who can afford to buy one will possess himself of a copy. These letters show your better than we ever can just what the producing class is up against today.

Col. Mulhall claims that: the National Association of Manufacturers is composed of a membership of 350 organizations embracing 4,000 individual members, employing more than 5,000,000 persons and representing a capital of \$10,000,000,000. It claims to be a non-political business and trade organization.

But that for more than ten years it has secretly played an important and generally decisive part in promoting labor and general business legislation favorable

to its own interests; and,

The N. A. M., together with a "paper organization" called the National Council for Industrial Defense, also maintained a lobby at Washington for the purpose of defeating all legislation hostile to the

interests of this group of manufacturers, and that for these purposes, against the interests of the working class, it has always managed to secure control of the committee on labor and the committee on the judiciary of both the senate and the house of representatives.

Col. Mulhall said: "The generals of the National Association of Manufacturers are the multi-millionaires—the steel, oil, hardware, banking, railway and other great corporations—and its corporals the political bosses and ward heelers of the

big cities."

According to letters in the possession of Col. Mulhall it was the National Association of Manufacturers that has killed all eight-hour legislation ever since its inception. It has been long known by the people on the Inside, as the greatest strike-breaking and labor-crushing agency in the world. From 1909 to 1912 with John W. Kirby, Jr., as president; Geo. S. Boudinot, secretary, and John Phillip Bird, general-manager of the lobby and strike-breaking agencies, the organization perfected and enlarged the ramifications of its strike-breaking departments.

In 1905, during the strike all over the country between the job printers and the bosses' organization, Col. Mulhall was advised that the center of the fight would occur in New York and in Philadelphia and that if the strike could be broken at these two points and an "open shop" established in them, this would mean a tenhour day and the destroying of the printers' unions all over the country. A big bunch of money was paid over to hire thugs to break up all meetings of the printers for the purpose of organization and to buy over the police.

The St. Louis shoe strike of 1907, in which the workers went out against the piece-work system, for higher wages, etc., etc., was broken by bribe money freely used at the instance of members of the

V. A. M.

Their work in the Danbury Hatters' strike is too well understood to need

much comment. It is generally known, however, that the N. A. M. not only broke the strike, but backed the manufacturers in securing the heaviest judgment ever returned against any union. This judgment resulted in the attachment of small bank accounts of the union men and forced many of them to lose their homes. This was one of the greatest blows ever delivered against union labor in this coun-The A. F. of L. has already raised thousands of dollars to help the Danbury Hatters in an effort to save as many of these little homes as possible, while the National Association of Manufacturers and their work of putting the state and the government on record against the working class, goes merrily on.

But the N. A. M. did not confine its activities alone to labor difficulties. That William Howard Taft was the presidential nominee of the N. A. M., and that this organization felt that he would best serve the interests of its members, who could hope for a willing servant in the highest office in the United States, the following quotation from a letter written on June 24, 1912, by Ferd C. Schwedtman, chairman, assistant to John W. Kirby, Jr., president of the N. A. M., will attest:

Mr. John Kirby, Jr., My dear Mr. Kirby:

First let me congratulate you upon your nomination of President Taft.

Since you have nominated him so successfully, you will, no doubt, also elect him successfully, at least this is my great hope and wish. I haven't seen the platform in detail, but I am confident that under the conditions it is as good as could be expected and that you and your able lieutenants are in no small measure responsible for the various planks affecting our activities. I note with interest that Workmen's Compensation Legislation is covered in the platform.

Col. Mulhall understands that the reason the findings of the investigation committee were never reported upon was because almost as much bribery, treachery and anti-labor activity were proven in one of the old political parties as in the other.

"The Invisible Government is as powerful today as it was in the summer of 1913 when the Senate Committee undertook the investigation upon President Wilson's complaint against the lobby. In fact, it is making a supreme effort this year to clinch its hold on Washington and the life of the Nation." Col. Mulhall continued:

"In a sense the Invisible Government is not my story at all. The men who constitute it have written its history in their own signed letters and documents. Many of their authors are today candidates and nominees for election to high office in Washington."

A Disgraceful Episode

N Friday, May 5, 1916, there occurred in the United States House of Representatives an incident which is well calculated to fill us with a sense of shame, and must redound to the discredit of all concerned.

The House had under consideration the Porto Rico bill containing a provision for the disfranchisement of about three-fourths of its male population of voting age. In speaking against this provision of the bill Congressman London threw the House into a tumult of excitement by saying:

"I say you assassinate the rights of these Porto Ricans by depriving threefourths of those people of the right of

franchise, and I will tell you what you are accomplishing. You will be the cause of organized insurrection in Porto Rico. Three-fourths of the working people who will be disfranchised will have the right to use the revolver and will have the right to use violence and will have the right to kill governors. Do you deny a man the right to press his views through civilized methods, through the medium of the ballot? He has the right to use every weapon at his command and every protection. man whose vote you take away will have the right to put the knife of an assassin into the heart of any man who attempts to govern him against his will."

The debate on the Porto Rico bill was

suspended and the House entered upon an excited discussion as to what to do with the recreant Congressman, whose utterances were characterized by Mr. Austin of Tennessee, a Democrat of light and leading, as "a disgrace to the American Congress." This characterization was undoubtedly correct. But only in the sense that it was a disgrace to the American Congress to have to be reminded that according to the American theory of government the sanction of governmental power rests in the consent of the governed, and that where that sanction is wanting the "governed" have the right to use all means at their command in order to overthrow the iniquitous government. But Mr. Austin did not mean it exactly that way. What he meant to say was that the affirmation of this doctrine—which is the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence—by one of its members was a disgrace to the He therefore ex-American Congress. pressed the very laudable wish to be able to move the expulsion of London from the House. And in default of such power he desired to have London made to apologize for thus "insulting" the House, in which desire many of Mr. Austin's colleagues, both Democratic and Republican, heartily and vociferously joined. Which was surely disgrace enough.

But here something even more disgraceful happened—disgraceful not only to the American Congress, but also to the Socialist movement. American Socialist Congressman, instead of insisting on his rights, and making the most of his opportunity to confound the Bourbons of the House by teaching them a lesson in American history and American governmental theory, actually apologized. And not only that, he actually went back on himself, denying that he ever uttered the words in which he should have gloried. And all this in such a miserably abject way that the reading of the printed record of this scene is sickening and disheartening beyond measure.

What has happened to London? This is a riddle which will puzzle all those who know him, and who have watched his hitherto manful course in the House of Representatives. Whatever we may think of London's views on certain sub-

jects, surely London is no coward. Why, then, this abject pater peccavi?

Perhaps we may find the key to this riddle in the attitude of the Socialist press towards this incident. Not merely the reptile Socialist press, but the Socialist press that counts. In speaking of the incident, the New York Volkszeitung said, editorially, that London could not have said the words which we italicized above, for had he actually have said them he would have been no Socialist.

This sounds amazing, incredible. it is so writ in black on white in the editorial columns of the Volkszeitung of May 9. A. D. 1916. And there is no doubt that the Volkszeitung states what might be considered the official American Socialist opinion on this subject. It seems that the cancer of legalism has so eaten into the marrow of our bones that we have left even "Section Six" behind. section referred only to the United States, where we have manhood suffrage. The right to use "illegal" means against their oppressors was still, tacitly at least, reserved to those who are deprived of the right to vote. But in the meantime our legalistic doctrine has evidently received an important extension: The right to use "illegal" means is forbidden-according to this improved "Socialist" Code—even to those who have no other means at their disposal, those who cannot use "political action" because they have no political rights.

It seems that was this official socialist doctrine of legalism that made London eat his words so abjectly. At first London thoughtlessly followed his socialist and revolutionary instinct and courageously reminded the House of what used to be good democratic doctrine and should still be good socialist doctrine. But Mr. Austin of Tennessee reminded him that what was good democratic doctrine once was no longer, that it was in fact a "disgrace" to an alleged democratic Congress to have it uttered within its sacred precincts. Whereupon London evidently recalled that the Bourbon members of Tennessee were in possession not only of the true modern Democratic doctrine, but also of the true modern Socialist, or at least American Socialist, doctrine, and

he hastened to eat his words.

We have enough confidence in Congressman London's courage to believe that he would have defied the Bourbons of the House and taken the consequences. But he evidently did not have the courage to defy the Bourbons of his own party. What cowed him was undoubtedly the thought that he might be expressing

doctrines which were irregular, heterodox, "revolutionary," from the official socialist point of view.

This makes the episode perhaps less disgraceful for Congressman London, but so much more so for the socialist movement of this country.—L. B. B., in The New Review.

Socialism in the Plant World By ELIZA FRANCES ANDREWS

THERE are probably few people, even among Socialists, who are aware that the principles of cooperation and collectivism have been carried, by certain races of the plant population of the world, to a state of perfection unapproached in human society. Following the guidance of nature, these unconscious Socialist comrades of ours have met the simple requirement of their lives by developing a system of cooperation in which the division of labor is so perfectly adjusted, and the individual is so completely identified with the community that no one but an expert botanist ever thinks of drawing the line between them.

Take, for instance, a sunflower, an oxeye daisy, or any kind of a flower cluster like that shown here and probably ninety-nine people out of one hundred would unhesitatingly pronounce it a single blossom. But examine it more closely, and you will see that the little button in the

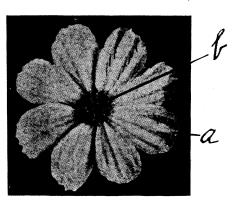


Fig. 1. A single (so called) flower of cosmos, showing (a) the ring of conspicuous ray flowers that serve to attract the visits of insects, and (b) the obscure cluster of productive flowers in the center.

center is composed of a number of tiny flowers so closely united that the community and its members could not exist separately. Each individual blossom has all its parts complete—the miniature pouch containing the unripe seed, surrounded by a ring of little stalked bodies bearing the yellow powder called pollen, which is necessary to the maturing of the seed. These are enclosed in the protecting circle of colored leaves or petals called a corolla—here united into a small cup or tube which envelopes them so closely that it may be necessary to slit it open with a pin, in order to see what is inside.

I suppose most people who read this paper know—every farmer certainly ought to know—that unless some of the pollen from the stamens, as the little stalked bodies are called, reaches the interior of the seed case, the plant could never set a seed. This, we know, is the most important industry of plant life, and hence these modest little flowers that can hardly be recognized for what they are, without the aid of a magnifying glass, may be regarded as the productive laborers of the community.

Examine now the showy ring of bright petal-like bodies that surround the obscure little group of productive workers, and you will probably find that they have neither seed case nor pollen; or at best, that either the one or the other is wanting, so that as a rule they cannot set seed, but are for show and display only. "Aristocrats and deadbeats" you will say. But no, not a bit of it. They represent the class of workers not engaged in directly productive labor, such as teachers, physicians, authors, ed-

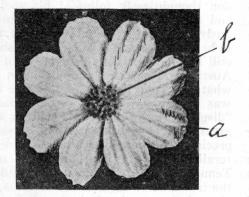


Fig. 1. A single (so-called) flower of cosmos, showing (a) the ring of conspicuous ray flowers that serve to attract the visits of insects, and (b) the obscure cluster of productive flowers in the center.

itors, lecturers, actors, artists, and the like, whom Comrade Haywood classifies, in a back number of the Review, as "the scum of the proletariat," but who are really just as necessary to the well-being of society as the carpenters, the farmers, the miners, or even Comrade Haywood himself—as the evidence of our Socialist plant friends will clearly show.

Every farmer, every gardener and nurseryman—everybody, in short, who has anything to do with the cultivation and breeding of plants, will tell you that those individuals which are impregnated with pollen from a different flower, or better still, from a different plant of the same species, produce better and more abundant crops of seed and fruit than when closely inbred with their kindred on the same shoot —just as human beings deteriorate by continued intermarriages in the same family. To prevent this interbreeding, various contrivances are provided by nature, the commonest of which is that the seed cases and the pollen sacs are either borne by different flowers on the same plant, as in the oaks and pines, or on different plants, as in the sassafras, the paper mulberry, and the common hop.

Since plants cannot move about from place to place, one of the chief problems they have to solve is how to get the pollen carried from one flower to another. In many cases the transportation is effected by the wind, but this is a very wasteful and uncertain method. Like our own stupid competitive system under capitalism, it compels the plant to expend an unnecessary amount of energy in the manufacture of pollen that is lost in the process of distribution just as a large part of the product of human labor is wasted in profits to the useless middlemen who pluck the consumer at every turn.

Some of the higher plants have checked

this waste by various devices for enlisting the aid of insects, which are much more reliable and economical carriers than the blind forces of nature, such as wind and water. For the purpose of calling the attention of these useful visitors to the sweets prepared for them, the brilliant petals of flowers, like the rose and the lily, have been developed. But the production of these advertising accessories is itself an expensive and exhausting process, and certain of our plant comrades, like the asters, the chrysanthemums, the "black-eyed-Susans," and others of the great sunflower family, to which they belong, have developed the system of cooperation and division of labor described at the beginning of this paper, by which one set of advertising agents is made to serve the needs of the whole community. By this means the cost of distribution is greatly diminished in comparison with the wasteful process where each individual flower has to do its own advertising.

The difference in efficiency of the two systems—individualist and collectivist—is strikingly illustrated by the rarity of such flowers as the rose, the lily, and the orchid, in a state of nature, as compared with the overwhelming abundance of the cooperative brotherhoods of the sunflower family, which constitute one-seventh of all the thousands of species that make up the greater part of the plant population of the globe. Another very significant fact is that this widespread race, which was conveniently associated by the old school of botanists into one group, under the general name of "Composita" on account of the compound or "composite" nature of their flowers, is now, by the unanimous consent of modern botanists, placed at the head of the vegetable kingdom, and is recognized, like man in the animal kingdom, as the highest product of evolution yet attained in the plant world.



Industrial Unionism: What Is It?

It Has Four Cardinal Points

First—It accepts the principle that the interests of the working class and of the employing class are irreconcilably opposed. In accepting this principle, the Industrial Unionist gives the lie to the nation which dominates the ordinary trade or craft union, namely, that the interests of the two classes are harmonious.

That the poverty of the working class is due to the fact that labor power being a commodity is becoming increasingly evident. The working man's wage is simply the price of the commodity he must sell to the employers in order to live, and this price represents only a very small portion of the wealth produced by him in the service of the capitalist class.

Modern society is made up of wage workers, who perform all the necessary labor, and capitalist owners of the means of life, who appropriate the bulk of Labor's product. The interests of the two sections are NOT the same. The one toils and produces, the other idles and appropriates. The one receives enough only to enable it to work, the other pays wages out of previous surplus produce and gets them back again a hundredfold. The one has no means of production, the other has all the means of production. The working class alone is necessary, and should rule society and industry; the capitalist class is unnecessary, and should, therefore, be abolished.

Between the two there exists a class struggle, continuous and bitter. Capital is organized to maintain and extend its sway, while Labor's ranks present the appearance of a disorganized rabble, trade unionism helping the confusion by keeping the workers divided along craft lines. Industrial unionism seeks to organize and unite all wage-earners in order to pursue the class truggle to an end intelligently and relentlessly.

Second—Industrial unionism holds that there should be one union for all workers. Only by this means can the encroachments of the capitalist class upon the subsistence of the workers be met.

The necessity for a single union is rendered imperative by the economic conditions of our time: Modern industry has given rise to a set of conditions wherein several trades or crafts become united under the sway of one capitalist master or group of masters. A large industrial plant may be owned by one man, but where such a plant involves the work of different sorts of craftsmen, these craftsmen (where unions exist) are divided, not united. It is a common thing for half-adozen unions to be represented in one establishment.

Furthermore, throughout the departments of production today it will generally be found that, where different groups of men are arranged, or rather divided, into different unions, each union enters into an agreement that conflicts with the agreements entered into by almost every other union. One trade signs an agreement that will expire in January, another union will accept one binding them until March, while another body will tie itself up until November, and so on. Thus unionism of the old style has brought about a state of almost inextricable confu-Whenever one trade section goes upon strike, the other sections in the same industrial department remain at work, and thus help the employers to defeat the efforts of their fellows on the street. Under the banner of trade unionism wholesale blacklegging takes place. We could fill this leaflet (and many others) with instances to prove this. When, for example, the pattern-makers are on strike in one town, the patternmakers remain at work in other towns, and produce patterns which can easily be transported to the scene of the strike to enable the molders to blackleg as well.

Industrial unionism seeks to organize the workers into a union which is designed to embrace every industry in the land. What we aim at is not a TRADE but a CLASS union; not a loose federation of craft unions, but a single union under a single constitution, and composed of industrial departments, each of which shall include many and closely-related grades of labor. This is the only real embodiment of the idea of solidarity of labor. Under such a form of organization "an injury to one would be regarded as an injury to all," and rightly so. The capitalists strive to drive the wages of the workers down to the standard of the lowest-paid man, and strive to depress the wages of the lowest-paid man still lower. The cost of female labor becomes the standard to which the cost of male labor continually tends, just as the cost of a Chinese proletarian or wage-slave becomes the level to which the cost of the European worker's subsistence gradually falls. The industrial union would permit of and promote the strike of a whole industry, embracing many crafts, or, if necessary, the strike of a whole series of industries, in order to defend the workers, or to promote their interests. The industrial union is a class union.

Third—the advocates of industrial unionism hold that the ultimate and neverto-be-forgotten object of the working men's industrial movement must be to seize and to hold as their own collective property, all the means of production.

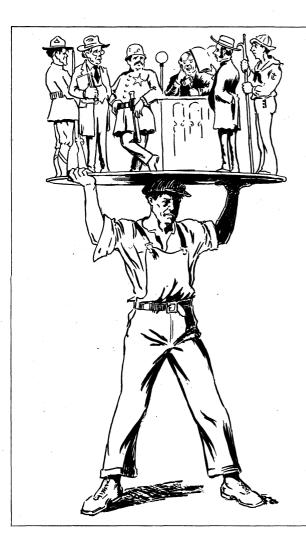
Capitalism, even for the highest paid worker, is a system of robbery and a social crime. Its main feature, private or class ownership of the materials and instruments of production, is the outcome of successive acts of theft by the ruling class of the past, and is the means whereby the capitalists force the workers to hand over their labor power for a pittance. Capitalism condemns the worker to the

life of a slave, whose burden becomes heavier, and whose reward grows ever smaller. Never will the workers be masters of their products until they are masters of the tools. To that consummation society must move. Rapidly and inevitably the industries of the land are becoming centralized in fewer and fewer hands, while the labor of the wage-slaves in field or factory, in workshop, mill and mine, becomes more co-operative and interlinked than ever. Industrial unionism prepares the way for and lays the sure foundation of the Socialist Republic, by producing a working class industrially organized throughout the length and breadth of the land, and round the globe.

Industrial unionism combines the workers that they may run the plants themselves, that they may directly control the various industries under the truest form of democracy. Under the new economic regime, the central directing authority will be a parliament of industry, composed of representatives of the various departments of production, and will be elected from below.

Fourth—industrial unionism, based as it is on the fact of the class struggle, promotes the political unity of labor by achieving labor's industrial unity. The new union will establish itself simply as the economic organization of the working class, it will proclaim the necessity for political as well as industrial unity, it will marshal the workers on the field of industry, and, by that means, raise their ability for unified action against capital in the arena of politics.—The Maoriland Worker.





T HIS picture shows how the productive workers support the idlers and their servants today. The war in Europe could not last six months if men still made things by the old hand method instead of by machine, because the soldiers would all starve to death. But factory and machine production make it possible for one hard-working man or woman to support half a dozen people.

But we productive workers believe in DIVIDING UP the work with the people who are riding on our backs. If every healthy adult worked four hours a day and stopped making profits for the OWNING class, all could enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life. This is what socialists and industrial unionists want to do.

THE LIES WE BELIEVE

By JOHN RANDOLPH

HERE do you get your ideas, you workingmen and working women, who feed and clothe and shelter the world; who transport the food from the farms to the cities, who mine the coal and make the wheels go round? Where do you get your ideas?

You get your ideas from your school teachers and your preachers, from the newspapers and the magazines and from the books that are written—and praised because they teach you things that are not true.

You get your ideas from the men who work beside you, whom you talk to on the street cars, in the barber shops and saloons. And these men and women are fed up on the lies printed in the newspapers and in the magazines and in the books and which are taught in the public schools.

In any age the ideas of people in general are the ideas of the ruling class, the ideas that will benefit the people who rule the people who work.

Almost everybody believes in "honesty" so far as workingmen are con-

cerned. We have all been taught all our lives that an honest workingman is something praiseworthy and noble. Nobody but the rebels, who have always been people whom nobody with property respects at all, nobody but these rebels has ever said that it was wrong for a man to take all the things the wage workers make. That sort of graft is respectable. But if a workingman stuffed a hundred links of sausage in the Armour packing plant and carried away two pounds of sausage in his pockets for his own dinner, he would be arrested and put into jail. But folks think it is all right for one man to make and another man take the sausage.

Our teachers and college professors tell us that if we are *honest* and hardworking and *economical* we can all save up enough to get rich. If a school teacher or a college professor taught us the truth and said that a man who works for wages couldn't support a family and save up \$20,000 in a thousand years, would be fired from his job because he didn't teach what the *owning* class wants us to believe.

The incident of Scott Nearing and his removal from the University of Pennsylvania because he showed that the average worker gets only five or six hundred dollars a year in wages, is too recent for us to forget what happens to college professors who see things and tell them. His students would naturally decide that if a workingman earned only \$500 a year he couldn't save \$20,000 in less than forty years if he slept in the streets and wore fig leaves for clothing and lived on free lunches.

And you know and I know what would happen to the man who tried to live on Free (?) Lunches, or who was reduced to wearing Fig Leaves instead of coats and trousers.

Do you know that it is only a man or a woman with exceptional brains who can read between the lines of the newspapers and see the truth? Do you know that it takes more brain than most of us have to think for ourselves?

When you are taught to think and to do all the things that will make you a "contented," "industrious," "honest" wage worker all your life, so that your boss may take your products and pile up profits and

wealth, and when you see everybody kowtowing to your boss and praising your honest, industrious efforts so long as you do not rebel, it is hard to spit in the face of respectability and *fight*. But as long as we do not fight we shall keep on making profits and dividends and remain wage slaves

Just now I think if you will watch the newspapers and the magazines you will see one of the most interesting phenomena of your lives. You can see "public opinion" manufactured right before your nose. You can see how the ruling, or capitalist, class has decided that it needs something and wants something that it never thought of wanting two years ago, and how it is going to make us workingmen and women howl for it, too.

This is something that is going to be a very bad thing for the working class. If the capitalist class gets what it wants, it will mean that one of the few liberties left to us "free" (?) Americans will be taken away from us. It will mean that every man and woman in America will be ticketed and watched from the cradle to the grave, and that the young men will be forced into the army.

It will mean that every workingman will be *forced* to train to fight for and die for the *property* interests of the very class, the employing class, which exploits him, which keeps him a poverty-stricken, propertyless wage-worker.

You and every other able-bodied workingman will have to give up two years or three years of your lives to training and working in the army, so that when the capitalist class decides to go down and take the rest of Mexico, you will be ready to give up your lives to protect the big ranches of Hearst or the oil wells of Rockefeller or the mines of the Guggenheims.

You will have to fight to gain *more* oil wells, more land, more mines for those who have already robbed the United States of these natural resources.

The capitalists in this country have decided to make a big bid for world markets and for the natural resources of those countries not already modernized. And so we are all going to become patriotic.

During the past few months we have noticed with pleasure that the working class was not enthusiastic over a proposed war with Mexico, or over a larger army and navy. But the ruling class, with the help of its public servants, the press, the pulpit, the school and college, is going to flood that press with lies that will make the whole world believe that we workers are demanding "Preparedness," a bigger army and navy, and—ultimately—universal conscription or universal military service. By "universal" we mean universal for the workers. The owning class can always be exempted from the disagreeable things of life.

The capitalist class imports gunmen in times of strike; it uses the militia to protect strike-breakers. It may employ soldiers in the factories, mines and mills, at a price so low as to break up the unions or to break a strike.

And the papers and magazines will be declaring within the next few months that we want all this. People scattered all over the country will read of the great Preparedness parades and the "enthusiasm" of the Man Who Toils, and before we know it, half the working class will read these things and believe them and begin to root for Preparedness themselves.

This is an idea and a movement being deliberately manufactured by the capitalistic class because *it wants* a great army and a great navy to further its own interests.

When you read that 200,000 people paraded in a demonstration for Predaredness in Chicago on June 3rd, you will not know that men marched for fear of losing their jobs, or on the threat of a "lay-off" or of being "docked" for the day in wages.

You will not know that the newspapers deliberately over-stated the size of the parade, nor that the line of march was reduced to something over a mile so that every inducement should be given the "employees" to parade, that those who promised to march were given the whole day as a holiday.

OUR COUNTRY

Now, I want to say right here that I am willing to fight for my country—when I get it, and I am willing to fight right now to get a country that will be our country, a real country of, for and by workingmen and women. But until we have a country of our own, until we have a country that guarantees security from want, a job if we

want it, a home to live in, an income for our old age, equal opportunity for all to work and produce things and to secure the value of our products—until we have such a country, I think the only thing worth fighting for is a *chance to get it*.

We must stand for Preparedness for the coming working class struggle, which is the only struggle worth while. Today the working class has no country. It has nothing on earth but its strength, which it has to sell for wages—in order to live. And the workers cannot always find a boss—a place to sell this laboring power. They cannot always find a job at which to make profits for somebody else.

One of the other decent and intelligent things Prof. Scott Nearing did, for which the capitalist class could not forgive him, was to point out that the laws and the Government were made to protect *profits* before they protected the lives of the workers.

The Government will back up the banker or the land owner who wants to take back his land from the farmer who cannot pay his mortgage on it. It will take away the crop of the farm tenant, who produced the crop, and turn it over to the landowner, without first seeing that the producer has enough to eat.

The Government and the judges and the laws are here to support your employer, who turns you out without a job, homeless and penniless, in order that he may be sure to make his own profits which you earned and your boss appropriates.

The Government does *nothing* for you who work. It does everything for profits and profit-takers. It assures the capitalist of his profits. It offers and gives you absolutely *nothing*.

Let a dozen strikers threaten to burn the factory of their boss—the police and the militia will jump to the scene to protect property. Let a dozen miners be entombed in a mine thru the criminal negligence of the mine owners—the State will rush to the aid of the mine owner to see that fires in the mine do not cause any loss of property, while they will allow the entombed miners to die.

The Government of this country and of every other "civilized" country in the world today is a government of and for the property owners only. Property, profits and dividends are its only consideration.

The life of the worker is considered only when it involves profits. Now that the capitalist class has declared itself for Preparedness, it may be that the Government will provide some means of producing healthier, stronger, more able workingmen because the ruling class needs strong soldiers to fight in its interests.

ALL GOVERNMENTS ALIKE

At the root, all capitalist governments are alike. They may vary in some of their branches, or statutes, or minor forms, but they function in the same way. All these Governments will go to the same lengths to keep your class, and my class, in subjection.

One capitalist government is not worse than another. People point to the German naval officer who blew up a hospital ship lying at anchor and say that this is more brutal than anything that the English government would do.

And then came the Irish rebellion and our wounded comrades were held up to be shot for treason against their enemies' government. And you and I can look back a few pages and see the lieutenants of John D. Rockefeller murdering men, women and children in Ludlow, Colorado, with the connivance of the State.

Which is worse? Aren't they all alike? Are they not all the enemies of the working class of the world?

Last week I read the words of a millionaire Chicago patriot who was for "Preparedness and America All the Time." But I could not forget that only two months ago he was hiring Mexican factory workers to put in the places of his own American workers making binder twine.

He wants Preparedness and an army in Yucatan to help him get a monopoly of the sisal industry there. He wants American working class soldiers to help him clinch the slavery of the Indian sisal workers in Mexico.

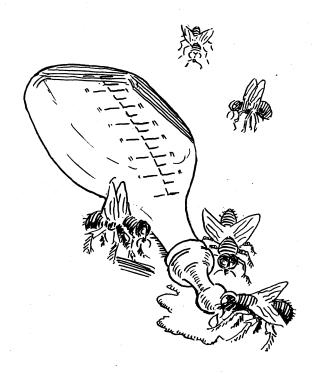
But what does he say and what does "Our" Country and "Our" Government have to say when he imports "foreign" wage workers to take *our* jobs in time of strike? Or at any other time? Where does Americanism come in then?

An I. W. W. boy wrote us that since the war began a foreign government has placed soldiers in the factories to work beside men and women who were getting union wages. The soldier got six pence an hour. Any soldier that rebelled was taken out and shot. Soldiers can be used in more than one way.

Imperialism is here in America today. It is growing by leaps and bounds. Don't be carried away by it. Explain it to your shopmates and fight the tide all you can.

And *educate* and *organize* for the day when we shall be strong enough to seize control of the means of production and distribution for the working class!





The House Fly as a Carrier of Diseases By HENNYDENA NEDERD

T IS an old story that about the commonest things we know the least and the house fly does not mark an exception of this rule. When L. O. Howard and C. L. Marlatt began in 1895 to work on the subject of household insects, they discovered that very few of the species found so abundantly in households were included in the museum collections. There would be a large series of a rare beetle from Brazil, but no specimens of the common house cockroach, for example; and when they began to look into the literature of the subject they learned that published accounts were even more scarce than the specimens in the collections.

People have altogether too long considered the house fly as a harmless creature, or at the most, simply a nuisance. While scientific researches have shown that it is a most dangerous creature from the standpoint of disease, and while popular opinion is rapidly being educated to the same point, the retention of the name "house fly" is considered inadvis-

able as perpetuating in some degree the old ideas.

The name of "typhoid fly" will therefore be used in the following lines as a substitute for the name "house fly" now in general use, as proposed by L. O. Howard, an expert on our subject. Strictly speaking, the term "typhoid fly" is open to some objection as conveying the erroneous idea that this fly is solely responsible for the spread of typhoid, but, considering that the creature is dangerous from every point of view and that it is an important element in the spread of typhoid, it seems advisable to give it a name which is almost wholly justified and which conveys in itself the idea of serious disease.

The popular belief is that the little flies one occasionally sees on the window pane, grow and become the large flies that are so numerous. This is a mistake; no fly, after it leaves the puparium, grows at all. To be correct, no insects grow after the last molt; in fact, insects can grow only by casting their skins, and none of the in-

sects having what is called a perfect metamorphosis, casts the skin after reaching

the imago or winged stage.

The typhoid fly will breed in almost any fermenting organic matter, but it is safe to say that under ordinary city or town conditions, more than ninety per cent of flies present in houses have come from horse stables or their neighborhood. Next to horse manure the typhoid fly is attracted to human excreta, and not only visits it wherever possible for food, but lays its eggs upon it and lives during its larval life within it. It will not only do this in the latrines of army camps, or in the open box privies of rural districts and small villages, but also upon chance droppings in the field or in the back alleyways of cities, as repeatedly shown experimentally in Washington, D. C.

In the course of his investigations of conditions in small towns with especial reference to the hookworm disease, Stiles has found that in cotton-mill towns, for example, the privies may be a much more important breeding place of flies than the manure piles, for you may have 250 uncared-for privies and perhaps only one or even no manure pile. And there are communities also where horses are scarce and pigs are numerous. Stiles has seen great accumulations of pig manure swarming with fly larvæ. Fermenting vegetable refuse from the kitchen must also be considered as a dangerous breed-

ing place for flies.

Each female fly lays on the average 120 eggs, or perhaps more, at a time and may lay several times. The eggs are very small; they are all long, ovoid in shape and glistening white. The eggs hatch after eight hours, while the 3 larva stages take about five days, followed by the transformation to pupa, when it takes about three to four days to the adult fly. According to weather conditions, the time between the egg and the outgrown fly is from 8 to 15 days.

The theoretical possibilities in the way of numbers that one fly may produce is well-nigh beyond belief. If we start on April 15th with a single over-wintering fly we come to the following figures:

April 15th, the over-wintering female fly lays 120 eggs.

May 1st 120 adults issue, of which 60 are females.

May 10th, 60 females lay 120 eggs each. May 28th, 7,200 adults issue, of which 3,600 are females.

By September 10th, the adult flies that issue number 5,598,720,000,000, of which one-half are females. On the other hand it must be remembered, that in the table we have assumed that each issuing female has laid only 120 eggs, that is one batch, while in reality she may lay four such batches. But we better leave this for those who are quick in figures. Of course, in nature not all eggs are hatched, and a fly has many chances of death, not only between the egg and the adult, but also as an adult, before the period of sexual maturity has been reached.

What hinders a fly to make a short cut between a consumptive's spittoon and a huckleberry pie; between the mouth of a dead dog and the nipple of a baby's milk bottle, or between a garbage can and a cream jar? A fly may have a good morning's walk upon the contents of an open privy and then wipe its feet on the butter and take a bath in the milk. When we consider this it should not be necessary to go into details as to the possibilities and dangers of the fly as a disease carrier. In order to comprehend fully just what a disease germ passes through after it is sucked by one of these creatures, it is necessary to know something of the structure of the alimentary canal.

The germ passes with the food through a rather narrow tube right into the crop, which lies in the lower part of the abdomen of the fly and which is in reality a temporary storehouse. The food remains there practically unchanged and from where it can be pumped back to the mouth or into the stomach to pass in turn into the hind intestine and the rectum. In view of this we understand the report of Prof. Nuttall and Jepson, which in part says:

"It should be remembered that a fly may cause relatively gross infection of any food upon which it alights after having fed upon infective substances, be they typhoid, cholera or diarrhea stools. Not only is its exterior contaminated, but its intestine is charged with infective material in concentrated form which may be discharged undigested upon fresh food which it seeks. Consequently, the excrement voided by a single fly may contain a greater quantity of the infective agents than, for instance, a sample of infected water. In potential possibilities the droppings of one fly may, in certain circumstances, weigh in the balance as against buckets of water or of milk."

The statement (1909) of the Merchants' Association of New York is also interesting in this respect: "The reports of a corps of inspectors along the water front of Greater New York all showed the presence of exposed fecal matter (human excreta); in some cases solid matter from sewers not removed by the tides and in many instances due to intolerable toilet conditions on the docks.

During the hot weeks in summer these human excreta were found to be swarming with flies. By the use of staining fluids, and by other methods these flies were shown to be traveling back and forth from this filthy material to the food of the nearby restaurants and homes. Microscopic examinations of these flies showed them carrying on their mouths and legs considerable quantities of the filthy matter over which they had walked, and this matter, as would be expected, contained many thousands of faecal bacteria. It was then demonstrated by bacterial methods, that this faecal matter containing disease germs would be strewn about on food wherever the fly walked."

This paper says further: "Regarded in the light of recent knowledge the fly is more dangerous than the tiger or the cobra. Worse than that, he is, at least in our climate, much more to be feared than the mosquito and may be classed, the world over, as the most dangerous animal on earth. It has been for some time thoroughly well demonstrated that he is one of the chief agencies in the spread of

Asiatic cholera. We now know him to be the source of a high percentage of the cases of typhoid fever and the chief disseminator of diarrhoeal diseases, from which about 7,000 children die annually in New York City alone."

The house fly is charged in having part in spreading the following diseases: Typhoid fever, consumption, diarrheal diseases, diphtheria, scarlet fever and, in fact,

any communicable disease.

No doubt, many Review readers will be interested in a few.

Rules for dealing with the fly nuisance:

- 1. Keep in mind all the time: If there is no dirt and filth there will be no flies.
- 2. Do not allow decaying material of any sort to accumulate on or near your premises.
- 3. All refuse which tends in any way to fermentation, such as bedding straw, paper waste and vegetable matter should be disposed of or covered with lime or kerosine oil.
- 4. Keep all receptacles for garbage carefully covered and the cans cleaned or sprinkled with oil or lime.
- 5. Keep all stable manure in vault or pit, screened or sprinkled with lime, oil or other cheap preparation.
- 6. See that your sewage system is in good order, that it does not leak, is up to date and is not exposed to flies.
 - 7. Pour kerosine into the drains.
- 8. Screen all windows and doors, especially those of the kitchen.
- 9. Burn pyrethrum powder in the house to kill the flies.
- 10. Screen all food, and cover food after meal; burn or bury all table refuse.
- 11. Don't forget if you see flies, their breeding place is in the nearby filth. It may be behind the door, under the table, or in the cuspidor.
- 12. If there is any nuisance in the neighborhood, write at once to the Health Department of the district.

THE LEFT WING

Economic Causes of Imperialism

By S. J. RUTGERS

N ANALYZING Imperialism in its broader sense, as the term is understood by the Left Wing of the European Socialists, we found* that this kind of Imperialism is quite familiar to American workers in their every-day class struggle, also that Imperialism is at the bottom of the failure of parliamentary action, and of the temporary set-back in the class struggle of the wage-workers of the United States.

This important issue (Imperialism) makes it necessary for us to consider closely the economic facts, which go to show, that the aggressive foreign policy, to protect the investments of capital for the exploitation of undeveloped foreign countries, and the aggressive, brutal, home policy take their origin from the same special economic causes.

Given the elementary economic fact, that the share of labor in its product is determined by the cost of its reproduction, that is, the cost of living, according to historical standards, influenced within certain limits by the fighting power of the workers; given also the all important tendency under capitalism of an ever-growing productivity of labor; the result is, an increasing tendency for expansion of the markets. That the products should be disposed of by increasing the purchasing power of labor is not likely to happen, unless labor should get into power, which means the end of the Capitalist system. For the capitalist class to consume the growing product in unlimited luxury is against the most essential characteristic of capitalism, which demands that the surplus value be invested in new and bigger industries, more highly developed machinery, etc., bringing certain ruin to those capitalists that fall behind in the race. To invest the surplus value in more productive machinery means increasing the difficulty of finding a market, unless there is expansion at the same time.

To a certain extent the means of pro-

*See articles by S. J. Rutgers in the International Socialist Review for May and June.

duction may create their own market, which strengthens the present characteristic of the supremacy of iron and steel and basic industries, as compared with textiles and other similar commodities in an earlier period of capitalism, but the rapid growth of modern machinery at the same time tends to stimulate the output on all fields of capitalistic production. So we can easily understand that expansion is one of the most fundamental characteristics of capitalism.

Now since all this is a normal feature of capitalism, it does not, even tho it is at the bottom of imperialism, account in itself for the advent of what we have called a new phase of capitalism. We might say, that this new development into Imperialism is an example of a dialectic development, in which a quantitative change turns at a certain point into a qualitative one—but such a statement will appeal only to a few of the more philosophic socialists.

Keeping, however, to every-day facts, it will be easy to understand how this fundamental change came about.

The ever-growing concentration and the technical development did not affect all branches of production to the same degree. On the contrary, this concentration and trustification did affect first of all some of the basic industries: steel, coal, copper, oil, etc. In most of these basic industries, there developed a tendency toward monopoly, while at the same time other industries were far behind in their development, and continued along the old lines of capitalistic production.

Now we all know, that "free competition" is one of the fundamentals of capitalist economics; that in the early days of capitalism this free competition was the all-important slogan from which developed the idealogy of "freedom," which played so important a part in the French Revolution, as well as in the policy of the bourgeois at a time when they still believed in bringing in a better world.

Free competition forms a most import-

ant element in the capitalist economy. Although it does not affect directly the problems of surplus value and exploitation of the wage workers, it constitutes the regulating factor in the division of the surplus value among the different groups of capitalists, assuring each an equal return upon an equal sum of money invested. The capitalist, being "free" to invest his money where he thinks it most profitable, will shift it from industries with smaller profits to such as offer higher returns. Investors, however, are only interested in the total returns on their investments, regardless of whether this is in fixed capital, machinery, etc., yielding no surplus value, or in labor, which produces all of the surplus value. This brings about a shifting of capital and of surplus value from the less-developed to the more highly developed industries—automatically regulated by the price of commodities; these selling above or below their values in a way to keep the profit in each industry at about the average rate.

Within the limit of an article, it is only possible to mention these fundamental problems, which are treated in the third volume of Marx's "Capital." Those who are not familiar with these theories will nevertheless be able to understand the general meaning and to compare the results derived from the application of the theory with the every-day facts. So they are invited to proceed.

Given monopolistic tendencies in some of the basic industries, it follows that the capitalist law, regulating the price of the basis of free competition, becomes fallacious, and is partly superseded by what the monopolists call "price policy"—a policy well described by a typical phrase derived from American railroad methods as "all the traffic will bear."

Let us suppose that there is a perfect monopoly in one of the basic industries, such as the production of steel. Then the price of steel to a certain extent can be fixed arbitrarily by the monopolist. What will be the limit under these circumstances?

The monopolist cannot escape the laws of value, and he does not increase the amount of surplus value by his price policy. He may be in a position to reduce the standard of living of the wageworkers to

a certain degree, not, however, as a monopolist, but as a powerful master. For even if the monopolist reduces the standard of living by means of high prices, it will depend upon the relative power of labor whether it is compensated by an increase in wages. The economic struggle of labor has always been for an actual (or a desired) standard of living, not for a certain money wage, regardless of what can be bought with it. And although, as a general rule, a monopolist will be at the same time a powerful master, the worker will always have to receive a wage on which he can live, so that his exploitation can continue.

But where, if not from labor, does the monopolist get his extra profit, when he increases the price of his products? The answer is that he pumps a greater part of the general surplus value into his own barrel, by reducing the share of his fellow-capitalists, and he can go on pumping until—until the profits of the other capitalists are reduced to a certain standard of income, more or less according to historic conditions, that allows them to carry on those industries that are not yet ripe for being controlled directly by Big Capital.

So we find a new element entering the capitalist economy, which influences the profits of the independent capitalists in a way which greatly resembles that in which the salaries of employees and the wages of laborers are fixed, and although the "standard of living" is higher, there is the same tendency to reduce this standard gradually.

There remains, of course, a competition among the smaller capitalists themselves, to get a greater share of what is left by Big Capital, and besides, we must not forget that there is no such thing as a complete monopoly. But the tentendency to increase the profits of Big Capital at the expense of the other capitalist groups is indisputable, and has most important results.

Monopolistic Big Capital getting an extra profit as compared with other capitalists, it is logical that the big interests want to invest their profits in some equally profitable way. This means that they will use their enormous profits principally in two ways: in industries that will soon be ripe for combining with other highly developed

industries; or in extending the highly developed industries that have already monopolistic tendencies. The development of industries of lower organization into a higher capitalist form is a process that cannot be forced in a given situation, beyond certain technical and social limits. Thus the second possibility, that of extending the existing monopolistic enterprises, becomes of first importance. And here we are at the bottom of imperialism in its foreign aggresion, with steel and oil interests and the extractive industries in control, preferably in their generalized form of financing banking capital.

In the United States, until very recently, conditions have been such as to induce Big Capital to pay more attention to the first form of investment, by subjugating less developed industries, under its own control. At the same time, there were opportunities for developing the western part of the United States, which gave room for quantitative expansion, without foreign aggression. Now that this possibility has, relatively speaking, come to a standstill, foreign aggression is decided upon by Financial Capital, and you may be sure that this will be carried out with efficiency and without the slightest scruples.

We have thus shown very briefly the results of economic developments as affecting big monopolistic capital. But how about the rest of the capitalist class?

Since Big Capital pumps its extra profits out of less developed capitalistic enterprises, some of us might expect that the majority of capitalists would combine to fight Big Capital. And indeed there has been some fighting of this kind. United States has witnessed several attempts to fight monopolies, and an equal number of failures to accomplish any-The anti-trust laws have been used against labor unions, but have had no visible effect upon the Rockefeller in-There is unconscious humor in terests. the big signs posted in some of the smaller New York lunch rooms, printed on paper from the paper trust, in which the appetite of customers is stimulated by the legend: "We Buy No Products from Any Trust." As this assumes that they have oil fields, anthracite mines and steel mills of their own, the only solution of the statement seems to be that these lunchrooms must themselves be part of a gigantic trust.

It is highly interesting to realize, why it is that this fight against Big Capital is such a failure. On one side we find a small number of interested individuals, on the other side the great majority of capitalists, in a country with so-called "democratic institutions," and without even so much as militarism to protect the interests of the few. We observe the majority making up their minds to attack the few, and failing, failing lamentably and giving it up, to become the obedient servants of Big Capital. Is not this mysterious, and can labor maintain any hope in its own victory in view of such facts?

Here is a brilliant example of the allimportance of economic facts, of economic power, when backed by historical tendencies.

Small capital is historically doomed; it is not an indispensable economic factor. And the more highly developed, the more powerful an industry is, the greater its chance of emerging into Big monopolistic capital. The feeling of dependence upon Financial Capital is already so overwhelming in the capitalist class, that any serious opposition is impossible. In fact, if any capitalist were to venture a serious attack on the Big interests, he can be most easily ruined. The tendency of history is to do away with "independent" capital, and this makes the smaller capitalists powerless. The tendency of history can not do away with labor, however; on the contrary, Big Capital derives its power from labor. In this fact lies our power and our hope.

The failure of capitalist attacks upon monopoly implies, of course, the absolute dependency of the capitalist class upon Big Capital; it means the control of the latter over the whole field of social and political life. It means therefore, that the tendency of Big Capital toward Imperialism becomes a general policy of the whole capitalist class. Since the smaller capitalist can not resist Big Capital, their only possible policy is to try to make the best of the situation by supporting Big Capital, and seeking a share in the profits that result from foreign and home aggression. For as against Labor, all the capitalists have a common interest; they all live from surplus value, and they all try to keep labor cheap and submissive. Moreover, Big Capital is perfectly willing to grant a certain higher standard of living and some material advantages to those who are needed to keep labor down; this includes not only little "capitalists" but the higher salaried employees as well, and even some elements of the laboring class. Big Capital is able and willing to pay for services, but it will not allow any form of independent thought or action. Even the highest official of a corporation or the President of the United States will be "fired" if he acts counter to the fundamental interests of Big Capital.

This means the end of old style "politics," in which the conflicting interests of different capitalist groups might be skilfully used by brilliant labor leaders to further the interests of the working class (or of themselves). This means, that we have arrived at what Marx predicted in the Communist Manifesto, "the splitting up of society into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other; Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." means absolutism, brutality, reaction; it means in one word "Imperialism," not only as foreign aggression, but as a home policy of the ruling class as well. It means the justification of the European conception of Imperialism.

And it means even more. It means a tendency towards a more complete form of industrial concentration, in which the whole powerful organization of the capitalist State will be put into the direct service of the controlling Financial Interests, to exploit the workers more efficiently. State Capitalism is the logical outcome, because this means the highest form of capitalist organization of industries, and at the same time constitutes the political form best adapted to serve the interests of the various capitalist groups.

The large group of better-paid employes and officials, the so-called new middle class, who depend upon their salaries, may reasonably expect to be better protected in their standard of living by a state organization, with an official standardization of salaries, than under privately controlled monopolies. The so-called "independent" capitalists as a group are, as we have seen

above, practically in the same position as the salaried employees. And Big Capital, which will control the organization of the new monopolistic state, will find it the most effective machine that can be devised to enslave the workers, and therefore will accept this form of imperialism.

State Capitalism will mean the most efficient form of organization in the struggle for foreign aggression and world power, as well as the strongest form of class organization against labor, making labor strikes a crime against the nation, and international solidarity high treason.

No great effort of the imagination is required to picture this aggressive form of future State Capitalism, in which the most brutal State, with the most effective militarism in the trenches as well as in the workshop, will have the best chances for world power.

But this is a conception of the future, with some uncertain elements, above all the uncertainty whether labor will continue to support the capitalist class in its "national" ambitions—whether labor will fail to recognize its duty to its own class under Imperialism.

But Imperialism as a class policy of modern financial capitalism under present conditions, for the exploitation of the world-proletariat, is no conception of the future; it is a living fact before our eyes.

This form of Imperialism is without doubt highly developed in the United States, and the fact that the workers have not realized it, and have kept to the old and obsolete forms of lifeless democracy, accounts for the scanty results accomplished by the socialist movement on this side of the ocean. There is a beginning of new life, a beginning of mass-democracy, but it lacks a clear understanding of its relation to the past and the future, as well as to the rest of the world. As soon as red-blooded, class-conscious workers get into their heads that the present-day form of capitalism is Imperialism, and that under Imperialism the only possible form of democracy is mass action, there will be the beginning of a new fighting period; there will be an end to the present stagnation.

This new democracy and its practical methods of action will be the subject matter of our next article.

VIRGIN FORESTS OF THE PHILIPPINES

By MARION WRIGHT

OTH the friar and the capitalist fared exceedingly well when, after the American occupation, the rich sugar, cocoanut, hemp and tobacco lands of the Philippines were "divided up" and titles properly adjusted according to the capitalistic law. But for once in its 140 years of existence the government of the United States held onto something for the people in retaining title to the virgin forests of the islands. And this great storehouse of riches, thanks to the mania for good roads which the Yankee introduced, is ready to be tapped, and may be easily visited and examined.

Books of travel abound in descriptions of dense jungle growth, of the beauty of orchids, vines and tree ferns; of the strange plants and animals, and of the often equally strange human beings to be encountered in the primeval forests of the tropics; but it is rare indeed that the casual traveler from the temperate zone has an opportunity to visit such an area for himself without too serious sacrifice of time, convenience, or even of personal safety. Such an opportunity the Philippines afford in good measure, for there one may travel over first class roads through virgin forests, dripping with orchids, vines and ferns, the air cool and odorous and resonant with the fall of distant water; finally to emerge upon some little native village or upon tiny valleys crowded with rice-paddies and surrounded by hills covered with rustling fronds of cocoanut palms.

One such area in particular has been set aside as a permanent reserve, so completely does it unite all the desirable qualities of a national park. It is known officially as the Antimonan Forest Park, situated near the sea-coast town of Antimonan in the Province of Tayabas.

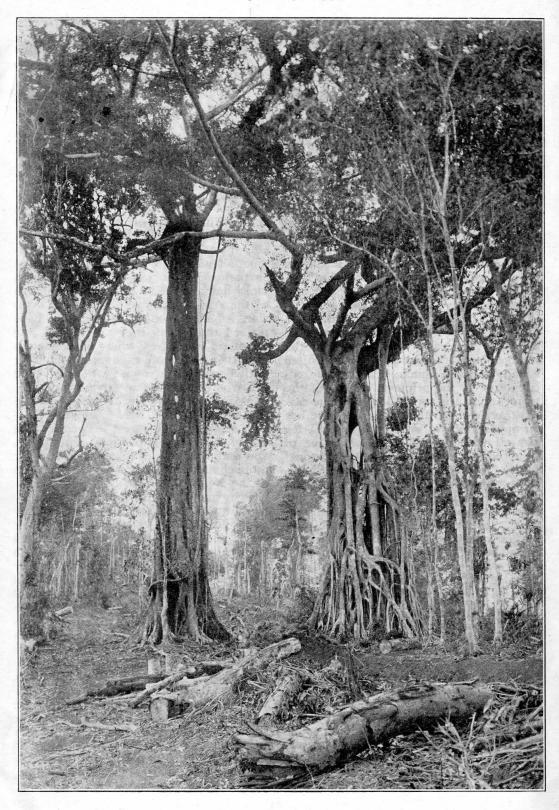
The traveler also sights one of the richest of the forests of the Philippines as his ship approaches the entrance to Manila bay. This is on the slopes of Mount Mariveles, which looms up large to the northward. From Manila trips are made out to

the mountain over well graded roads and trails.

But even more than its scenic beauties the traveler to this forest will probably find his greatest interest in the Negritos, who have from time immemorial inhabited the slopes of this mountain. and their fellows in other mountainous and unsettled portions of the Archipelago are the last remnant of what were probably the original inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. They can best be described as pigmy blacks, low of stature, with kinky hair and the broad nose and full lips of the African Negro. Successive invasions of the stronger Malay race have pushed them from the valleys into the mountain fastnesses, where now, uncivilized, they eke out an existence by hunting with bows and arrows, gathering shell fish from the mountain streams and perhaps raising a few inadequate crops of potatoes or upland rice. They are literally people of the forest. Their houses are of the crudest possible description, and many animals have caves or dens far more comfortable than some of the shacks of the Negritos.

They are extremely timid and one may pass through the territory inhabited by them without once catching sight of their black and agile bodies, and can detect their existence merely by the holes which they dig gathering forest roots or by tiny fires left burning in the rocky beds of streams. With the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of money, which they expend for rice, fish and tobacco, arrangements can sometimes be made with the Negritos to assemble in considerable numbers and execute their various symbolic dances with which their feasts are always attended. Their marriage ceremonies are particularly interesting, as are also the dances which symbolize the planting of their crops. They also give exhibitions of their skill in shooting wild boars with the bow and arrow, of tree climbing and of other incidents in their

daily life.



The virgin forests of the islands cover approximately 40,000 square miles, an area equal to that of the state of Kentucky. They contain timbers which are suitable for almost every use to which wood is put, and for such purposes as furniture, interior finish, cabinet making, etc., no finer woods are found in any portion of the globe. More than 99 per cent of all the standing timber in the Philippines is owned by the government and, as it is estimated that many times more timber rots annually in the forest through over-maturity than is cut or utilized, the government is naturally desirous of doing all in its power to encourage the development of its forest resources so as to utilize what is now going to waste and to give the country the benefits which must necessarily accrue from a large and important industry. Thus, every encouragement is given to capital to establish logging camps and milling enterprises in the Philippines.

The stumpage charges are low, half and less than half the charges for similar kinds of lumber in neighboring tropical countries. Labor presents few difficulties, and such as do exist can be easily overcome by tact and fair treatment. The impres-

sion is common in America that merchantable timber in the Philippines occurs so scattered among an abundance of undesirable kinds that its logging and milling on a large scale, with modern steam methods, is impossible. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Seventy-five per cent of the virgin forest area, or 30,000 square miles, is a rough estimate of that portion of the islands on which the members of one tree family predominate. This is the dipterocarp family, which furnishes such fine woods as Yucal, Apitong, Tanguile, Lauan and Guijo. Considerable quantities of Tanguile and Red Lauan are exported to the United States and sold as a substitute for mahogany. Formerly they went under the name of "Philippine Mahogany," until steps were taken by the government to insist that the real names of the woods should be used, since it was considered by many superior to mahog-

Among the very fine woods of the Philippines are Narra, Acle Tindalo, Camagon and Ebony, woods which bear comparison with any species to be found anywhere in the world for beauty of grain, richness of color and other qualities so highly prized in the making of fine furniture and similar uses.

HOW JIM HILL MADE HIS MONEY

T IS interesting to note how the newspapers are eulogizing Jim Hill, the millionaire railroad magnate, since his death a few weeks ago. Quotations from Hill are heading long columns in which he declares that unless a man is able to save a few dollars from his wages every week, that man may never hope to become a big business success. The idea is generally disseminated that if you will only do as Jim Hill did (not do) you can hope to some day become as great an industrial power in the land. The real truth about Hill's interesting rise to great wealth is told by Gustavus Myers in his History of the Great American Fortunes, published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. Mr. Myers says:

"Hill saw the opportunity of getting for almost nothing, a railroad of five hundred

miles, and a land grant of more than 2,500,000 acres. How did he manage it? According to Farley's repeated statements in subsequent court proceedings," (Farley was Hill's associate and dupe) "Hill and Norman W. Kittson entered into a conspiracy with him (Farley) to betray the United States courts, and at the same time Kennedy conspired with him to betray the Dutch bondholders. These allegations Hill denied, but Farley asserted and reasserted them in many court proceedings.

"The various properties embraced in the railroad company's title were mortgaged in several mortgages, amounting in the aggregate to \$28,000,000. Hill and his associates bought in these \$28,000,000 of bonds at an absurdly low price, in some cases of large issues, at only three per cent

of their value.

"A few years previously Hill was a poor man; perhaps he had a few thousand dollars. The operation described at once made him a millionaire. He and his associates not only held the railroad's bonds, but they apportioned the stock among themselves.

Hill and his associates secured more franchises and special laws, built extensions, and formed the Great Northern railroad out of the railroads that they had obtained and the extensions which they constructed. The legislatures of the northwest were deluged with bribe money, although it was never specifically proved that Hill was the distributor. The whole newspaper press was subsidized, and towns, cities and counties were prevailed upon to grant endowments and exemptions of all kinds.

"Only the action of Congress prevented the Great Northern railroad which was Hill, from evicting in 1891 all the settlers in the Red River valley in what is now North and South Dakota, on the claim that the land belonged to the railroad. About a month's time was given the farmers, some of whom had lived on their farms for twenty years, to vacate.

"The settlers appealed to Congress," says Myers. "That body passed an act to allow the railroad company to select an equal area of lands in lieu of those settled upon. This act, although apparently passed for the benefit of the settlers, was precisely what the Great Northern Railroad Company was waiting for. The lands relinquished by the company were nonmineral; the act of congress, therefore, provided that the lands in exchange that

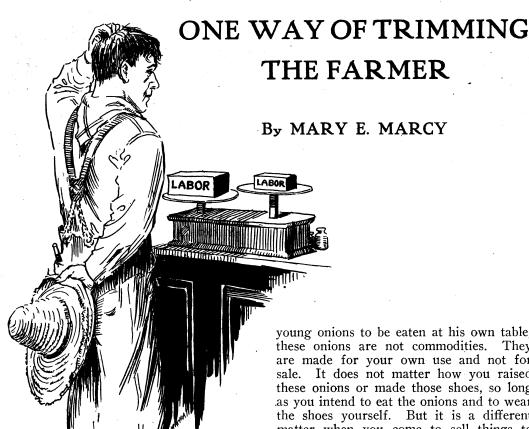
it should select elsewhere should be nonmineral. But when the exchange was made, it was discovered that the company had selected the most valuable timber lands in Idaho, Montana and Washington—lands worth far more than the Dakota lands—and that on these lands rich mineral deposits underlay the timber."

Hill's second greatest struggle, his greatest being with E. H. Harriman, was with Henry Villard, the dominant figure in the Northern Pacific railroad. Hill's Great Northern railroad finally acquired the Northern Pacific, but not until the Northern Pacific had gone into bankruptcy in 1893. Then, says Meyers:

"On the plea that the railroad was in poor financial condition the receivers cut the wages of the railroad's employes. These workers knew that they were being thus assessed to recoup the treasury of the railroad for a part of the immense sums robbed by financiers; however, they made no official complaint. But when a second curtailment of wages from 15 to 30 per cent was announced, the workers decided that they would not tolerate having to suffer for the depleted condition of the railroad's treasury."

The most amazing illegal injunction ever drawn up against a body of workers was immediately secured by the railroad company from the judiciary. Judge Jenkins of the United States Circuit Court signed it. It prohibited the men "from combining or conspiring to quit, with or without notice," and was followed by a supplementary injunction forbidding the workers from ordering, recommending, approving or advising others to quit the service of the receivers.





N order to know what is wrong in the world today and how to right those wrongs, you have to know something about how things are produced and distributed. You have to know something about making things and what they will exchange for.

You have to understand just what the workers who make things get in exchange for their products, and just what they ought to receive. And so, first of all, we have to know what determines the value of commodities. We need to know this before we can intelligently consider what men ought to receive for so many pairs of shoes, or so many yards of cloth, or so many bushels of wheat, or machinery, etc.,

Now, a commodity is a product of human labor, made to satisfy some human need or want, and made for sale or exchange. When a shoemaker makes a pair of shoes to wear himself, these shoes are not a commodity. When a farmer raises

young onions to be eaten at his own table, these onions are not commodities. are made for your own use and not for sale. It does not matter how you raised these onions or made those shoes, so long as you intend to eat the onions and to wear the shoes yourself. But it is a different matter when you come to sell things to somebody else.

Then people will always consider the value of your products, and so it is very important that we should understand what determines the *value* of a commodity. Why, for example, a garden rake may sell for \$1.00 and a suit of clothes sell (or exchange) for \$25.00. Before we can really understand what is wrong in society, why the people who produce all the commodities in the whole world are usually poor people, while the people who own the factories, the mines, the railroads, the land, etc., etc., are usually rich people—we have to understand the value of commodities.

We think you farmers, who work for a living, could give a better idea of what makes value than almost any other class of useful workers. Water is useful and uncleared land is useful and virgin forests are useful, but the only reason that owners of land or water rights can sell them is because they possess a monopoly of something the people have to use in order to sustain life. These are not commodities, and they do not contain any real exchange value—because, as I suspect you have already guessed, they do not represent any necessary human labor.

Commodities have value because they are the product of human labor and because they satisfy some human need or want.

But there is one particular point in discussing the subject of value with you farmers that we shall need to make clear. The value of a bushel of wheat from "your" farm is not determined by the individual labor you spent in producing it, nor is the value of the wheat produced on a capitalistic 10,000-acre farm determined by the labor spent in raising it. Value is not determined by the individual labor, but by the necessary social labor represented in a commodity. If you think this over you will see that.

For example, if one of your neighbors asked you to pay \$1.00 for a pound of sausage just because he and his wife had spent two or three hours making it in their own kitchen, you would laugh at him. You would probably see at once that he was asking you more than the value of the sausage.

You would tell your neighbor that you couldn't afford to pay a double or treble price for sausage just to give work to him and his wife when you could buy the same sausage, or just as good sausage, at 25 cents a pound which had been ground up and mixed and stuffed by a man operating a machine.

If a one-horse tailor drove up to your door and tried to sell you a suit of clothing for fifty dollars that you could duplicate at the store for thirty dollars, just because he had to make the whole thing by hand because he didn't have any sewing machine, you would probably tell him you couldn't afford to pay more than a suit was worth just because he happened to be broke.

The same conditions apply to all other branches of industry. In most fields there are thousands of people, companies and corporations, making the same things to sell. The people who make them by hand, or by small, old-fashioned machine methods, put a lot more labor into every commodity than the workers for the big companies do, because the big companies can afford to install giant machines which cut down the necessary labor in a commodity.

The suit of clothing, the sausage, the wheat, produced by large capitalist enterprises, represent very little human labor. These great packing plants and factories and capitalist farmers thus sell commodities containing very little value (or labor) when compared to the same product made by hand or by small farm methods, or even with the use of old-fashioned machinery.

Things are produced today not by an individual for an individual, but by great social groups for a whole nation, and even for the world. Individual production has given place to social production. So that it is the socially necessary human labor which determines the value of wheat, or cloth, or machinery, or flour. The value of shoes is the average human labor it takes to produce shoes in a given state of society.

You can easily see to what a disadvantage this puts the small working-farmer, without modern machinery, or the small shoemaker, or the trying-to-be-independent sausage-maker or packer. You can see how this handicaps you, and and yet this is a condition that the small farmer can never escape in a capitalist society. Only Socialism, or the collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution can place him on the economic level of every other man and woman.

We shall take up this most important subject of Value again later on. Just here we want to show what machinery has done to the farm and is doing to the small farmers all over the world.

ADVENT OF MACHINERY.

Only a few score years ago the farm was the real workshop of the world. In America, especially, everybody worked from early morning till late at night producing the things the family needed and exchanging some of these products for the few things not produced on the farm. I remember reading a letter my grandmother had which was written by her father, in which he said that he and his family were producing everything used by them except tea, sugar and nails.

In those days there were no machines, no railroads, and unless men and their wives and their children worked constantly, they found themselves without the things they needed to live on.

Women spun and wove and made the

clothing for the entire family from wool or cotton or flax raised on the farm. Soap, candles, furniture and even shoes were sometimes made by the farmers, and the wives of farmers. There was little division of labor, so far as the men were concerned. Women were expected to raise the children, cook, wash, make the clothes and generally take care of things used in the home, while the men gave their attention to the land and stock.

Nearly everything was made by hand. The necessities of life meant putting in so much human labor that few people were able to live by merely owning things. Nearly everybody had to work.

Wheat was much more valuable in 1820 than it is today, because it represented so much more human labor. And gold, which is also a commodity, was also much more valuable, because it, too, meant much more labor to discover and mine it than it does today. This is why wheat did not bring more gold (or a higher price) in those days.

Without the aid of machinery farmers were unable to cultivate large areas of land, were unable to harvest big crops. But with the coming of the reaper, the binder, the thresher and other farm machines, one farmer was able to cultivate twice as much land, and then three times as much land, as two and three men had cultivated formerly.

Sons of farmers began to migrate toward the towns, where small factories, cotton and woolen mills were springing up. The railroads facilitated this movement.

Machines had entered many other fields of production and the seeds of the present factory system were sown. More and more farmers turned toward the towns and cities; better and bigger machines were used, larger factories sprung up.

And everything that was made by the new factory method represented less and less human labor than the old hand method of making things. It required an appalling amount of hand labor, for instance, to spin and weave cloth and make it up into clothing. The worker in the factory, using machinery, was able to produce this same cloth in an incredibly short period of time.

And the commodities produced by workers operating machines in the factories brought down their value (the necessary

social labor in them. The machine-made article always sold for a little less than the hand-made article, until by and by the hand-weavers and spinners found that they could not make enough to live on. The old system failed before the new one. Hand labor was starved out by the machine, just as the small machine-user is being squeezed out today by the capitalist who uses Mogul tractors and 55-Bottom engine Gangs, and automatic machinery.

Year by year, with the improvement in the tools of production, commodities decreased in value, and in price. For, as Karl Marx, the great socialist economist, explains in his volumes on Capital, commodities tend to exchange (or sell) at their value. There are notable exceptions to this general rule, which we shall discuss later.

The point we are trying to make clear here is that with improved methods of production the value (or necessary social labor) in all commodities, so produced, steadily decreases. Every new machine employed in the bigger plant or on the capitalist farms reduces the value of commodities so produced until, in the past, the small manufacturer, the hand-weaver, the men using antiquated productive methods, have been inevitably pushed to the wall. It became the story of the home sausagemaker trying to compete with the Armour Packing Company.

Because commodities tend to exchange (or sell) at their value or for other commodities representing an equal necessary amount of social labor, the farmer using old-fashioned machinery, or working his farm without the necessary machines, has been compelled to sell all his farm products below their individual value, while the capitalist farmer has always sold the products of his farm above their individual value.

The mill man who buys from both and pays the same price for oats or wheat or corn to both, usually buys these commodities at their value. But, especially in America, the farmer very rarely sells his products direct to the consuming miller, who manufactures flour or breakfast foods, etc., etc.

You do not ask how the chair was made or how the cloth you are going to purchase was woven. You ask the price of these commodities. The same applies to the mill man or to the association buying farm products. They do not ask how many hours of labor you put into your crops. They don't expect to pay, and they don't need to pay any more for products from "hand" worked farms or from farms equipped with poor machinery, than they do for crops from farms worked almost entirely by men operating machines.

So that, even when "free competition" prevailed in the sale of farm products, as it still prevails in many countries, the machineless farmer was forced, is forced, to work harder and longer hours for less reward than the farmer who possessed or possesses capital to buy machines.

This is true today and will be true tomorrow and as long as capitalist society endures. There is neither equality of opportunity nor equality of *reward* when some men work to produce the necessary

things of life without access to the best and most modern tools of production.

A "low-price" will unlock any door and open any market. And production by the use of more and more improved machinery means less and less value contained in commodities so produced. Machine spinning and machine weaving drove the hand weavers out of their jobs for the simple reason that the machine-made products became *general*, and because they represented less social labor, less value, they sold for a lower price.

The machine-made products so far reduced the price in this, and many other industries that the hand weavers, the hand-producer and the user of the poor machines have found they could not sell their products for enough to live on.

Some of our readers have had an opportunity to visit the great stock yards and packing plants at Omaha, Kansas City or Chicago. After you have walked miles and miles thru these gigantic buildings, the ice-making plants, the butter factories, the killing, cutting and curing plants and have seen the wonderfully scientific methods employed in preparing the world's meat supplies, after you have looked over the wonderful and expensive machinery used in these plants, you will realize just about how much chance you would have of going into the packing business with two or three thousand dollars capital, and successfully competing with this enormous millionaire packing trust.

Because you would be unable to buy these ten thousand dollar machines, every piece of beef you sold, every pound of sausage you disposed of, would represent much more human labor than beef sold or sausage bought from the packing trust. You would have to sell your products at the same price and on the same market as this organization.

The organization with big capital, tho not one of its members may ever perform a stroke of useful work, cannot lose. The man without land or the machinery of production cannot last—never has lasted.

The small farmer gets less and less return for his labor because he is competing with capitalist farmers with *increasing* capital and improving machinery. By the time you are able to think about the machine of today they will install the machinery of tomorrow. And these machines constantly reduce the value of farm products.

James Connolly

By William E. Bohn

T was in a western university town that I first met James Connolly. He had had hard luck. Arrangements for a promising speaking tour had been given up. He had abundant debts and little hope. But he made a wonderful speech. As a combination of simple logic and commanding emotional power, that speech stands out in my mind as the best I ever heard.

We returned from the Socialist hall across the university campus. There was some sort of celebration going on, and the boys were surging back and forth, singing their songs and playing the usual college pranks.

Jim was silent for a while. Finally he said, "I went to a university once."

"Did you?" I asked in surprise.

"Yes. I carried in cement."

The next day we went into the library. When we came to the section devoted to Irish history I had a revelation. hod-carrier ran his eye over the shelves with the eye of a trained scholar. commentary on authors, books and historical characters would be valuable to me now if I were able to reproduce it. One volume after another he took down. With unerring memory he turned to chapter and page to point out something applicable to the argument we had been having. There were a few old chronicles which he happened not to have seen, but he knew just what they were and what he could get out of them. Like a trained literary craftsman he leafed them over and took what he needed. To one who had spent years trying to teach students to use books this man's mastery was astounding.

So I was prepared for the quality of the "History of Irish Labor" when it came. I am not even surprised to hear a university man say that it is the best piece of historical work ever done by a workingman. Perhaps the only other study which may be thought to contest this honor with it is Bebel's "History of Woman."

I may be wrong in laying such stress on the fact that this man was a scholar. I know that he wrote some of our best pamphlets, that he labored for many years as an agitator, that he kept his paper going under all but impossible conditions, and that, in the end he was willing to give "the last full measure of devotion." But it seems to me that the great lesson of his life is that a workingman can learn to study and to think for himself.

There has been a good deal of bluff about this matter of the intellectual independence of the working class. Thinking is the most difficult trade in the The vast majority of those who have been technically trained for it merely go through the motions. number of those who do really good intellectual work in any age or any class is extremely small. And the conditions of the working class are so bad that proletarians are practically barred from entrance into this circle of the elect. Those among them endowed with fine powers can usually do little more than accept the conclusions of some thinker like Marx and support them or revitalize them with materials drawn from the rich and terrible experiences of working-class life. The ordinary mind merely grasps a few notions from some pamphlet, bundles them helter-skelter into some sort of scheme and spends the remaining years of life vociferously defending them against attack.

To all such James Connolly stands as a warning and a guide. Under different circumstances he might have played a part in the world-movement like that of Keir Hardie or Bebel. As things are he goes down fighting in a heroically foolhardy skirmish. But he wrote one book which proves that a hod-carrier can be a scholar. His name stands as an eternal rebuke to all of us who are blatant and loud rather than serious and true.

Workshop Talks By JAMES CONNOLLY

ELL, you won't get the Irish to help you. Our Irish-American leaders tell us that all we Irish in this country ought to stand together and use our votes to free Ireland.

Sure, let us free Ireland!

Never mind such base, carnal thoughts as concern work and wages, healthy homes, or lives unclouded by poverty.

Let us free Ireland!

The rackrenting landlord; is he not also an Irishman, and wherefore should we hate him? Nay, let us not speak harshly of our brother—yea, even when he raises our rent.

Let us free Ireland!

The profit-grinding capitalist, who robs us of three-fourths of the fruits of our labor, who sucks the very marrow of our bones when we are young, and then throws us out in the street, like a wornout tool, when we are grown prematurely old in his service, is he not an Irishman, and mayhap a patriot, and wherefore should we think harshly of him?

Let us free Ireland!

"The land that bred and bore us." And the landlord who makes us pay for permission to live upon it.

Whoop it up for liberty!

"Let us free Ireland," says the patriot who won't touch Socialism.

Let us all join together and cr-r-rush the br-r-rutal Saxon. Let us all join together, says he, all classes and creeds.

And, says the town worker, after we have crushed the Saxon and freed Ireland, what will we do?

Oh, then you can go back to your slums, same as before.

Whoop it up for liberty!

And, says the agricultural workers, after we have freed Ireland, what then?

Oh, then you can go scraping around for the landlord's rent or the money-lenders' interests same as before.

Whoop it up for liberty!

After Ireland is free, says the patriot

who won't touch Socialism, we will protect all classes, and if you won't pay your rent you will be evicted same as now. But the evicting party, under command of the sheriff, will wear green uniforms and the Harp without the Crown, and the warrant turning you out on the roadside will be stamped with the arms of the Irish Republic.

Now, isn't that worth fighting for?

And when you cannot find employment, and, giving up the struggle of life in despair, enter the Poorhouse, the band of the nearest regiment of the Irish army will escort you to the Poorhouse door to the tune of "St. Patrick's Day."

Oh, it will be nice to live in those days! "With the Green Flag floating o'er us" and an ever-increasing army of unemployed workers walking about under the Green Flag, wishing they had something to eat. Same as now!

Whoop it up for liberty!

Now, my friend, I am also Irish, but I'm a bit more logical. The capitalist, I say, is a parasite on industry; as useless in the present stage of our industrial development as any other parasite in the animal or vegetable world is to the life of the animal or vegetable upon which it feeds.

The working class is the victim of this parasite, this human leech, and it is the duty and interest of the working class to use every means in its power to oust this parasite class from the position which enables it to thus prey upon the vitals of Labor.

Therefore, I say, let us organize as a class to meet our masters and destroy their mastership; organize to drive them from their hold upon public life through their political power; organize to wrench from their robber clutch the land and workshops on and in which they enslave us; organize to cleanse our social life from the stain of social cannibalism, from the preying of man upon his fellow man.

Organize for a full, free and happy life FOR ALL OR FOR NONE.

The foregoing paragraphs are from Connolly's book, "Socialism Made Easy," issued by the publishers of the REVIEW. We have just brought out a new edition to supply the extra demand since the tragic death of the author. Copies mailed for 10 cents each or \$6.00 a hundred, 64 pages and cover.

The Importance of a Library in Labor Organization By JULES SCARCERIAUX

■ CONOMIC conditions, for the betterment of which the workers are organized, improve in proportion to the workers' intellectual develop-The strength of labor organization does not consist in numbers, but in the initiative and the activity of its individual members. Large sums of money are spent on organization, but hardly anything for educational work. The hysterical utterances of an organizer, in a crowded hall charged with tobacco smoke, appear to many more effective than a library in the organization. Yet the former creates a temporary agitation, while the latter a permanent and well-rooted idea.

All liberal-minded members of Labor Unions should recommend the foundation of libraries in their respective organiza-

tions; also library committees.

Hundreds of books are put on the market every month, most of them written and published by the conscious or unconscious enemies of Labor. Light novels and romances of toady authors increase the apathy of some of the workers in matters pertaining to their Unions. This literature is as much a narcotic as alcoholism.

The members of the library committees would select books written and published by workingmen, by friends of Labor, by the friend of humanity, by all those who, directly or indirectly, are collaborat-

ing with the workers.

Our rulers nearly possess a monopoly of the means of publication, be it of newspapers, magazines or books, with like interests also in control of the educational institutions. Such education as the workers receive is merely to adapt them to the existing state of servitude.

The workers are accustomed to a certain line of authoritative thinking by which the system of exploitation under which they suffer is maintained. These ideas can only be beneficial to the rulers. The rulers have had them taught to us from childhood, and they continue to have them fed to us in their press. So the workers often oppose everything not in line with these false ideas.

Working class authors and teachers who



JULES SCARCERIAUX.

are co-operating with labor can hardly find readers. Writers, working for the interests of the workers, jeopardize the interests of the rulers. So the rulers forge public opinion against them, and the workers often condemn the writings of their friends which they have never read.

Some books, while not written for the workers, contain much enlightening material. For instance: "Unemployment and Poverty," by Dr. E. T. Devine, an American economist, contains about the follow-

ing:

"Unemployment is not only normal and necessary, but it is also desirable for the labor market. Without unemployment the labor organizations would become so powerful, the wages would rise so high, that all demands of labor would have to be granted. The manufacturers need unemployed so that they can say to those who

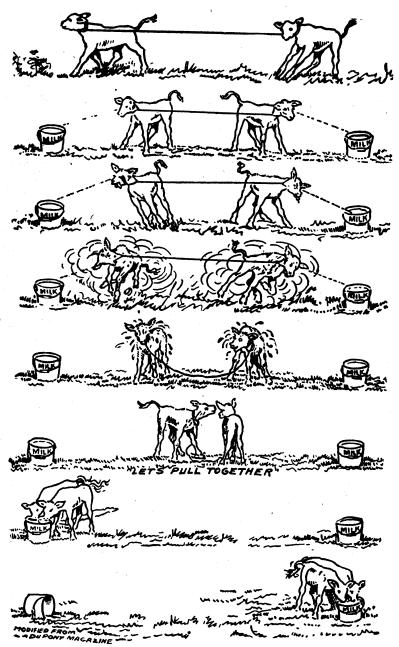


JULES SCARCERIAUX.

are at work, 'If you are not satisfied with your wages, with my conditions, you can walk out. Others are ready and willing to take your jobs!' "

Recognizing that any workingman may become one of these unemployed, who, according to Dr. Devine, are so desirable to have wanting jobs, the workers would also recognize the undesirability of a society so wrongly organized. Reading such facts would be a stimulant to their activity in trying to bring about a remedy.

The social problem will be solved the day knowledge will have given the workers a clear conception of what is wrong and how to make it right. Libraries in labor organizations will greatly contribute toward that end.



Co-operation Gets Results

On Daylight Saving and Night and Day Robbery By SANNY M'NEE

Arise in the mornin' early, Afore the cock diz craw, An' hasten tae me slumers, Ere daylicht flees awa.

Arise in the mornin' early,
'The maister maks the laws,
An' tho' A grudge it sairly,
The master hauds the tawse.

AE we hae gotten Compulsory Saving at last, altho' it's only Daylight Saving, still it's a start; we'll git mair compulsory saving by an' by. Bit, it wanna tak the form o' Compulsory Saving frae the Daylight Robbery o' the maister cless; it maun gaun on nicht an' The Daylight Saving Act is fur the saving o' the gas, but we hae hid compulsory gas saving this lang while. The maister hes been trying tae save Henry Dubb frae the pushonous gas gien oot frae the Socialist gas bags. The pure lamb-like, or is it sheep-like, mind o' Henry Dubb maun be saved frae a dose o' Socialist gas. The maister diznae beleeve in ony gas thet diznae come frae his ain gas plant, an' faith, we hae a' been weel gassed frae the maister's plant since the war began. Jist see hoo we ir being gassed owre this Daylicht Savin' Act; a' bodie wid think tae hear thim, thet this daylicht bisness wis a piece o' pure sacrifice on the pairt o' the maister fur the benefit o' the wurker. The self-sacrificin' maister, hooever, diznae seem tae be wantin' ony o' the benefits o' early risen that he hes lavished on the wurkers. The maister is gaun tae lie in his bed is lang as he likes in the mornin', an' bide up is late at nicht is he likes. Whit the maister says is this: "Noo, Henry, since A hae bestowed on ye this great benefit o' early risin', ye wull be able tae wurk langer an' harder than ever, an' A expect ye tae dae it, tae." The maister, the great maister o' maisters, wha, abin' a' ither maisters, hes the interests o' the wurkin' cless it his hert. (A dinnae mention nae names, becis this is a free country), the maister says: "Noo, Henry, seein' the great amount o' additional fresh air ye got frae yir early risin', ye'll no need ony holidays this year." Think

o' the great amount o' fresh air ye git walkin' frae yir hoose in a back street tae git up in the mornin' early an' tak wife talks aboot a holiday, jist tell her tae git up in the mornin' early an' tak a walk tae hersel. If she complains o' bein' shut up in a stuffy hoose a' the year lang, jist tell her tae gang an' git a job in a nice, healthy airy mull, fur a holiday.

They say it maks ye healthy Tae rise it the break o' day; It maks the maister wealthy, But it diznae rise yer pay!

Whit wid ye dae wi' a rise in yir pay, onywey; buy pianos wi' it, when ye ken pianos ir ony fur playin' in the lang, dark nichts; an' if ye rise early an' bed early, ye wull hae nae lang dark nichts tae play the piano in. Of course, it's a wee bit hard on thim thet's already bought £50 pianos, sae they'll jist hae tae think o' thir neighbour thro' the wa' wha hes tae rise in the mornin' early, an' gie the piano a rest fur a wee while.

It cannae be said, of course, thet the wurker hesnae been weel telt by the maister aboot the folly an' sinfulness o' wastin' his pay on pianos. In fact, guid advice tae the wurkers is aboot the only thing the maister beleeves in giein' awa wi' a free haun, an' naethin' angers the maister waur than fur the worker tae scorn the maister's guid advice, "Tae look his gien co oin the mou." Gin ye turn up yir nose it the maister's guid advice, the maister wull dae his vera best tae teach ye a lesson, an' let ye flen he is the maister.

The maister's fond o' preachin'
Tae the wurkers in the mull;
The maister's fond o' teachin'
Thim thet cross his wull.

It's a gey bad thing fur the wurker tae cross the maister's wull, an' preach Scrip-

ture tae him: "Is thy servant a dog that should do this thing?" Of course, the wurker is a dug, an' if the maister says, "Tae yir kennel early, an' rise in the mornin'," the wurker maun dae it. It's guid for the wurker's health an' the maister's pooch. "Is they servant a dog that he should do this thing?" It's a bad, bad Book the Bible, an' thir's a lot o' bad, bad things in it. The Bible pits a lot o' bad thochts intae some o' the wurker's minds. Thir's the Commandments, fur instance!

It's a bad, bad book, the Bible, thir's nae doot aboot it. It's time the Censor

wis dealin' wi' it. Whit the wurker hes tae dae is tae let the maister dae the preachin' an' teachin' an' no speir questions oot o' the Bible or onythin' else.

If the maister says early risin' is guid fur the wurker's health, whit richt hes the wurker tae murmur aboot needin' mair money tae buy peasemeal an' Curem's Pills. Whit diz the wurker need Curem's Pills fur, whin he gets the benefit o' the caller mornin' air, an' his puir maister lyin' still in bed sae is no tae rob the puir wurker o' the benefits o' early risin'.

Oh, the mornin' may be cheery, Is tae the mull we trudge; Bit the lang, lang day is weary, An' they pey us wi' a grudge.

O' the maister's fond o' preachin',
Is solemn is a judge;
Bit, O, the maister's teachin'
Is a bloomin' lot o' fudge!

—From Forward, Glasgow.

Robert Minor

THIS sketch is by William Marion Reedy, editor of Reedy's *Mirror*, the St. Louis weekly. It is a notable moving picture of the life of one of America's

hardest-hitting cartoonists:

"Comes here next Wednesday Robert Minor to tell us in speech and picture about the war. Who comes now as Robert left us three years ago as Bob. is one of the world's greatest cartoonists Then he was the drawer of the daily cartoon for the *Post-Dispatch*. Here he was in society, wearing evening clothes with imperturbable aplomb, dallying with debuntantes, but always with a big, brushing way that he brought with him from Texas. He drew pictures with prehistoric man's war club. smashed them onto the paper, one might say. His lines had sweep of savagery in them, as if a primordial force were behind them. His men were elementals in strength, even one might såy in brutality, and he could put a rough bedraggled pathos in his forms of women. We did not exactly know it then, but his drawings seethed with ill-suppressed revolt. We thought it only revolt against pretti-When he went to the New York World as cartoonist and put a troglodytish vigor into his pictorial criticisms of the passing show of life, his work challenged comparison with that of Cesare, of the Sun, of Boardman Robinson, of the Tribune. He had not the art background of either, but he had the rough sense of the bare anatomy of human beings and he put it into his pictures. Soon his powerful work began to overflow into The Masses, a Socialist paper, and took on distinctive purpose; so much so that the World could not stand his utterance in pictures of a growing hatred of the social order. He gave up the big salary the World paid him and drew for the gratification of his own rebellious spirit. He went to Europe to confront tradition and scorned it the more. His pictures became more and more polemic in their proletarianism. They grew in ferocity. Then came the war and Minor went to the front with his note-book. He told

the story of the war as he saw it from the Socialist viewpoint, and a terrible story he made it-terrible in the sordidness of it, in its utter absence of glory. War he pictured as murder promoted by upper class machinations for the immolation of the many and the enslavement of the survivors. He was crueler than war in his truthfulness. He made war subterhuman and the pity he put into his pictures became but an aspect of hatred for the society that produced war. He drew his pictures as if in black venous blood. He was at the front and behind the scenes in France, in Belgium, in Germany, where he was arrested. He took of war's fiendishness to fight war, and Socialism and Anarchism even hailed him as their interpreter. War, he seemed to say, is horrible, but it hints the way to end a system of which war is a product. His men hinted in their crude power that the power would break its shackles and crush the social order. He drew titanic covers for Emma Goldman's Mother Earth. He presided at anarchist meetings and gave picture talks in favor of the Revolution. His outlaw art was a pictorial call to battle. He kept his fine, wild, but firm, line and his big, burly smudges for his men, and his women he gave a broken, bent, blunted

beauty of suffering. Minor became the art-spokesman of humanity, ground into the sludge of mud and blood, but there Antæus-like gathering strength finally to wreck and reshape civilization. It is this message he preaches in word and picture on the Socialist circuit. He speaks like he draws, starkly, yet with a sense of form, restraining, yet intensifying force; explosive; ruining. His version of war is that hell is paradisaical beside it, and then he says that present society even in peace is but a shamble-brothel, verminous and vile with all cruelty. At Aschenbroedel Hall, Wednesday evening, he will tell us of his hatred for the hate that has driven love out of social relations. He will not wear those evening clothes, which once he wore when an embryo society man in our swell set. He will not tango as he did. He will show us the Dance of Death in Europe and operate with scalpel tongue and pencil upon the corpus vile of the body politic here. And under his rage we shall sense the flowing of the tears of all the stricken and hear the still, small music of humanity tending to an ultimate crescendo and diapasonic outburst of the "Ca ira." Minor is now a major prophet of the coming social cataclysm. He sees red sunset at once and sunrise of the old order and of the new."





INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

British Socialists Against War. The Independent Labor Party has been against the war from the beginning. At an annual conference held at Newcastle during Easter week it reaffirms its position. From the sketchy and scornful account in *Justice* I gather the resolution adopted on this subject declared against all war "of no matter what character."

But the chief item of news is from the British Socialist Party. The B. S. P. conference met at Salford, also at Easter time, and an exciting time was had by all present. There were about 100 delegates in attendance. For many weeks before the opening sessions Socialist papers had carried appeals for unity of

opposing groups.

But these appeals were merely pious The chairman had hardly finished his address when an uproar broke out. The Executive Committee had proposed to have the sessions held behind closed doors—excluding representatives of the press. The reason assigned for this move was that some comrades feared to express anti-war sentiments openly. Some are now in jail for having done this. it is said, and the vague charge was made that "colleagues" of these men had informed against him. Dan Irving, Councilor Jones, H. M. Hyndman and other well known comrades spoke vigorously against the proposal. The closed conference plan was adopted by a vote of 76 to 28. Between 20 and 30 delegates then withdrew, while the "Zimmerwadians," as they are called by Justice, sang the "Red Flag."

After the withdrawal of these delegates a singular degree of harmony seems to have prevailed. The Military Service Act was opposed, and efforts to bring about a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau were approved. The entry of the Labor Party into the coalition government was denounced. The abridgement of freedom of the press, the spread of child-labor and many of the other evils which tread upon the heels of war were analyzed and opposition to such militarism was planned. The following comrades were chosen on the new Executive Committee: E. H. Jarvis, John MacLean, E. C. Fairchild, J. Fineberg, C. Dukes, W. Watson, Albert Shaw, F. Shaw and G. Deer.

The "Pro-war" minority, after its withdrawal, met in Manchester. This group proceeded to condemn "war as war," but expressed hearty approval of the part taken by England in the present carnage. In a formal statement the reason for secession was given as follows: "The difficulties ahead of us are very The opportunities for successful combination are, we believe, still great. This glorious task, however, cannot be successfully carried to fruition if we deliberately sever ourselves from the mass of our countrymen while the United Kingdom, our Colonies, and our Allies are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against German militarism and German atrocities."

A provisional committee was chosen, consisting of H. M. Hyndman, J. Hunter Watts, F. H. Gorle, J. Stokes, Jack Jones,

The Bible Reviewed in the Light of Modern Science

IS THE BIBLE TRUE?

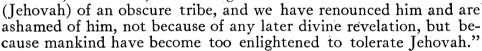
This is the chief subject of debate today between Christians and Scientists the world over.

Robert Blatchford says: "Is the Bible a holy and inspired book

and the Word of God to man, or is it an incongruous and contradictory collection of tribal tradition and ancient fables, written by men of genius and imagination?"

Mr. Blatchford believes RELI-GIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol



"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

"CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. "God is love," they say. To which Blatchford replies: "This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

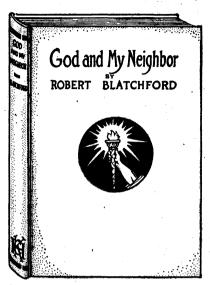
• "If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

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H. W. Lee, A. S. Headingley, and A. Whiting. This committee was instructed to establish relations with the Labor Party and the International Socialist Bureau, and otherwise organize the group as a new Socialist party.

Shortly after the occurrence of these events "Justice" ceased to be the official organ of the B. S. P. This old and vigorous journal is the property of the Twentieth Century Press, a stock company. It was the official organ of the old S. D. F. and S. D. P. After the B. S. P. had got fairly started it voluntarily assumed a similar relation to this new party. But the Directors of the Twentieth Century Press and the editors of "Justice" are "pro-war." They made haste, naturally, to cut loose from a party which they could no longer be supposed to represent. It is said that the Party has a new antiwar organ named the "Call." I have not yet seen a copy of it.

It is noticeable that the argument of the B. S. P. minority is almost word-forword that of the German Socialist ma-These brethren surely should agree beautifully if they ever get together. Both groups voluntarily agree to fight the workers of other lands in order not to cut themselves off from the majority of workers at home. They forswear internationalism in order to win workers to Socialism!

H. M. Hyndman still vows that the majority of English Socialists are on his side. But we on the outside are obliged to take the votes of the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party as the true indications of Socialist opinion in England and to say that American Socialists are pleased with these indications is putting it mildly. Limb by limb a new International is coming to life.

Liebknecht in Danger. On May 1, Karl Liebknecht addressed a great peace meeting at Potsdamer Platz, Berlin. He is said to have distributed a leaflet on the May day celebration and to have cried, "Down with war! Down with the government!" More than 100,000 persons are reported to have been present.

Liebknecht was arrested and held on a charge of treason. He is, of course, a soldier-though on leave of absence in order to attend the sessions of the Reichstag. Therefore he is held by the military athorities. On May 10 the Reichstag debated the proposal to demand the liberation of their colleague. Hitherto parliamentary immunity has always been maintained in Germany. Liebknecht's activity places him, however, beyond its protection unless the majority of the Reichstag interprets the law in his favor. Parliamentarians are immune from prosecution as a result of any action connected with the discharge of their duty. From his seat Liebknecht could say what he pleased. But organizing a May day celebration and speaking in Potsdamer Platz cannot be regarded as part of the duty of a member of the Reichstag. The representatives of the capitalist parties were furnished an excellent opportunity to rid themselves of a man they hate more than all the foreign enemies.

When the matter came up for discussion, a regular prosecutor was appointed by the government to present the case against Liebknecht. He produced evidence with regard to the peace demonstration and, so far as I know, this evidence is not denied. Then the leaders of the various parties, the Conservative, Clerical, Liberal, etc., etc., arose and gave vent to their hatred. It was evident in all their speeches that their real purpose is not to punish treason but to stop the voice which has been telling them the truth about the war. As one orator said, they must refuse protection to a man who has long "torn to shreds the dignity and honor of the Reichstag."

The Poles alone among non-Socialists opposed this action. The Socialist majority made a sad mess of the defense. Liebknecht is a person of no importance, they said, therefore let him go. Such gentleness will impress your enemies with a sense of your strength and security. But the government leaders evidently have an opinion of Liebknecht's importance quite different from that of his erstwhile comrades. Protection was withdrawn from him. As The Review goes to press the only question is, "How far will the court martial dare to go in punishing him?" He may be shot, but it seems more likely that he will be condemned to a long period of imprisonment.

Progress of the German Minority. The

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Ask Schleicher, minister, whether it's true that he received \$195.00 TWELVE HOURS AFTER APPOINTMENT: Langley, liveryman, \$115 first day: Rasp, 6164. Sweekly for 12 weeks; Korstad, farmer, \$2212 in a few weeks; Emmerman, farmer, \$3856 in 30 days; Juell, clerk, \$880; Hart, farmer, \$500; Wilson, cashier, \$3000 in 30 days. Let us refer you to these men, to the U. S. government, to banks, business houses, noted people. Heed this caution from Chas. Starr, of Mich. "Sorry this field is closed. Should have acted sooner but was keptical. Your local man's great success has set every-bedy talking and proves I was a chump. Wonderful what was a can do with a real opportunity. Then reaching from sense and do with a real opportunity. Then reaching from the great. Money coming fast. With a will week that a a totim of "neglected opportunities" or Lodewick, the "early bird?" Avoid regret, send a postal this very minute.

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division of the Social Democracy becomes constantly more imminent. The Executive Committee has published a manifesto which gives a clear picture of the situation. According to this statement separate minority groups are springing up everywhere, with their own central organization and dues-stamps. Paragraphs are quoted from a leaflet which calls on members not to pay dues to the regular party organization and so lend support to the war forces. Vorwaerts has not lent its aid to this effort to divide the party, but one of the editors expresses the opinion that it is in line with traditional Socialist policy.

Austrian Socialism. Austria has carried on the war without the aid of a parliament. Austrian Socialists have, therefore, had no official opportunity to express their attitude. There is little reason to mourn this lack. For Austrian Germans, in the main, take the same position as the Germans in Germany, and their anti-war minority is much smaller than the German one. Some idea of the state of affairs in Austria can be gathered from reports of a recent party congress. This was held at Vienna from the 25th to the 28th of April.

Victor Adler was, of course, the leader of the majority, and Fritz Adler, his son, also of course, led the small but vigorous minority. Adler, the elder made an elaborate address. His chief idea was that the primary purpose of Socialism is to inspire and organize the workers of each country. He denounced the efforts being made to found a new International made up of anti-war parties. Nevertheless he demanded the reconstitution of the International Bureau, supporting his demand with the curious observation that brethren who fight each other are still brethren.

A majority resolution was introduced calling on Socialists of all nations to join after the close of the war and pretend that nothing had happened. This resolution is said to have been adopted unanimously. But there evidently was some opposition. The minority introduced a resolution denouncing the war and hailing as comrades the Socialist groups fighting against it in the various countries. Out of 246 delegates this resolution received the support of but 15!

Socialist Gains in Sweden. "If we can keep out of the war the future of Socialism is very bright in Sweden. And the workers of the nation are determined to keep the country out." So says a Swedish Socialist. And the results of the elections held early in May bear him out. The Socialists made a net gain of 45 seats in the national parliament. They now hold 125

The Second Zimmerwald Conference. The first international Socialist conference after the outbreak of the war was held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September, 1915. The second was held at Kienthal, in the same country, from the 24th to the 29th of April, 1916. The first was made up of 35 delegates, the second of 40. In the first, Russia, Poland, Germany, Italy, Holland and Sweden were represented. In the second there were no delegates from Sweden or Holland, but there were three from France, all members of the Chamber of Deputies. The British Socialist Party sent a telegram expressing sympathy. A delegate from Austria was turned back at the frontier. So far as its representative character is concerned the second conference was just about equal to the first.

The only fairly full account of the proceedings at hand is the unsympathetic one given by "Homo," in l'Humanite. According to this correspondent, strongly French in his attitude, the conference was far from being a harmonious one. Russians, the Poles, and the Swiss, it seems, were the "radicals." They demanded immediate and constant opposition to the To satisfy this war in all countries. group a "declaration" was adopted demanding: (1) that in all belligerent countries, no matter what the military situation, Socialists vote against the granting of war budgets; (2) that they vote against all taxes no matter what their character may be. A "manifesto" of quite a different sort is said to have been adopted to satisfy the "conservative" group, French and Germans for most part.

The "radicals," led by the Swiss, openly advocated the founding of a new International made up of groups which have remained true to international Socialism.

As a rallying point for the Socialist

movement these conferences have performed a great service. It is with good reason that the Socialists of England are called "Zimmerwaldians" by their opponents. We must keep in mind that our own National Executive Committee has expressed its adhesion to the action of the first meeting. We stand committed to the movement started there. No doubt the great majority of our members were, and are, in sympathy with the action of the committee. Our only regret is that the second conference was not able to go farther than it seems to have gone.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



LOCAL CLOVERDALE, INDIANA.

Indiana State at Work—The above picture was taken at the close of a regular business meeting. Comrade Noble C. Wilson, who is managing the Debs campaign in Indiana, adds "Farmer locals are springing up rapidly in Putnam county. Comrade J. Hollingsworth, a lifelong friend of Gene, is doing splendid work. Schoolhouse meetings are being held and each meeting is a great surprise.

"We are doing good work among the Quakers of Hendricks county, which we are

flooding with anti-war literature.

"We want to get the best literature into the hands of the Industrial Workers of this district, as we have 4,000 Italians and a great number of Hungarians to reach, also a large number of Germans, and their organization is growing by leaps and bounds.

"Ten thousand miners, all members of the U. M. W. of A., are also lining up, but there is so much work to be done among them.
"Every person in the United States has heard of the rotten political corruption which

"Every person in the United States has heard of the rotten political corruption which has flourished in Terre Haute for years. One hundred and twenty-six politicians are now serving terms in Fort Leavenworth and the Marion county jail, including the mayor,

county and city judge, the sheriff and other political grafters. But the big political bosses who financed the job escaped "justice" and spent their winter in Florida and Porto Rico.

"Terre Haute politics have been controlled for years by brewery and traction interests, so you can see we have big capital to buck against. The Republican candidate for Congresss is an attorney for the traction company, while the present Congressman in this district is an old line, stand pat, Democratic politician. It is unnecessary to inform the comrades over the nation that if they give us their support we will send Gene to Congress."

Pittsburgh Again—Comrade Bowen comes in with five more yearly subscriptions to show us that Pittsburgh is getting wise to what the working class needs. This is the right kind of Preparedness!

From Canada—Comrade Dinmore and Comrade Anthony, both of Ontario, came in with bunches of subscriptions this month. It looks as if we were going to double our circulation in Canada. The Canadian comrades are always strong on sound class struggle socialism and we are glad to see the Review is making good with them.



NEWS AND VIEWS



LOCAL CLOVERDALE, INDIANA.

The Ancient Lowly

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

By C. OSBORNE WARD

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

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

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and kill his children.

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A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.

Crucifixion the penalty for strikers at Rome.

Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.

Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.

Rome's organized working men and working women.

women.

History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

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Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient

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Christian ty first propagated almost entirely within the unions.

Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Con-

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The Meaning of Homology.
The Earth an Evolution.
The Factors of Organic Evolution.
The Evidences of Organic Evolution. The Genealogy of Animals. Conclusion.

The Psychical Kinship

The Conflict of Science and Tradition. Evidences of Psychical Evolution. The Common-Sense View.
The Elements of Human and Non-Human
Mind Compared. Conclusion.

The Ethical Kinship

Human Nature a Product of the Jungle. Egoism and Altruism. The Ethics of the Savage. The Ethics of the Ancient. Modern Ethics. Modern Ethics of Human Beings The Ethics of Human Beings.
The Origin of Provincialism.
Universal Ethics.
The Psychology of Altruism.
Anthropocentric Ethics.
Ethical Implications of Evolution.
Conclusion Ethics of Human Beings Toward Conclusion.

Mark Twain, the greatest of American writers, said in a letter written shortly before his death: "The Universal Kinship has furnished me several days of deep pleasure and satisfaction. It has compelled my gratitude, at the same time, since it saves me the labor of stating my own long-cherished opinions, reflections and resentments by deing it lucidly and fervently for me."

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Prisoners of War-Some of our old comrades are interned as prisoners of war on the Isle of Man. One of them writes: "Perhaps you will be glad to hear from one of your old friends interned. I have been a reader of the REVIEW for many years. We have done good work with them among our fellow prisoners here. We have a little library of our own fitted out with REVIEWS and good hot books—in different languages. But we are on the brink of exhausting our reading material and would be mighty thankful if you could send us some old books, pamphlets, etc., etc. We can do a lot with them. With hearty greetings, I am yours for the Revolution."—X.

His Last Dollar—Comrade Miller of Theodore, Ala., writes: "I am sending you the last dollar I have, but I cannot go without the REVIEW." We do not think we can make the REVIEW good enough to suit such a red, but we are glad to know that they feel we are trying. Remember, it is up to our readers to help make the Review what you want it to be and send us in some live stuff once in a while.

A Wobbly at the Front-One of our old I. W. W. friends was forced into the war and sent, among many others, into France with the British expeditionary force. He writes us the following letter from a military prison. The letter was censored, but every Wobbly will enjoy the news between the lines:

"Dear Comrades: Just a few lines to let you and the Review bunch know that my smiling face has at last landed in France. After reaching Australia I staid with my parents for about three weeks. Then I got a job in Melbourne, but there came a call from my country. An extra loud call came to me and feeling as I do for my country, as all the boys in the American organization do about their country, I did just what they would do under such circumstances. I am as patriotic as they are. The call to fight for my country was so loud that I enlisted, under conditions that would make anybody enlist.

"Have had a lovely time in the army—six shillings a day and training all the time. Later we were sent to France via a Cunard liner and I have now been under arrest for three weeks for disobeying an officer. I am awaiting court martial and think I will win out. You know how I love my country—and all the officers. I cannot give you the name of the-town where I am stationed, but if you will address me care the British Expeditionary Force, at address given above, I will probably receive the letter. Any good reading matter would certainly be appreciated.

"Some rowdy soldiers at X---- rebelled against the military police and kept up a running fight for five hours. The M. P.'s were driven from camp and all their belongings burnt. The authorities had to do away with the military police and General Leave was the order of the day.

"Up to this time most of the men had been paying railroad fares, but some dishonest soldier suggested that the railroad fares should be charged to Kitchener, which was immediately endorsed by the men. But, as you know, I was entirely out of sympathy with these undisciplined and unlawful proceedings.'

The Indiana State Convention-The comrades of Indiana held an enthusiastic convention at Indianapolis on May 6th and 7th. The interest and activity in the coming campaign will be largely centered on an effort to send Comrade Eugene Debs to Congress from the Terre Haute district. A motion was unanimously carried to purchase two Ford machines. And a good big chunk of money was raised at the convention for this purpose. A telegram was received from Jim Larkin suggesting that the comrades protest against the treatment accorded Comrade James Connolly, and the result was that a cablegram was sent to Premier Asquith demanding that Comrade Connolly and his colleagues be treated as prisoners of war.

Swiss and Liebknecht—A message from Zurich says that the Volksrecht organized for Sunday last a great demonstration in honor of Liebknecht.

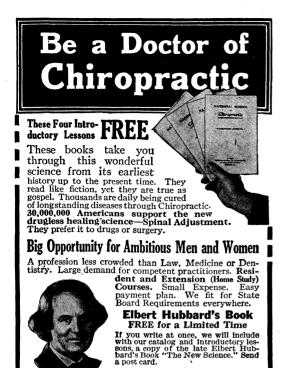
Trouble is on at Webb City, Mo. The mine operators of the lead district reduced wages of miners and hoisting engineers from 25 to 50 cents a day. The result was a strike on some of the properties of the adjacent camps, involving members of No. 603. The latest word is that Frank H. Little, and two members whose names are not given, are in jail. The secretary writes that he expects a big increase in membership.

One thousand miners are on strike at Aurora, Minn. The strike is growing. Sam Scarlett has been sent to look after the situation.

The United Mine Workers provoked a strike at the Jermyn mine at Old Forge, Pa. The strike was directed against members of the I. W. W. There was a pitched battle between the miners, which was settled when the black uniformed constabulary appeared on the scene. The latest news from the coal field is that everything is quiet, and the I. W. W. is holding its own.

Agricultural Workers' Organization No. 400, at the regular meeting in Kansas City, framed these demands for the harvest in Kansas: Wages, \$4 a day and board; ten hours, double pay for overtime; good food and good beds. They have over three hundred delegate-organizers in the field. From twenty to fifty members are being initiated every day.





FINE OLD VIOLINS

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Why Ask for a Permit?—Word comes in that the city authorities of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, have refused to grant a street speaking permit to the local Socialist party. It seems that Comrade Walter Lanferseik, national secretary, and Comrade Max Sherover of the national office, were passing through town and could not resist the invitation of the local comrades to stay over and hold an open air meeting—but no meeting was held. We hope the local comrades will go to bat with the "city fathers" and show them that free speech is an American institution which is still worth fighting for. It is about time local Cedar Rapids got on the job anyway. From all re-ports, the local has been a dead one for quite a while. Come on, Comrades, show your colors and put Cedar Rapids on the socialist map! In passing, we know one Jimmie Higgins, who has distributed more straight socialist literature, sold more Reviews and done more agitation during the past four years than the local itself.

From Forward, Scotland—The latest stunt in the reactionary Press is that Karl Marx, the hunted Socialist exile was in reality filled up with German "nationalist purpose". . . . "the suppressed but always dominant Teutonism of Karl Marx" . . "the bitter national and racial antagonism displayed by Karl Marx and his disciples against the Slav peoples. They were hostile to France in a scornful way; to the Slav nations they were mercilessly repressive."

Marx, we are told, was "an unscrupulous fighter." He was "very German"; he fought with "poison gas." Currency is given to an old time (and baseless) speculation of Engel's that the Labour Leader had been founded with Tory gold.

This is the depth to which, not the Morning Post, not the Harmsworth Press, but the CLARION has now reached. It is Mr. A. M. Thompson in the Clarion for 26th May.

Milwaukee Leader please copy.

On the Job—A Kansas City rebel in remitting for his second bundle of fifty June Reviews, writes "It is a cinch no politician can appreciate a redhot, revolutionary magazine like the Review, and say, the June number has certainly got the goods, as the pictures of the three dead men take the audience by storm at every street meeting. They show what happens to the sissors who are fools enough to go to Mexico to fight the bosses' battles—they make good food for coyotes. We are taking this month's bundle to the railroad shops and factories. Yours for Industrial Freedom, Local No. 61, I. W. W."

Joseph J. Ettor, general organizer, was called to Lawrence by a small number of members who were on strike. After conferring with them and retiring to his hotel, he was dragged out of bed at five o'clock in the morning, put into an automobile, and taken to Boston. He returned to Lawrence the next day with counsel and swore out warrants against his abductors. These marshals and police inspectors may find themselves in a serious conspiracy case.



From Kansas-"Everywhere I hear nothing but praise for the Review. Our local puts a copy every month in the Railroad Y. M. C. A. and it is a bigger thought provoker than all the rest of the periodicals put together. The reason is the Review's straightforward, uncompromising articles."—L. K. B., Secy.

Tom Barker, 330 Castlereagh street, Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, has been fined \$500, or the alternative of ten months in prison, on a charge of publishing matter likely to prejudice against recruiting. This charge is based on a cartoon which appeared in Direct Action, showing Labor pinned to a cross by swords and sabres. A capitalist is catching the blood (profits) in a bowl, which is dripping from Labor's hands and feet. Barker's prosecution is not because the cartoon prejudices against recruiting, but because it clearly portrays the class war. The Barker Defense Committee asks your earnest co-operation.

The United Dock Workers of Seattle, Wash., were refused a charter by the I. L. A. The U. D. W. went on strike, the I. L. A. continued to work. The Industrial Workers of the World will co-operate with the United Dock Workers and try to have them unite with us, not only to help win the strike, but to establish solidarity among the marine transport workers on the Pacific Coast.—U. D. W.



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A little Hold-Up Now and Then-Comrade Edna Porter, leading lady of The Everywoman Company, writes us that many people unite to hold up theatrical companies when they stop in towns for one or two-night stands. The rawest deal we have ever read about anywhere was pulled off in Iola, Kan., by a restaurant owner named Lamay. From all reports Mr. Lamay decided to bleed the Everywoman company for all he could get. Miss Marion Bradbury, who plays "Self" in the company, and Miss Frances Simpson, who plays "Modesty," went to the Lamay restaurant for supper. Expecting to be joined by another member of the cast, Miss Bradbury turned up a chair to hold it for their friend, who failed to appear. Mr. Lamay charged Miss Bradbury for two suppers-her own and one for the vacant, upturned chair. The young women left the restaurant in a perfectly orderly manner, hoping to find a policeman who would straighten the matter out. Lamay appeared in the doorway and, seeing the girls talking to the constable, ordered them arrested for disturbing the peace. One of the actresses writes for the Dramatic "Without further argument we were marched to the police court, where our business manager got us out on \$20 bail, to play the performance. Next morning came the trial. We had two witnesses. The plaintiff had none. Also, we had an efficient lawyer, who obtained from the plaintiff on the witness stand an admission contrary to his charge against us. But in spite of this charge the judge (W. L. Bartels) found us guilty and fined us. It was such a case of legal injustice that our lawyer appealed the case to the district court and made himself personally responsible, putting up \$100 bond for us. This was a clear case of an imposition on a theatrical company, which the judge knew must leave town the next day and therefore would find it difficult to fight. As it was, we had to wait over for a later train to appear at the trial. If you go to Iola, Kan., remember that people say Lamay, the restaurant keeper, charges strangers 5 cents for a glass of water with meals, that he charges for meals if you turn up a chair—even if there are a dozen vacant chairs in the room, and that Judge Bartels declared two modest, charming young girls guilty of conduct of which they were incapable, without doubt, because he thought they could not lay over to fight the case. It looks to us as though the actors and actresses are going to need their labor organization to fight such cases of palpable imposition. They must put such men as Lamay on the taboo list and refuse to patronize his restaurant, and they must show the people of Iola just what sort of a judge they have. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to the people of Iola. We hope they won't permit Bartels to be wished on them again."

The Kelsey Wheel Workers at Detroit, Mich., where the workers gained an eighthour day and 6 to 8 cents increase in wages, are again on strike on account of discrimination against members of the I. W. W.

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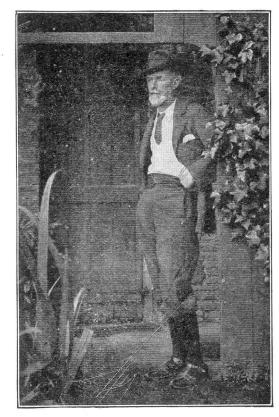
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R. J. L. MAGNUS of New York was the guest a few days ago of Julius Rosenwald at the Ellis avenue home of the Sears-Roebuck multi-millionaire. Chicago's most widely known sustainer of

organized charity.

Magnus was brought here from New York to voice the cry of the crushed and desperate Jews of Russia, Poland and Palestine. As a public speaker Magnus outclasses any who has come to Chicago in a long time, if newspaper stories are They report that when Magnus told the Auditorium audience Thursday night about the crushed and desperate Jews of war-torn lands, the wives of State street merchants and the wives of millionaire garment manufacturers of Chicago sobbed and the rest of the audience took up the sobbing until it was impossible for the speaker on the stage to make himself heard because of the noise of the sobbing.

On the front page of the Chicago Herald, in which Julius Rosenwald has sunk \$250,000 of ready cash, Jack Lait reported the event with this remarkable paragraph sub-headed, "Sobs Halt Speaker":

"A young American Jew with the voice of an angel and the eloquent pathos of all Jewish history in his trembling outcries against the horrors of Europe had to stop at the climax of his peroration because the sobs of his hearers—prosperous, stable citizens, most of themdrowned out his clarion words."

As I read that paragraph of Jack Lait over again I wondered what he was getting at. And it seemed to me the under-

lying meaning was:

"Look here, you people who say the rich State street Jews and the garment manufacturers have hearts of stone. Look at them sobbing. They have hearts of blood and flesh and they can cry and shake with feeling the same as any garment worker's wife moaning over a baby dead because wages failed to buy the proper housing and food for a child. You who say the Jews of Mandel's, Rothschild's and Siegel-Cooper's have ice water instead of blood in their veinslook at them sobbing!"

I wonder what would have happened if the same audience had been listening to Ellen Gates Starr as a speaker and Miss Starr had told them what she knows about the crushed and desperate Jews of Chicago battling through a clothing workers' union for the right to organize

and be paid a living wage.

If this audience sprinkled with Jewish millionaires and their wives had heard the Hull House woman tell how last October, Rose Goodman, a Jewish girl, was jammed into a police wagon and her breast bone broken by a policeman's fist, how the faces of Jewish girls were slapped by harness bulls of the Chicago police force, how there were hundreds of Jewish girls and women among the 2,300 arrested during the clothing strike and these prisoners were huddled in the vermin-crept cells of Harrison street. Chicago avenue and Shakespeare avenue stations—if this audience had heard Miss Starr tell the story of Russianized Chicago, I wonder whether the speaker's voice would have been drowned by the kind of sobbing which stopped Dr. Magnes near the finish of his speech the other night.

I wonder why Jewish womanhood in Chicago is not as sacred and beautiful, as much worthy of thought and action, as the crushed and desperate Jews of

Russia, Poland and Palestine,

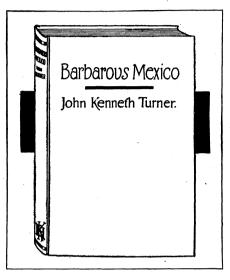
OE MARTIN is dead. He was the secretary, chum, servant, friend and passionate vassal of John P. Altgeld, the best working-class governor that has ever sat in an executive chair in the United States.

Martin was a gambler, running a place called The Shotgun. He took a law case to Altgeld. Something about Altgeld's simple and honest way of going at things hit straight into the heart and head of Joe Martin. He quit gambling, traveled over Illinois with Altgeld and helped nominate and elect to the governorship the man who pardoned the working-class men sent to Joliet on charges of complicity in the Haymarket bomb affair.

Martin was one of Altgeld's advisers who was out and out for a pardon of the anarchists. From start to finish he maintained the conviction was a frame-up and it would be better for Altgeld to pardon them and go down to political defeat than to live on without doing his best to set

right a vicious wrong.

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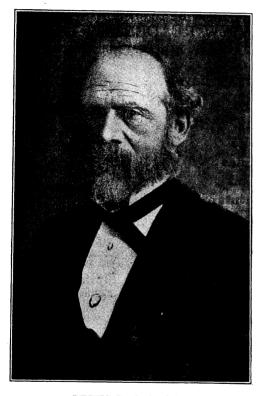
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