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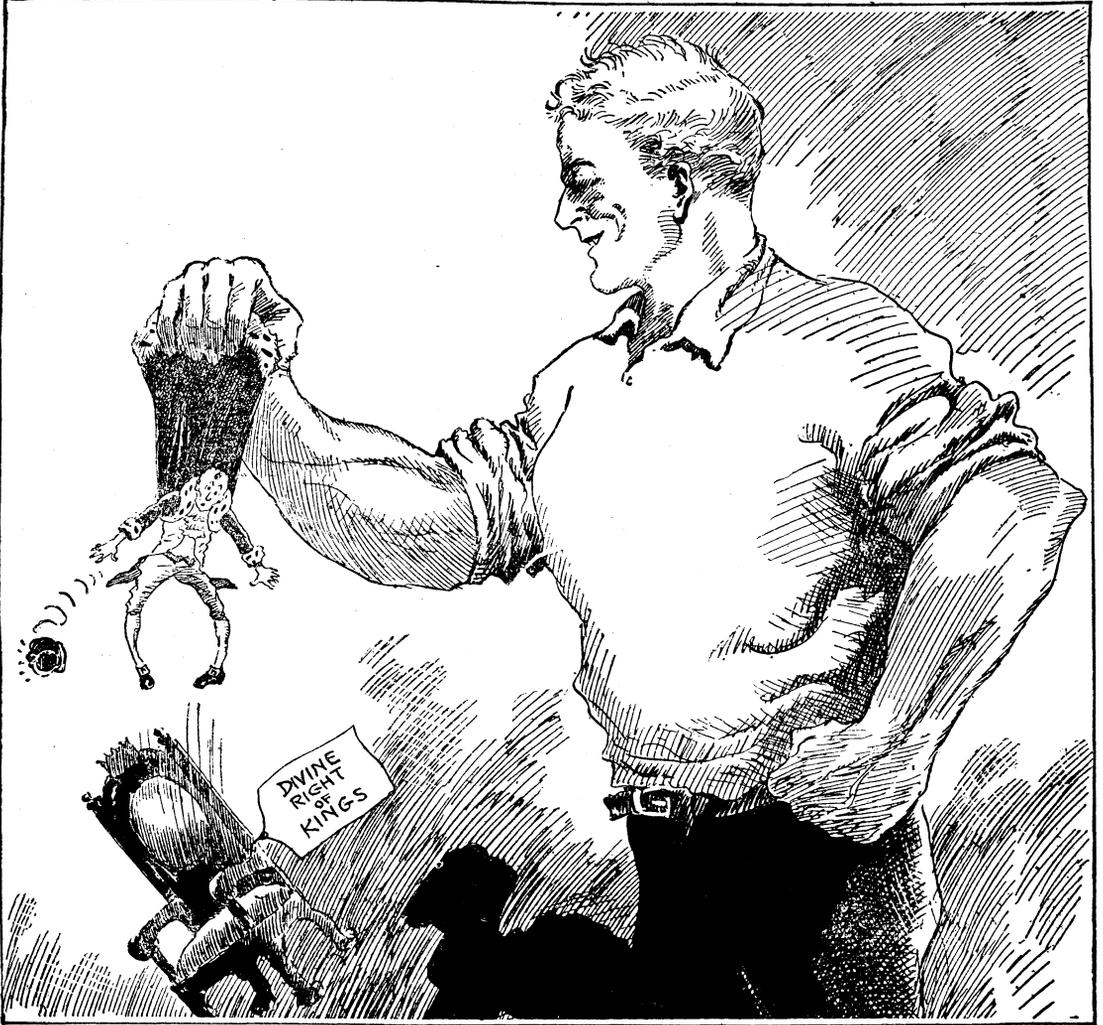
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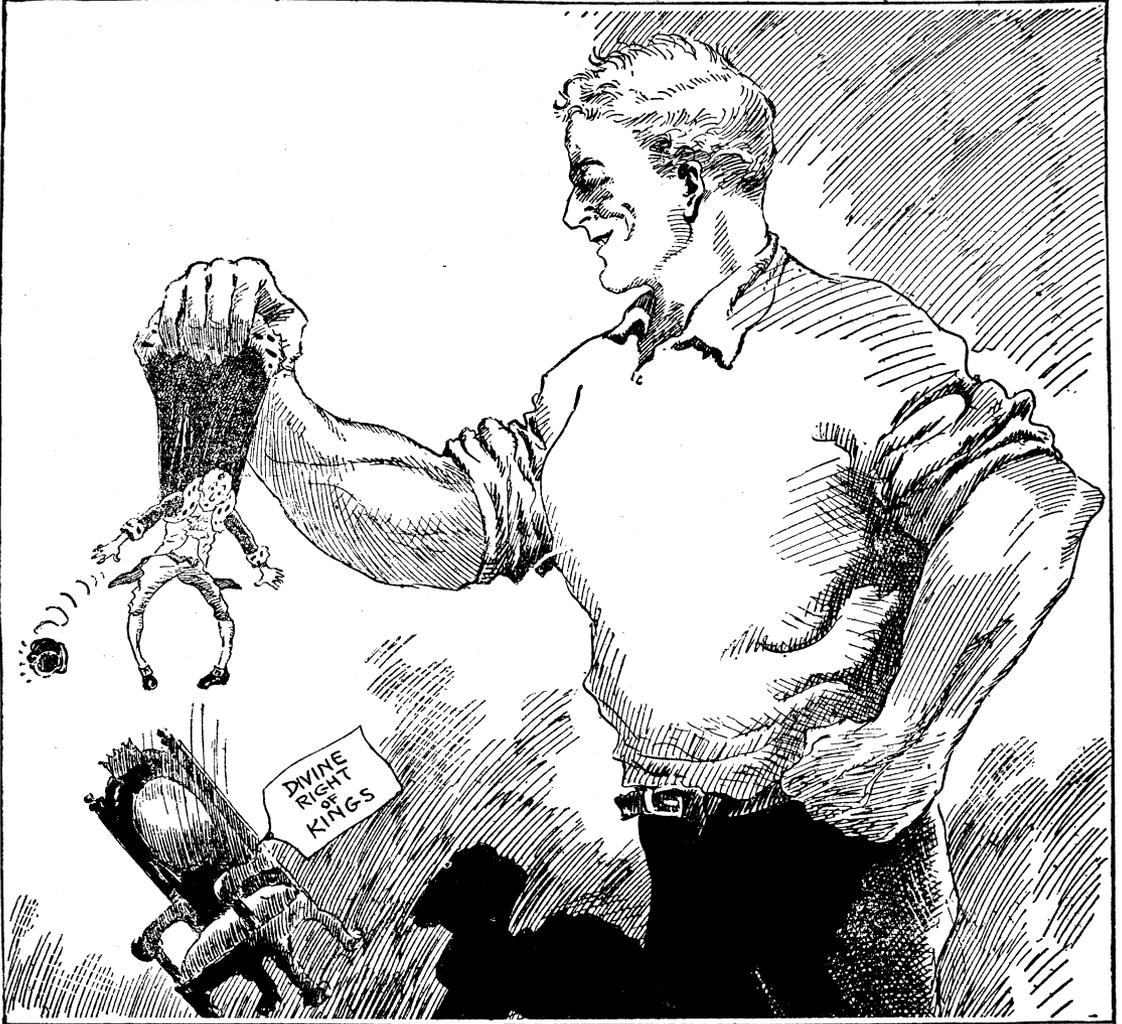
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From the Chicago American.

WHAT SHALL I DO WITH IT?



From the Chicago American.

WHAT SHALL I DO WITH IT?

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XVII

MAY, 1917

No. 11

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE tocsin of the social revolution rang throught Russia and its sound carried around the globe, into every land, to all nations of the earth.

It was not a political revolution alone. The overthrow of autocracy was a mere incident. No mere political revolution could make freedom blossom out suddenly in a land that for ages was dark—freedom greater than the freedom of any other people on earth. All the land to be restored to the people; all the one hundred nationalities to enjoy equal rights of existence; woman to be enfranchised. Mountains of political oppression blown to atoms; one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners liberated. No political revolution ever achieved such results. It was the breath of the Social Revolution. It is the first great nation rising, not alone to achieve political liberty, but also to establish industrial freedom. The Great Change has begun in Russia—the event that was waited for these long weary ages. It struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the peoples of far and distant lands. Already Kings and Kaisers are trembling on their thrones. Already the rulers of other nations hasten to forestall the storm of popular wrath by offering more freedom, greater reforms. With the despatch of the Russian revolution in his pockets, the German Chancellor hastens to the Prussian House of Lords there to announce to a thunderstruck audience reforms of the franchise. The Reichstag, apprised of the events in Russia, appoints a committee for the revision of the con-

stitution. The English government hastens to pledge woman franchise, self-government to Ireland.

The rise of the peoples of the world is imminent and the rulers vainly attempt to prevent it.

Too late.

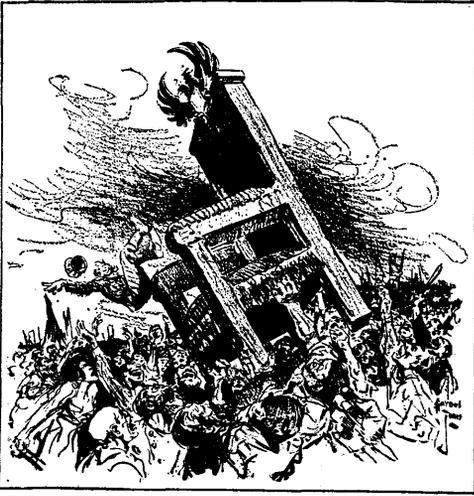
Watch the Russian social revolution get into swing. Watch it go to the roots of economic oppression. Watch it discarding old forms, established precedents, vested wrongs. Watch the beginning of the great work of the world's final redemption.

The Russian revolution came "overnight," as the Ohio legislature expressed it in its congratulatory message to the Duma. To be sure, overnight.

If the revolution asked counsel of our "practicals" "constructivists" and other Socialists of Sorrowful Figure, it would have to come "step by step," "one thing at a time" in about a quintillion of æons.

Social Revolution. What I wrote and predicted in the REVIEW and elsewhere, these many years has come. The Social Revolution is thundering on its way. Let the moles and bats laugh and jeer for a while yet.

They would not believe it. How is it possible, without ages of resolving, committeeing, platforming? This Russian revolution is utterly "impractical" and ought to be rejected. Is it not too bad, our own Socialist statesmen were not there to advise the Russian revolutionists to take liberty in small, homeopathic doses.



Jones, in the Boston Journal.

BY DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

With Russia, the greatest and freest country on the globe, reacting on England and France; with Germany clinging to what is practically a military autocracy; with the United States now at the side of Russia; the great conflict is now being waged clearly between the democracies of the world, such as they are now, and the last survival of autocracy and feudalism. Every freedom loving man, and every Socialist must desire the victory of the democracies. No one need be deluded by the new variety of "internationalists"—the trimmers who hotly defended German nationalism at the beginning of this war, but whose gorge rises against American nationalism. Internationalists, they? Bah! You can find many such "internationalists"—in Prussia.

Marx was certainly not an "internationalist" of that kind when he desired the victory of the allies over Russia during the Crimean war. There were munition makers and profit grubbers then, as now. This did not obscure Marx's vision of freedom.

The coming Russian Constituent Assembly will in point of far-reaching importance and interest surpass even the events of the war. It will be elected by a universal, equal and secret vote. By all tokens, it will be the most revolutionary assembly, since the French Assembly of the year 1789.

It will institute a republican form of government. It will abolish nobility and

privileges root and branch. It will establish a uni-cameral parliament with a ministry (cabinet) responsible to the parliament.

It will very likely dispense with a "ruler" in the person of a president, the executive power residing either in the ministry or a special commission. It will give the widest political equality to all nationalities, men and women.

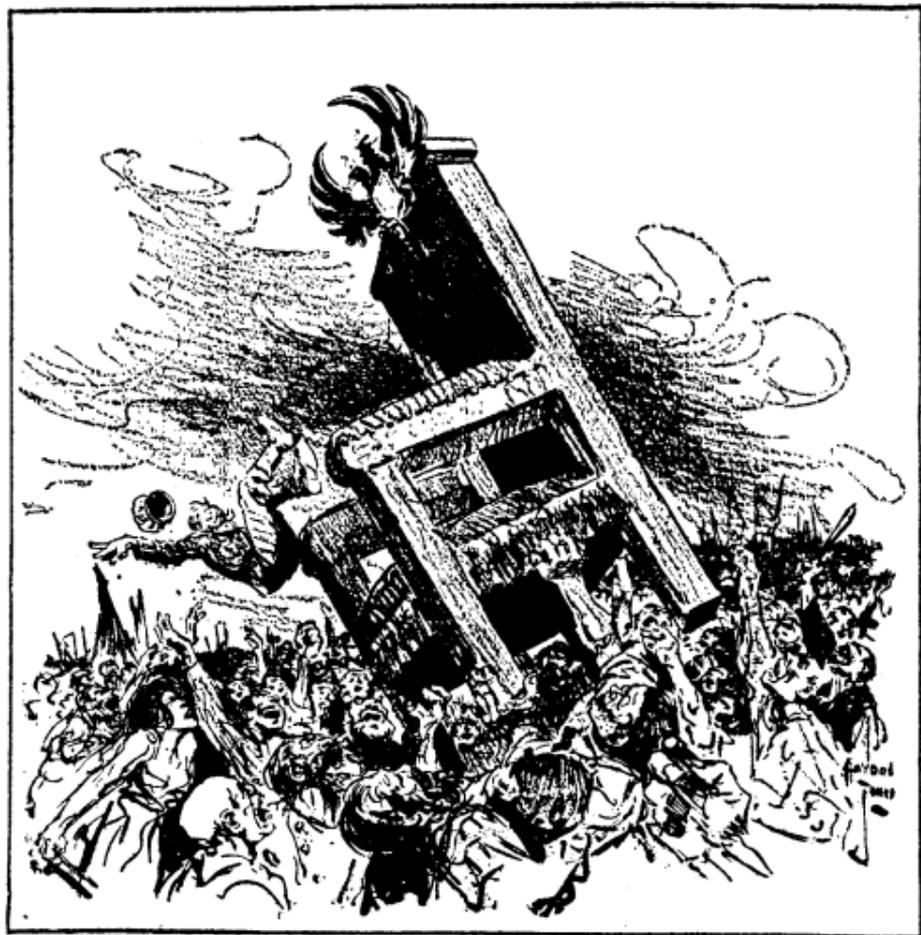
It will revise property rights from the bottom up. "Vested rights" will have to prove themselves. Crown land, estates of Romanoffs and of the nobility and even of the church to some extent will be declared state property to be turned over to the peasants for use. The principle of single tax is very likely to be widely accepted and applied.

Russia is not now an industrial country, tho, the war over, it will become so by leaps and bounds. The principle of state ownership cannot be carried out in many industries. The state owns the railroads. The only other great industry that may be taken over by the state is coal mining, owing to its concentrated condition.

But all the more will a Socialism that is peculiarly Russian receive wide application. This is co-operation by groups—village groups, town groups, and groups of wage workers. Co-operative groups of the village and town may be viewed as a species of municipal Socialism. But the co-operative group of wage-earners—*artel*—is an old and established institution in Russia. They are not consumers' co-operatives. They are organized for work and production. When applied on a large scale, they may prove greatly more desirable than state ownership, which is often nothing better than state capitalism.

Perhaps it will be found that individual liberty will be safer under this form of industrial co-operation than under state ownership.

Whereas other industrial countries are ripe for co-operation thru the state, in Russia the industrial state is wanting. The Russian state was military and fiscal. It was taking soldiers and gathering taxes. The economic life of the people found expression in the *Zemstvos*. In the future the function of the *Zemstvos* will be to foster co-operatives among the farmers. And the duty of the national govern-



Jones, in the Boston Journal.

BY DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

ment will be to co-ordinate the work of the Zemstvos in the vast empire.

Here is a great deal of prophesy, some might say. It is not. It is a statement of facts, a cool-headed calculation of one who knows Russia.

There is one possibility of failure—an overwhelming German victory, which will mean the destruction of the Russian Republic and the restoration of Czardom by the co-adjustors of Scheidemann. This is a possibility not likely to happen.

We will have to recast our standards of value. For new values will rule. Light will come from the east. Two great eastern nations will endow the world, one with the fullness of peace—China; the other with the fullness of liberty—Russia. And together China and Russia will stand for peace and liberty. And in their goodwill the world will find the lasting light of liberty and the perpetual securing of peace.



Cesare, in the New York Evening Post.

THE POWER OF THE CLOSED FIST.

THE CRY OF TOIL

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
 And you hail us still unfed,
 Though there's never a dollar of all your
 wealth
 But marks the workers' dead.
 We have yielded our best to give you rest,
 And you lie on a crimson wool;
 For if blood be the price of all your wealth,
 Good God, we ha' paid it in full.

There's never a mine blown skyward now
 But we're buried alive for you;
 There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
 But we are its ghastly crew.
 Go reckon our dead by the forges red
 And the factories where we spin;
 If blood be the price of your accursed wealth,
 Good God, we ha' paid it in full.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
 For that was our doom, you know,
 From the days when you chained us in your
 fields
 To the strike of a week ago.
 You ha' eaten our lives and our babes and
 wives,
 And we're told it's your legal share;
 But if blood be the price of your lawful
 wealth,
 Good God, we ha' bought it fair.

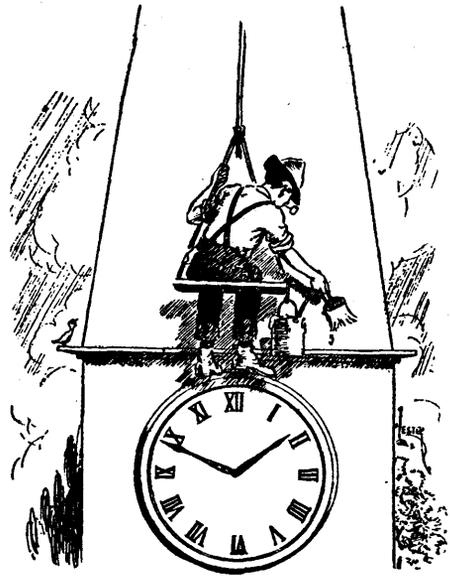


Cesare, in the New York Evening Post.

THE POWER OF THE CLOSED FIST.

SHOP CONTROL

By AUSTIN LEWIS



Courtesy of Judge.

WORKING OVERTIME.

THE war has precipitated a new discussion into British labor circles. This time it is the part that labor is to play in the management of industry. The syndicalist movement which had made many gains prior to the war finds a partial expression in this new development, which will no doubt increase in force as time goes by and the necessity for the reorganization of industry at the close of the war becomes more pressing. When Mr. Lloyd-George went to the Clyde last year to deal with the trouble in the workshops he returned with the conviction that the controversy in its essence was not between the government and the workers, but was the evidence of friction between factions in the trade unions.

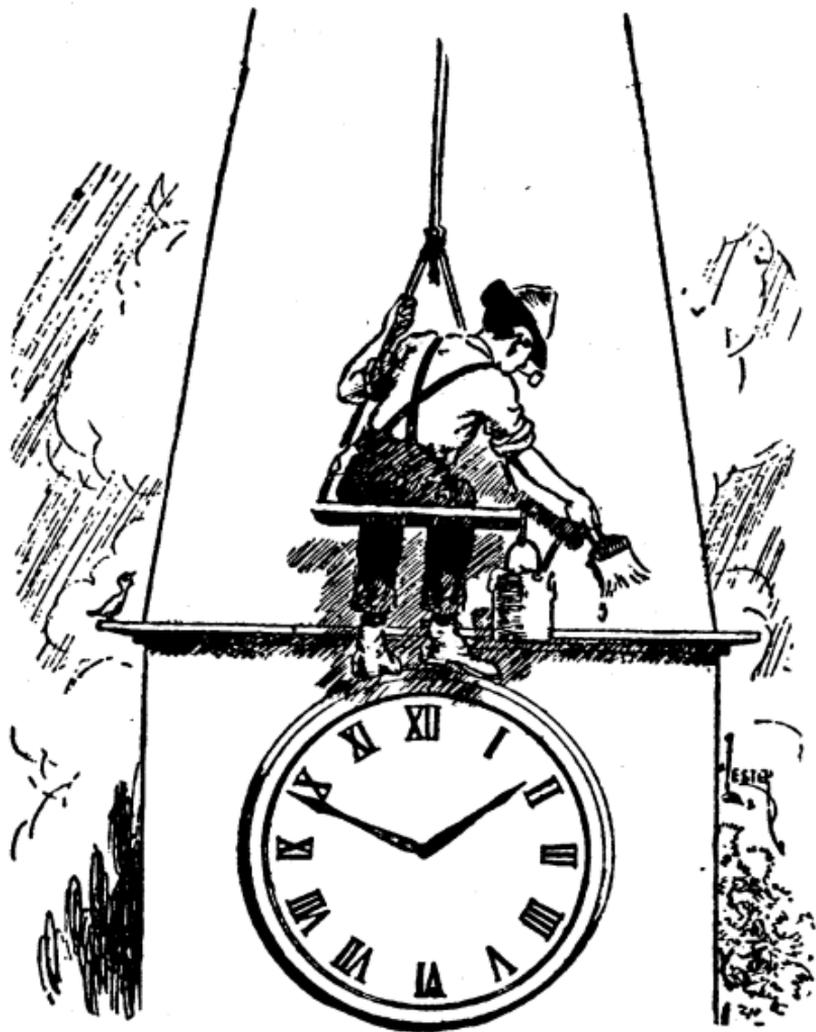
This irritation does not appear to have diminished, for the Durham miners stated very plainly in a recent meeting that they had no confidence in their parliamentary delegates. There is without doubt much fermentation in the British unions at the present time. The new spirit will manifest itself more fully at the close of the war. Then the controversies and conflicts will take many and various forms, but the earliest appears now likely to be that concerning the part of organized labor in management.

This was actually projected into the law courts last February when several of the Clyde strikers were charged with violation of the provisions of the "Muni-

tions Act." On that occasion Sheriff Fyfe was inspired by the typical magisterial spirit to say, "You (*i. e.*, the accused), have taken the attitude that a certain shop-steward is to manage the work. That is your attitude. You are going to manage the shop and that is the sort of thing to which the law will give no countenance. I venture to think that not only the law of the land but also the common-sense of the nation is against any such preposterous doctrine."

Here we have the same old delightful and familiar formula. In spite of the war and the death of Victoria, "law and common-sense" are still on the job.

The "preposterous doctrine" will not down, however, but again arose quite unabashed by magisterial reproof at the last Trade Union Congress. It was voiced in the opening address of the President, Mr. Gosling, who declared, "We workmen do not ask that we should be admitted to any share in what is essentially the employer's own business that is in those matters which do not concern us directly in the industry or employment in which we may be engaged. We do not seek to sit on the board of directors or to interfere with the buying of materials or the selling of the product. But in the daily management of the employment in which we spend our working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which we have to work, in the hours of beginning and ending work, and even in



Courtesy of Judge.

WORKING OVERTIME.

the manners and practices of the foremen with whom we have to come in contact, in all those matters, we feel that we as workmen have a right to a voice—even to an equal voice with the management itself."

This statement met with criticism from all sides. Many people, however, including even the more enlightened portion of the employing class regard it as weak and unsatisfactory. The Lord Mayor of Birmingham, in which city the congress was held, declared that more responsibility should be placed upon organized labor than at present; that it should see more of the "inside of the game," and hints at directorships. Robert Williams, of the *"Herald,"* regards Gosling's statement as a step towards Guild Socialism. The *"New Age"* jeers at this, but asks, nevertheless, "Has it come to this, that actually the most intelligent of capitalists are more anxious to thrust responsibility upon the trade unions than the trade union leaders are to take it?"

It is apparent that two new vital questions are up for discussion—the question of the management of the industrial process by organized labor and that of the responsibility of organized labor to the community.

That these should have been placed on the order of the day is in itself an achievement of first-class importance. A grasp of them would have been of enormous value at the time of the railroad employees matter, for with whatever friendly eyes we may view the result, the fact remains that in that case an organized labor body imposed a burden on the community in return for which it did not accept any social responsibility.

The word "control," which has emerged from the syndicalistic discussions in the labor bodies has now become notable. Even Mr. Gosling uses it, but in a very limited sense. He says that labor should be admitted "to some participation not in profits, but in control." But "control" as used by him does not imply directorship and positions on boards of management; it means rather the mere handling of the shop-technique. It has been pointed out that such "control" is impossible without a knowledge of the intricate concerns of the business and such knowledge could only come from taking part in the central management. But the

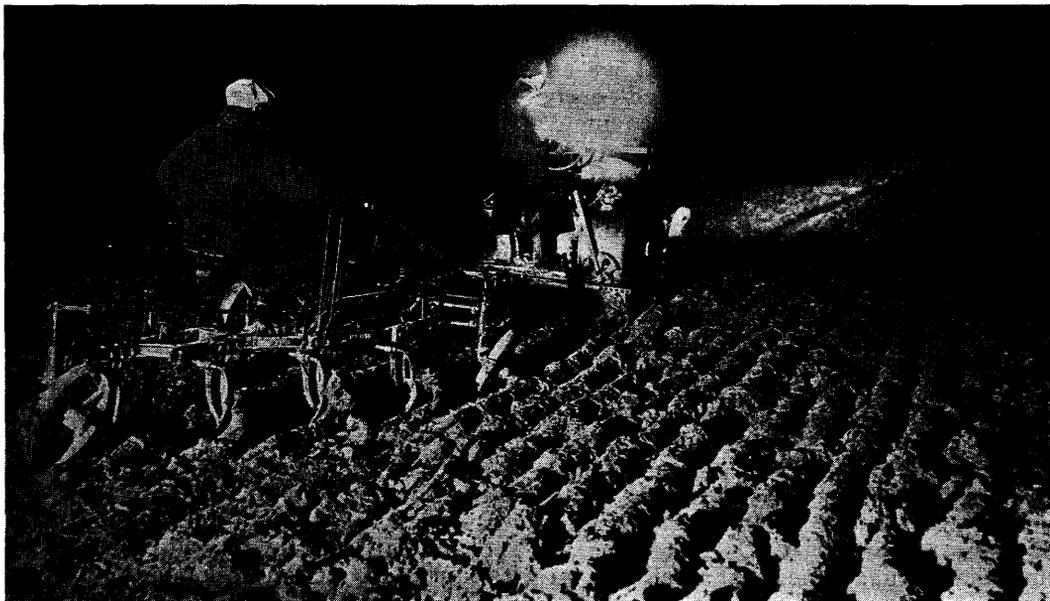
Trades Union Congress definitely excludes such management from its demands. Henry J. Northbrook shows that in certain industries of France where the demands of Mr. Gosling are accepted "It appears to be taken for granted that employes, salaried and staff workpeople, shall assume joint responsibility with the directors, and when they do not sit on the board they have a voice in the selection of the board."

This question of "control" having been once raised, the discussion cannot stop until some reasonable solution has been reached. It was bound to arise sooner or later, but the war has undoubtedly precipitated it.

Trades unionism has now become so powerful that it must definitely take up its burden in social life and become responsible to society for the exercise of its functions. It can no longer be a mere huckster and chaffer over the price of its commodity.

The close examination of all the social functions which the war has necessitated has given labor an unprecedented chance to prove its social value and to insist on its own claims. Many employers, even, favor the development of labor control, and the principle, once accepted is capable of indefinite extension. It only rests with Labor itself to show the requisite power and understanding. The *"New Age,"* which takes the most advanced position in this matter, thus sums up, "We say in the first place that economics requires that the thing Capital should be subordinated to the Laborers, who use it as a first condition of its most fruitful employment. Next, we affirm, that the condition of a successful democracy is the responsibility (which includes control) of every one of its citizens. And, finally, we assert that our nation is doomed to decay relatively to competing nations, unless we can call into existence a new principle, namely, the devoted cooperation with the State of the hitherto irresponsible proletarian trade unions."

Eliminating on the one hand those capitalists who take the ground that Labor is entitled to no share in management and on the other hand those trades unionists who shrink from the responsibility of management, the above is a fair summary of the conflicting views on "control" by organized labor.



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ENGLAND PLOUGHS BY NIGHT.

Every foot of land in England is being ploughed up. No matter how historic, sacred or valuable. This photo was taken near Wendover, on a large farm, where men, and especially women, are working day and night. The motor tractor and acetylene gas generator have put the old-time farm tools on the scrap pile.

OUR GAINS IN WAR

By MARY E. MARCY

WE doubt whether Socialists and industrial unionists are ever going to *start* a revolution. This is not the way revolutions or even revolts arise. First, we are too few in number; second, we cannot *plan* a revolution, and third, people do not *act* in *unison* because their ideas are similar.

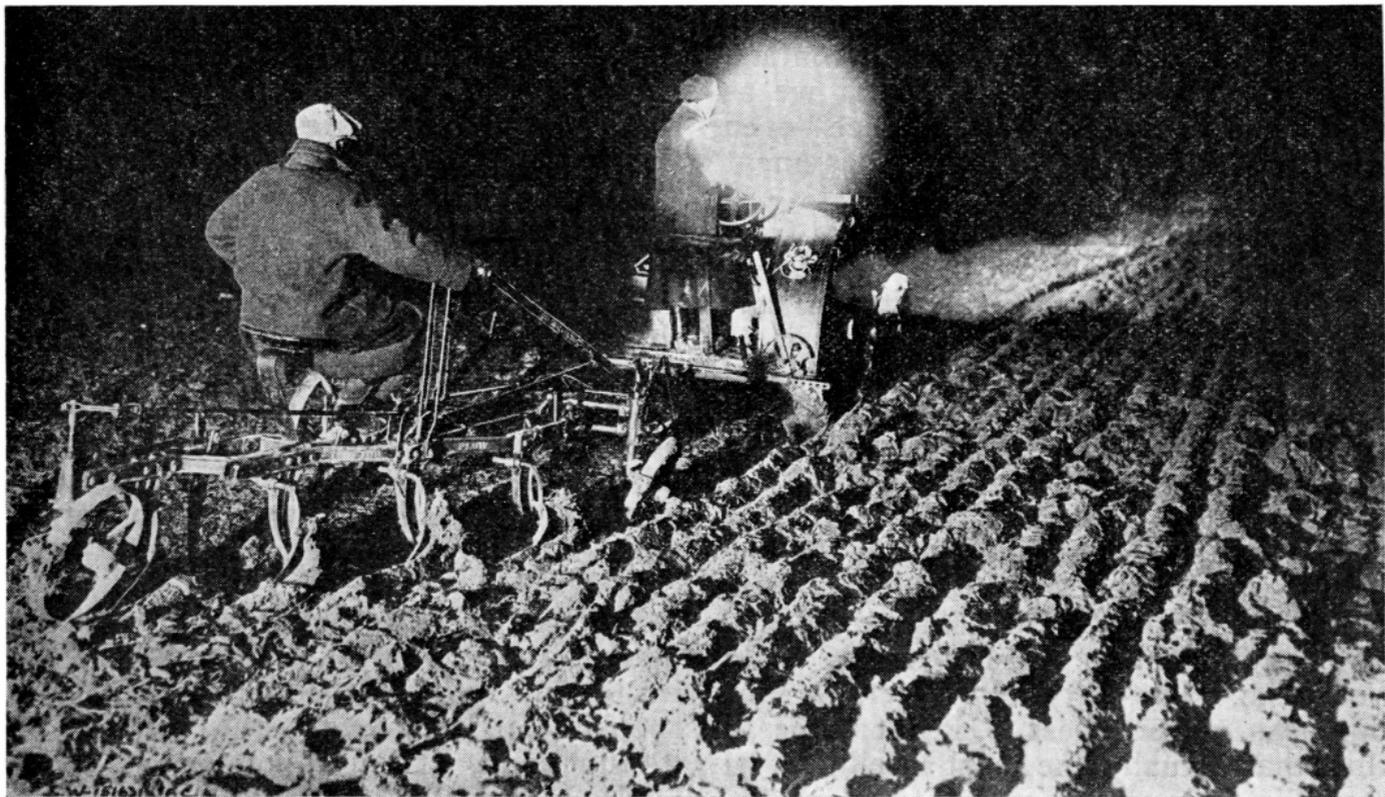
People *act* when they are hungry and cold, at a time when they are torn from their old moorings and thrust into new sets of conditions, a new environment; when they are jolted from their old habits and customs, when they *suffer*, in short; the *mass* revolt only when they *have* to.

We cannot *make* our opportunity, but we must keep up a constant work of education and organization and class struggles in order to be ready to take advantage of opportunity when it is presented to us. And we are almost inclined to believe that such an opportunity may only come during some great cataclysm

like the world war, or some other great national or international disaster when social institutions are crumbling and men and women are torn from their old habits of thought and of action, and Misery, Hunger and Death stalk abroad among the working class.

Evry true Socialist opposes capitalist wars at all times with every ounce of his strength, by all means at his command—because such wars are waged in the interests of Big Business—to gain new territory for capitalist exploitation, or to save old fields to their capitalist possessors, to protect commerce, property or profits rather than human lives.

For if it were lives with which the governments of the world were concerned, you would find the government of the United States making war upon the railroads to save the lives of the thousands of railroad workers killed needlessly every year, or the German government



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ENGLAND PLOUGHS BY NIGHT.

Every foot of land in England is being ploughed up. No matter how historic, sacred or valuable. This photo was taken near Wendover, on a large farm, where men, and especially women, are working day and night. The motor tractor and acetylene gas generator have put the old-time farm tools on the scrap pile.

making war against the landlords in Berlin to crush out the awful scourge of tuberculosis that has raged for years in that metropolis, or you would find the British government using its power to prevent famine in India and the chronic starvation that existed among the poor of England before the war.

We oppose capitalist wars because we know that, in the past, wars have brought in their train oppressive measures which have deprived the working class of freedom of the press, free speech, the right to organize and to strike, and the right of assembly. During war the working class *may* lose all the small gains they have made to better their conditions during the past fifty years at so much cost and sacrifice.

We oppose capitalist wars because they are *usually* the great foes of liberalism and democracy; because, when Imperialism has been saddled upon a nation, and a strong military caste stands ready to serve the billionaire owning class, we feel that it will be almost impossible for the productive workers of that nation to make any headway against the encroachments of capital. For the army may stand ready to break every strike; to suppress every tendency toward freedom; to crush out all revolt.

This is true of Imperialism in times of *peace*; but Russia, on the other hand, points to the hopeful possibilities *during war*. It may need the national, hungry, bereaved desperation of the working class to cause the workers to rise as a *class* and to fight as a *class*.

Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW we hope to publish an interesting article on Economic Determinism and the Capitalist Class, in which the writer points out how the German government undoubtedly declared war in order to prolong the dominion of its ruling class and to prevent a possible revolution at home.

But the German government, as well as the governments of other warring nations of Europe have *started something* that they are now *unable to stop*. The great giant they loosed has grown beyond their control, and the longer the war lasts the more impossible will it become for the old system ever to be reconstructed. In fact, already we have witnessed the downfall of more of the strictly capitalist

institutions during the past thirty months than the world has seen in a century.

The *private ownership* of the *means of production* and *distribution* has almost disappeared from the face of Europe today. And the longer the war lasts the more certainly is this *private ownership* forever doomed, the more widespread does state ownership and state control become.

In any nation, as war progresses and grows more intense, gradually the utterly useless parasites upon the social body are forced from their snug hiding places and set to work carrying on the task of feeding and clothing the people of that country, and the soldiers on the field.

Gradually production and distribution break away from all individual control and restraint and become social or national in scope. Every healthy human being is forced to perform some function in the social body in order to preserve what the publicists are pleased "their honor" or "their national unity." Meanwhile the old order is surely tumbling about their ears nevermore to be raised up again.

We are not so much concerned whether the border of this country, or of that country, be moved a few miles east or west, as we are in the changed methods of production and distribution, the economic changes—that emerge out of the war chaos, in the disappearance of institutions that have long served the exploiting classes so faithfully and so well. We are interested in learning that parliaments have become outworn, vestigial social organs, or institutions, no longer necessary to the social body.

We rejoice to see the people of Russia throw off the century old yoke of autocracy that has hampered her productive development, tho it be, in some measure, but to wage a sterner war. We are glad to learn that some of England's underfed population are acquiring the habit of regular and abundant food, and still more happy over the news of a possible revolution that may forever destroy the Prussian military caste and bring some measure of gain to the working class of Germany.

Individuals have ceased to stand out in this war, which has grown to such colossal proportions that men are no longer big enough, important enough, to

stand out in the noise of great social changes. The profit-mad capitalist classes of the various nations, who caused this war, are fighting, thru their home governments and armies, for new fields of profit-taking, or to preserve old fields of profit-making. And now that the war is on, they find that all things must yield to bring efficiency for the defeat of their competitors across the border lines.

Meanwhile their own national protective social institutions are tumbling about their ears and the rumblings of revolt and revolution are heard in nearly every land. During war the first consideration of every government is to see that its soldiers are well clothed and well fed, and that its people are well housed and clothed and well fed, so that the people can supply the army. But what government (not planning great wars) concerns itself with the food, the shelter and the clothing of its people? Can we imagine that people who are becoming accustomed to regular work, regular pay, and, for the great portion of the population, a goodly measure of security—can we imagine that these people are going to permit themselves to be thrown into unemployment, uncertainty and hunger after the war is over?

Was it possible to break up the great trusts and monopolies once they were organized? Will it be possible to unscramble the industries absorbed by the governments during war time? We cannot believe it, for it is the *methods of production* which determine things, events and institutions, not the desires of the most powerful individuals.

If the war lasts long enough the new

system of production may grow beyond the control of any individual or groups of individuals if *it has not already done so*.

You may wonder if so much that is good may come out of this great capitalist war, why we oppose this war, why we must oppose all capitalist wars with all our strength and all our means. We believe the answer is plain.

This is not *our* war—a war of the working class to throw off the yoke of exploitation. It is a war between great national and international capitalist groups to widen their spheres of profit-taking, just as it was John D. Rockefeller's fight when he went about freezing out his weaker competitors in the oil fields. It was not the part of an intelligent working class to help Mr. Rockefeller squeeze out the little fellows and help him build a great oil monopoly. It is not the part of the working class to fight the battles of more ambitious capitalists. Besides—

We understand the game. We are not fooled. We see our own international working class interests. We will wage our own fight in *our own interests*. It is our mission to use the opportunity that may develop if the working class is driven to desperation by hunger and misery. It is our mission to gain from new opportunities things that will mean lasting economic independence and industrial democracy to the working class.

We believe this is the function of the advanced guard of the working class. Either these things or reaction will be the fruits of the war.

Russia has struck, in part; Germany may follow. Who shall say what the end may be?



Man and the Other Animals



By J. Howard Moore



KINSHIP of all animals is universal. The orders, families, species, and races of the animal kingdom are the branches of a gigantic arbour. Every individual is a cell, every species is a tissue, and every order is an organ in the great surging, suffering, palpitating process. Man is simply one portion of the immense enterprise. He is as veritably an animal as the insect that drinks its little fill from his veins, the ox he goads, or the wild fox that flees before his bellowsings.

Man is not a god, nor in any imminent danger of becoming one. He is not a celestial star-babe dropped down among mundane matters for a time and endowed with wing possibilities and the anatomy of a deity. He is a mammal of the order of primates, not so lamentable when we think of the hyena and the serpent, but an exceedingly discouraging vertebrate compared with what he ought to be. He has come up from the worm and the quadruped. His relatives dwell on the prairies and in the fields, forests and waves. He shares the

honors and partakes of the infirmities of his kindred. He walks on his hind limbs like the ape; he eats herbage and suckles his young like the ox; he slays his fellows and fills himself with their blood like the crocodile and the tiger; he grows old and dies, and turns to banqueting worms, like all that come from the elemental loins. He cannot exceed the winds like the hound, nor dissolve his image in the midday blue like the eagle. He has not the courage of the gorilla, the magnificence of the steed, nor the plaintive innocence of the ring dove.

Poor, pitiful, glory-hunting hideful! Born into a universe which he creates when he comes into it, and clinging, like all his kindred, to a clod that knows him not, he drives on in the preposterous storm of the atoms, as helpless to fashion his fate as the sleet that pelts him, and lost absolutely in the somnambulism of his own being.

* * *

The anatomical gulf between men and apes does not exist. There are, in fact, no gulfs anywhere in the animal kingdom,



only gradations. All chasms are completely covered by unmistakable affinities in spite of the fact that the remains of so many millions of deceased races lie hidden beneath the seas or everlastingly locked in the limy bosoms of the continents. There are closer kinships and remoter kinships, but there are kinships everywhere. The more intimate kinships are indicated by more definite and detailed similarities, and the more general relationships by more fundamental resemblances. All creatures are bound to all other creatures by the ties of of a varying but undeniable consanguinity.

Man stands unquestionably in the primate order of animals, because he has certain qualities of structure which all primates have, and which all other animals have not: hands and arms and nails, a bagpipe stomach, great subordination of the cerebellum, a disc-like placenta, teeth differentiated into incisors, canines, and molars, and pectoral milk glands.

Man is more closely akin to the anthropoid apes than to the other primates on account of his immense brain, his apelike face, his vertical spine, and in being a true two-handed biped. The manlike apes and men have the same number and kinds of teeth, the same limb bones and muscles, like ribs and vertebrae, an atrophied tail, the same brain structure and a suspicious similarity in looks and disposition. Men and anthropoids live about the same number of years, both being toothless and wrinkled in old age. The beard, too, in both classes of animals appears at the same period of life and obeys the same law of variation in color. Even the hairs on different parts of the bodies of men and anthropoids, as on the arms, incline at a like angle to the body surface. The hair on the upper arm and that on the forearm, in both anthropoids and men, point in opposite directions—toward the elbow. This peculiarity is found nowhere in the animal kingdom excepting in a few American monkeys.

Man's mammalian affinities are shown in his diaphragm, his hair, his four-chambered heart, his corpus callosum, his non-nucleated blood-corpuscles, and his awkward incubation.

The fishes, frogs, reptiles, birds, and non-human mammals are human in having two body cavities, segmented internal skeletons, two pairs of limbs, skulls and spinal col-

umns, red blood, brains and dorsal cords; and in possessing two eyes, two ears, nostrils, and mouth opening out of the head.

And finally all animals, including man, are related to all other animal forms by the great underlying facts of their origin, structure, composition, and destiny. All creatures, whether they live in the sea, in the heavens, or in subterranean glooms; whether they swim, fly, crawl, or walk; whether their world is a planet or a water-drop; and whether they realize it or not, commence existence in the same way, are composed of the same substances, are nourished by the same matters, follow fundamentally the same occupations, all do under the circumstances the best they can and all arrive ultimately at the same pitiful end.

EVOLUTION

The similarities and homologies of structure existing between men and other animals, and between other animals and still others, are not accidental and causeless. They are not resemblances scattered arbitrarily among the multitudinous forms of life by the capricious levities of chance. That all animals commence existence as an egg and are all made up of cells composed of the same protoplasmic substance, and all inhale oxygen and exhale carbon dioxide, and are all seeking to avoid pain, are more than ordinary facts. They are filled with inferences.

That vertebrate animals, differing in externals as widely as herring and Englishmen, are all built according to the same fundamental plan, with marrow-filled backbones and exactly two pairs of limbs branching in the same way, is an astonishing coincidence. That the wing of the bird, the fore-leg of the dog, the flipper of the whale and the fore-limb of the toad and crocodile, have essentially the same bones as the human arm has is a fact which may be without significance to blind men, but to no one else. The metamorphosis of the frog from a fish, of the insect from a worm, and of a poet from a senseless cell, are transformations simply marvelous in meaning. And it is not easy, since Darwin, to understand how such lessons could remain long unintelligible, even to stonies and simpletons. Not many generations have passed, however, since these revelations, now so distinct and wonderful, fell on the listless minds of men as ineffectually as the glories

of the flower fall on the sightless sockets of the blind.

It is hardly two generations since the highest intelligence on the earth conceived that not only the different varieties of men—the black, the white, and the orange—but all the orders and genera of the animal world, and not only animals, but plants, had all been somehow simultaneously and arbitrarily brought into existence in some indistinct antiquity, and that they had from the beginning all existed with practically the same features and in approximately the same conditions as those with which, and in which they are found today. The universe was conceived to be a fixed and stupid something, born as we see it, incapable of growth and indulging in nothing but repetitions. There were no necessary coherencies and consanguinities, no cosmical tendencies operating eternally and universally. All was whimsical and arbitrary. It was not known that anything had grown or evolved. All things were believed to have been given beginning and assigned to their respective places in the universe by a potential and all-clever creator.

The serpent was limbless because it had officiously allowed Eve to include in her dietary that which had been expressly forbidden. The quadruped walked with its face towards the earth as a structural reminder of its subjection to the biped, who was supposed to be especially skilled in keeping his eyes rolled heavenward. The flowers flung out their colors, not for the benefit of the bugs and bees, and the stars paraded, not because they were moved to do so by their own eternal urgings, but because man had eyes capable of being affected by them. Man was an erect and featherless vertebrate because his hypothetical maker was erect and fearless. (I wonder whether, if a clam should conceive a creator, it would have the magnanimity to make him an insect or a vertebrate, or anything other than a great big clam.)

THE EARTH AN EVOLUTION

The world now knows—at least, the scientific part of it knows—that these things are not true, that they are but the solemn fancies of honest but simple-minded ancients who did the best they could in that twilight age to explain to their inquiring





instincts the wilderness of phenomena in which they found themselves. The universe is a process. It is not petrified, but flowing. It is going somewhere. Everything is changing and evolving and will always continue to do so. The forms of life, of continents and oceans, and of streams and systems, which we perceive as we open our senses upon the world today, are not the forms that have always existed, and they are not the forms of the eternal future.

There was a time, away in the inconceivable, when there was no life upon the earth, no solids, and no seas. The world was an incandescent lump, lifeless, and alone, in the cold solitudes of the spaces. There was a time—there *must* have been a time—when life appeared for the first time upon the earth, simple cellulose without bones or blood, and without a suspicion of their immense and quarrelsome posterity. There was a time when North America was an island, and the Alleghany Mountains were the only mountains of the continent. The time was—in the coal-forming age—when the Mississippi Valley, from the Colorado Islands to the Alleghanies, was a vast marsh or sea, choked with forests of equisetum and fern, and swarming with gigantic reptiles now extinct. There was a time when palms grew in Dakota, and magnolias waved in the semi-tropical climate of Greenland and Spitzbergen. There was a time when there were no Rocky Mountains in existence, no Andes, no Alps, no Pyrenees, and no Himalayas. And that time, compared with the vast stretches of geological duration, was not so very long ago, for these mountains are all young mountains. The time was when Jurassic saurians—those repulsive ruffians of that rude old time—represented the highest intelligence and civilization of the known universe.

There were no men and women in the world, not even savages, when our ape-like forefathers wandered and wondered through the awesome silences of primeval wilds; there were no railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, telephones, typewriters, harvesters, electric lights, nor sewing machines; no billionaires nor bicycles, no socialists nor steam heat, no 'watered stock' nor 'government by injunction,' no women's clubs, captains of industry, labor unions, nor 'yellow perils'—there was none of these things on the earth a hundred years ago. All

things have evolved to what they are—the continents, oceans and atmospheres, and the plants and populations that live in and upon them.

There will come a time, too, looking forward into the future, when what we see now will be seen no more. As we go backward into the past, the earth in all of its aspects rapidly changes; the continents dwindle, the mountains melt and existing races and species disappear one after another. The farther we penetrate into the past, the stranger and the more different from the present does everything become, until finally we come to a world of molten rocks and vaporized seas without a creeping thing upon it. As it has been in the past so will it be in time to come. The present is not everlasting.

The minds that perceive upon this planet a thousand centuries in the future will perceive a very different world from that which the minds of this day perceive—different arts, animals, events, ideals, geographies, sciences and civilizations. The earth seems fixed and changeless because we are so fleeting. We see it but a moment, and are gone. The tossing forest in the wrath of the storm is motionless when looked at by a flash of lightning. The same tendencies that have worked past changes are at work today as tirelessly as in the past.

By invisible chisels the mountains are being sculptured, ocean floors are lifting, and continents are sinking into the seas. Species, systems, and civilizations are changing, some crumbling and passing away, others rising out of the ruins of the departed. Mighty astronomical tendencies are secretly but relentlessly at work, and immense vicissitudes are in store for this clod of our nativity.

The earth is doomed to be frozen to death. In a few million years, according to astronomers, the sun will have shrunken to a fraction of its present size and will have become correspondingly reduced in heat-giving powers. It is estimated that in twelve or fifteen million years the sun, upon whose mighty dispensations all life and activity on the earth are absolutely dependent, will become so enfeebled that no form of life on the earth will be possible. The partially-cooled earth itself is giving up its internal warmth, and will continue to give it up until it is the same temperature as the surrounding abysses, which is the fright-

ful negative of something like 270 centigrade degrees.

These are not very cheerful facts for those who inhabit the earth to contemplate. But they that seek the things that cheer must seek another sphere. No power can stay the emaciation of suns or the thievery of enveloping immensities. Old age is inevitable. It is far off, but it is as certain as human decay, and as mournful. In that dreadful but inevitable time no living being will be left in this world; there will be no cities, nor states, nor vanities, nor creeping things, no flowers, no twilights, no love, only a frozen sphere.

The oceans that now rave against the rocky flanks of the continents will be locked in eternal immobility; the atmospheres, which today drive their fleecy flocks over the azure meads of heaven and float sweet sounds and feathered forms, will be, in that terrible time, turned to stone; the radiant woods and fields, the home of the myriads

and the green play places of the shadows, will, like all that live, move and breathe, have rotted into the everlasting lumber of the elements.

There will be no Europe then, no pompous philosophies, no hellish rich, and no gods. All will have suffered indescribable refrigeration. The earth will be a fluidless, lifeless, sunless cinder, unimaginably dead and desolate, a decrepit and pitiful old ruin falling endlessly among heatless immensities, the universal tomb of the activities.

The universe is an evolution. Change is as extensive as time and space. The present has come out of that which has been, and will enter into and determine that which is to be. Everything has a biography. Everything has evolved—*everything*—from the murmur on the lips of the speechless babe to the soul of the poet, and from the molecule to Jehovah.—From *Universal Kinship*.







Darling, in the New York Tribune.

WHY WAIT FOR MERE FORMALITIÉS, TO BE SURE?

THE DRIFT OF THE WAR

By JACK PHILLIPS

WHAT will the working class of the United States get out of the war?

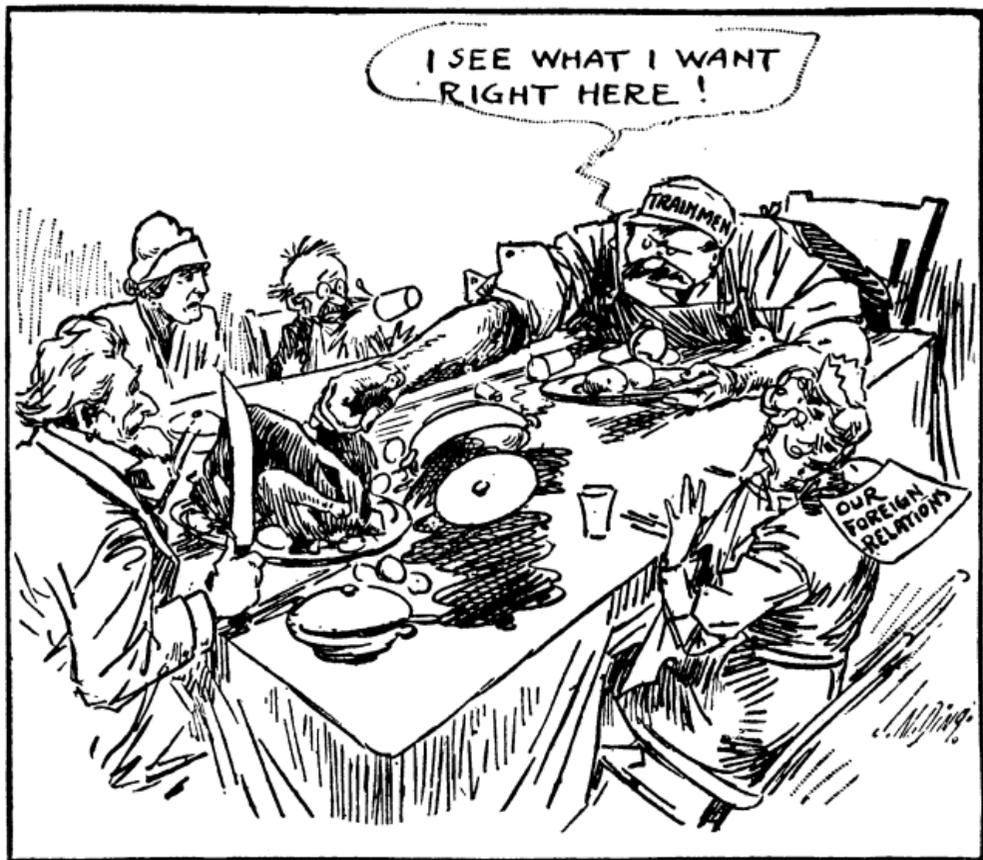
The burden of work and the sacrifice of blood necessary for carrying on the war and winning it is, of course, a burden and a sacrifice that is loaded onto the working class.

There will be hundreds of young millionaires, thousands of young men of the capitalist class enlisted. And newspapers will give the impression that the moneyed class is supplying man-power, courage and intelligence for the armies and navies fighting the war. Yet the main fact will be, however, that the working class will carry the load of labor and sacrifice for the fighting of this war as it has for the fighting of all past wars. So there is a natural and perfect justice about the labor movement raising the question at this time: What will the working class of the United States get out of the war?

Let it be understood, for instance, that the working class of this country is going to lose one or two million men and

boys through death and disease. And let it also be understood that there will be strains of industry, enormous losses caused by longer workdays, malnutrition resulting from higher food prices, physical nervous shocks resulting from disturbances and dislocations of normal conditions. Let it be understood that this is an inevitable concomitant of war inside of any nation entering war. And with this background let the question be asked: What will the working class of the United States get out of the war?

Probably the first point to be considered in answering such a question is whether the food supply of the United States is to be socialized. If the nation for the first time in its existence as a nation takes over complete control of food production and food distribution, will such nationalization of food supply operate as practice for industrial democracy? If the meat and bread lords of the nation are for the first time taken in hand by the federal government and by process of law and military are compelled to sur-



Darling, in the New York Tribune.

WHY WAIT FOR MERE FORMALITIËS, TO BE SURE?

render their price-fixing prerogatives, what will happen when the war ends? Will this country hand back to the meat and bread lords the same powers which they had when war started? Is it the usual and customary thing for a nation of people to seize powers and prerogatives from the ruling class during war time and then at the close of the war surrender those powers and prerogatives? Or does past history tell us that once the government of a nation has broken the power of an overlord class at certain points, it is not easy for the overlord class to regain its former power? It is on the answers men and women formulate in their private thinking on these questions that decides them as to whether the war will work good for the American working class through probable nationalization of food supply.

Will this nation adopt a rigorous policy of conscription of wealth? Will the money and property of the possessing class be confiscated with a direct ruthlessness? Will the announced policy of the national administration be followed to the end that the billions of dollars voted by the congress for prosecution of the war is to be raised "from the present generation"? Will there be no change in the announced plans that there shall not be saddled on future generations the cash cost of the conduct of the war?

Already the unparalleled sum of seven billion dollars has been voted by congress for a loan to the allied nations for the purpose of breaking Prussian autocracy and establishing political democracy in the German empire. How will this debt of seven billion dollars be paid "from the present generation" unless by rigorous, uncompromising conscription of the

wealth of the capitalists of the present generation? The working class on its sustenance wage and with its meager bank savings certainly has no billion nor any seven billions with which to foot the colossal war cost already incurred. There seems to be no way out except conscription of wealth. From this rises the further question: Will this nation originate methods of conscripting wealth which as methods will survive the war? Will the working class witness new ways for seizure from capitalists of the surplus of unpaid wages held out from the men in shops and mines? If such methods and ways are evolved during the war—if taxes on incomes, inheritances and special increments are devised and the capitalist class has its wealth expropriated in unprecedented billions, leaving it at the finish stripped of more money and property than in any similar crisis in history—what will be the effect? Will the process work in such a way that the war habit will continue after the war and the nation go on expropriating surplus values from the master class in a degree and to an extent never known before?

These are questions moving every man of thought today in this country. There are no answers to these questions except guess, surmise and conjecture. The only certainty that may be written is that the war is a tremendous gamble and out of the dice and cards and whirring wheels of fortune in the chaos of it all, there may be seizures for democracy of powers and prerogatives, of practice and discipline in solidarity, such as may cause the writers of history to say the Great War put the clock of progress ahead hundreds of years.



Will Marshall Field III. Enlist ?

By CARL SANDBURG

IF the report proves true that Mr. Marshall Field III. is coming on to Chicago this week and enlist in the First Illinois cavalry his action is expected to stimulate recruiting among other young men who up to date in their pale lavender lives have existed only in the rose glow of a granddad's fame and glory.

At the present time Marshall Field III. is physically and mentally a sort of nobody who travels on his grandfather's name and money. The general theory is that if he hadn't picked the world's greatest merchant's loins to spring from he would on natural form and ability be selling sox at the well-known wages paid by Marshall Field & Co. and without bonus payment at New Year's in war time with record-breaking profits.

I am writing the truth about this kid because I hope he enlists and carries his own horse and handles a shovel like any honest-to-Pete cavalryman fighting as a private soldier in the American army.

If this Field boy goes in and the officers of the First cavalry play no favorites, it will be a good thing for Chicago. This is so because the Field boy is just about the most powerful single individual in this city—if he chooses to exercise the power he holds as titular and economic head of the biggest retail and wholesale stores in Chicago, with control in Commonwealth Edison, Surface Lines, Illinois Central, Illinois Steel.

Let this boy learn how to stand on his own legs, knock around among rough men, eating pork and beans and listening to smutty stories and rollicking hi-yi songs, thrown into the guardhouse if he gets drunk or shoots off his mouth, scrubbing his accoutrements, making his bed on the ground or on stone and wooden

floors of barracks, washing his own shirt, battling against vermin that lay eggs under the armpits of all who get into active service—let this young Marshall Field III. go up against this game without special favors from commissioned officers and non-coms—and then he may come back to State street, take things in his own hands and run the vast Marshall Field shebang all by himself. I'm not afraid of the results. I haven't a doubt but Chauncey Keep, Arthur D. Jones, John G. Shedd and the trustees and caretakers of this young commercial prince have a deep affection for him because of their veneration for his grandad.

If the lad goes into the First Illinois cavalry and learns to work and fight, it is a sure thing the trustees and caretakers will be glad of it. They would like to see him travel on the prowess of his own loins instead of his grandfather's.

When Marshall Field III. sings "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" with the accent on "MY," he is signing true to form, because he is chief designated heir to an estate of \$350,000,000 at 50 years of age, and a big share of the country will be his. The American flag is the flag of HIS country in a real sense. Furthermore, inasmuch as Marshall Field III. & Co., manufacturing wholesalers, have textile mills in France and England—and Marshall Field III. was educated from boyhood to young manhood in England—he is the one young man in all Chicago whom the forces of destiny ought to shove into the First Illinois cavalry. And right after him should come his younger brother, Henry Field.

If they should perish as cannon fodder they would have consolation, not known to the millions and millions. Their wives and children would be safe against material want.

THE SHRUNKEN DOLLAR

By Philips Russell

SUPPOSE you and I were prospectors and out in the middle of a western desert we came across a great lump of solid gold.

Suppose I were to say: "Yes, it's gold all right, but let's go on. It's of no value."

That would shock you. You would exclaim: "Why, that lump of gold is worth a hundred thousand dollars just as it is."

I would repeat: "No, you are wrong. Just as it is, it is worth nothing. It has no value."

That would amaze you. You would reply: "We can dig up this nugget, haul it into town, ship it to a mint, and get a fortune for it."

Ah, but that would be different! It is true that if you dug that gold up and carried it back into civilization, it would have a tremendous value, **BUT NOT UNTIL THEN.**

As it lies it is worth nothing to anybody. But the moment you lift it up—apply labor power to it—it begins to assume value, and that value increases as it is placed on a wagon, hauled into town, put into a car and carried to Denver, New York or Washington, until by the time you have got an assayer at work on it, it can be sold for a fortune as you say.

But, mind you, digging that gold out, lifting it up, and transporting it to a city where it can be coined into money or worked up into jewelry, means an expenditure of muscle and thought, of human energy, of human *Labor Power*.

The gold became of great value because, and **ONLY** because, it represented the labor power of the men who dug it up, of the men who made the machinery and tools that lifted it, of the men who built the trains that carried it, of the men who stamped and engraved it into coin and jewelry.

So with all gold. It is of value because and only because it is the embodiment of labor power. Keep that in mind.

ALL VALUES MEASURED BY GOLD

Now it happens that gold is *the universal medium of exchange*. It has been made so because it is compact and durable, can be easily recognized, is difficult to counterfeit,

wears down very little even after years of rough usage, is tough yet malleable, and because a great many dollars' worth of it can be packed in a comparatively small space. So the principal nations of the world have made it *the standard measure of value*.

You can go into almost any part of the world and the inhabitants may regard your silver coin with suspicion, but they will accept your gold instantly.

So gold is not merely a metal, but a *commodity*. A commodity, roughly speaking, is anything that is bought or sold. It has value because it embodies the labor power of men.

An ounce of gold, then, can be exchanged for 20 sacks of flour, say, because it takes about the same average amount of labor power to produce the ounce of gold as it takes to produce the 20 sacks of flour. But if it takes only **HALF** the expenditure of labor power to produce one ounce of gold as 20 sacks of flour, then **TWO** ounces of gold will be required to buy the 20 sacks of flour; or if a man has but one ounce of gold he will find that it will purchase only ten sacks of flour instead of twenty.

Now, prices are merely the expressions of the value of commodities *in money*. Labor is the real measure of value. The less labor wrapped up in gold, or money, then, **THE LESS IT WILL BUY.**

THE INCREASING FLOOD OF GOLD

Our next problem, then, is to look into the present cost of producing gold. We find by consulting statistics that from the year 1881 to the year 1885 the average world production of gold amounted to a trifle over \$99,000,000. By 1910 the figures had climbed up to \$454,000,000 and still a-going. Experts estimate the increase in the world's stock of gold from 1900 to 1910 at 40 per cent.

One authority asserts there has been an enormous rise in the production of gold, "consequent upon the **LOWERING** of the cost of mining due to the amalgam, cyanide and chlorination processes and to the improvement of mining machinery and shipping facilities."

INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT WAR

In the stimulation of gold production the great world war has been an enormous factor. No sooner had the European conflict broken out than all the governments involved made extraordinary efforts to collect all the available gold within their respective boundaries. Especially was this true of Great Britain, which not only resorted to unusual measures for the conserving of its gold supply, but spared no pains to increase it. Its great gold mines in various parts of the empire were ordered "speeded up," with the result that, according to a recent statement in the financial columns of the *New York Times*, the British-owned mines in South Africa turned out four times as much gold in the latter half of the year 1916 as in the first half of 1914. The other warring nations have likewise done their utmost to stimulate their gold production to the highest degree. England and France have had to use much of this gold in buying supplies from the United States. In the last three years they have shipped to America more than \$1,200,000,000 in yellow metal, giving this country a golden treasury of \$3,150,000,000, an amount unprecedented in the history of any nation.

Never before in the history of the world has there been so much gold in circulation. Gold is plentiful and, therefore, CHEAP. The cheaper money is, the less it will buy. That is why the brand of shoes which cost you \$4 or \$5 three years ago now cost you \$8 or \$9.

That is why the dollars which you put in the savings bank or the stone jug a few years ago have been cut almost in half.

That is why your wages or your salary, though they may have been relatively raised, have been actually reduced.

UPHEAVALS BOUND TO COME

Five years ago I wrote on this same topic in the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*. In the course of my article I made the following comment:

"The high cost of living is bringing about changes here and convulsions there, the end and result of which no man can predict. The next five or ten years are going to be a troubled era in the world's history. The very existence of governments is threatened and there promises to be an entirely new alignment in human society, extending even to morals, manners and customs."

Mark how this has been borne out. The

Russian people have overthrown what was apparently the most firmly entrenched autocracy on earth. True, the forces which gave rise to this upheaval had been gathering for many years, but the spark which set off the explosion was the inability of the people to buy food. The buying power of their ruble (corresponding to our half dollar) had shrunk below the line at which the population could exist.

In addition, in the early part of 1917 we had in some of the principal cities of the east what few inhabitants of "prosperous America" would ever have deemed possible—riots because of the inability of the people to buy the proper amount of food with their shrunken dollars.

In consequence, the functions of municipal governments have been extended to a degree that a few years ago would have inspired the opponents of "paternalism" with horror, but now the spectacle of city officials buying and distributing food is no longer strange. All over the face of the earth we find governments resorting to drastic measures—taking control of this and that source of supply, regulating the production of this and the consumption of that, fixing prices and limiting profits—all because the buying power of their people's money is falling further and further behind the rate of increase in the cost of the necessities of life.

Though it remains true that under the present system, prices ever tend to keep pace with the production of gold, the prevalent high cost of some commodities is due in part to other causes than the tide of gold. There is cabbage, for instance. Formerly it was a prominent item in every workingman's bill of fare. Nowadays only millionaires can afford it regularly. Its present price is due in large part to the almost general failure of the cabbage crop in this country last year. The price of various other foodstuffs has risen because of the shortage created by the shipment of millions of tons out of this country into the maw of bloody, greedy Europe, the patriotic controllers of our food supply having failed conspicuously in this case to observe their own motto of "America First." The cornering of certain supplies by speculators has also played an undoubted, though, of course, temporary, part in the boosting of prices.

Still another contributing factor in the

raising of prices of all things made to eat and wear is the withdrawal of so many of the world's workers from field and factory and their enlistment in the armies of destruction; for as soon as a man dons a uniform he ceases to be a producer and becomes a parasite. The bread that he eats is taken away from some *useful* human being's mouth, while the productive labor he should have performed must be added to some other man's already heavy burden.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

Such being the situation now, what are the prospects for the next few years? Is there any hope of relief?

Prof. Scott Nearing, the economist, is the author of a book called "Wages in the United States" in which he makes this statement: "It appears that *half of the adult males of the United States are earning less than \$500 a year*; that three-quarters of them are earning less than \$600 annually; that nine-tenths are receiving less than \$800 a year; while less than 10 per cent receive more than that figure. A corresponding computation of the wages of women show that a fifth earn less than \$200 annually; *that three-fifths are receiving less than \$325*; that nine-tenths are earning less than \$500 a year, while only one-twentieth are paid more than \$600 a year."

Now, if it is true, as financial experts say, that the production of gold will continue to increase in the next few years, with a corresponding rise in prices, amounting perhaps to a 50 per cent higher level than prevails today, that means that the \$500 a year which half the men in the United States are now earning is going to be reduced to \$250 a year in actual buying power, and that the women at present earning \$325 a year, who number more than three-fifths of our female wage earners, are going to see the buying power of their wages cut down to \$162.50 a year—unless, of course, a big rise in wages or a big fall in the price of commodities takes place.

PRICES ALWAYS AHEAD OF WAGES

And there we come to the heart of the difficulty: wages have not kept pace with prices. We have only to examine a few statistics to discover that *while food prices have advanced from 25 to 60 per cent, wages and salaries have increased only from 15 to 20 per cent* and these advances have taken place almost exclusively in the more highly skilled trades. The unskilled work-

ers are simply being forced, slowly but surely, backward across the border line of starvation. Our food riots have shown us that.

I have just said that the trouble lies in the fact that wages have not kept pace with prices. Now why is that? Simply because those who control the means of life, the land, the mills and the mines and all the machinery of production and distribution, refuse to pay those higher wages. Your boss and my boss are among them. They form a class separate and distinct from yours and mine because it is to THEIR interest to pay us the least possible wages for the longest possible hours of work.

It is to OUR interest to work as few hours as possible for the highest possible pay; hence the interests of the two classes are entirely and exactly opposed.

Society, then, is composed of two classes; one the capitalist class, comprising those who live on profit, interest and rent; and the other the working class which lives on the sale of its labor power.

Now why does this former class refuse to pay higher wages? Because that would injure or destroy the profits which enable it to exist.

This, then, is the situation: To meet the steadily-rising cost of living, we must either have higher wages or lower prices.

THE ONLY REMEDY

There is only one way to obtain either and that is to ORGANIZE. But how organize? We might organize to secure lower prices by boycotting the Food Trust, but that has been already tried and proven a failure. We might organize to secure lower prices by buying co-operatively in wholesale lots, but experience and sound economics have shown that this scheme furnishes relief only for a time—because wherever the prices of commodities is lowered generally, wages are sooner or later reduced to correspond.

What we want to do, then, is *not to organize to obtain lower prices but to gain higher wages*, and that can be done in only one way—by uniting and combining our economic power.

In other words, we have got to organize so as to control our labor power for the benefit of ourselves, not for the benefit of a class already gorged with profits. Today we find ourselves face to face with the great trusts whose power does not end with a

single locality, with a single factory, with a single trade, with a single state, but extends to entire industries reaching over the whole of the United States and to other countries as well. To fight these great aggregations of organized capital we must organize ON THE SAME SCALE. Against our solidly united masters we must have a solidly united working class, so as to put the pressure on them right where they put it on us—in the workshop, in the mill, in the mine, in the store, office, field and factory.

ROBBED IN THE SHOP, NOT THE STORE

Right where we work is right where we are robbed. To illustrate: Let us say you and I are shoe workers in a factory whose payroll is \$500 a day. Because of high-speed machinery let us say that we and our shopmates are able to turn out \$500 worth of shoes in two hours. We have, therefore, earned our wages in the first two hours, but then we go right on and work six hours more. The product of this extra six hours the boss gets FOR NOTHING.

We, therefore, must cut down those surplus working hours as rapidly as possible. That will force the boss to employ more men. More men at work means less competition among ourselves for jobs, with the result that the boss will be forced to pay us a bigger share of the value of what we produce.

But it will not do to stop merely with higher wages. What we want to do eventually is to *own our own jobs*, and to do that

we must gain control of the means of life. We must be the rulers of society.

To accomplish this we must utilize every force at our command. We cannot wait until our masters take pity upon our hard lot and give us a few more cents a day. We are not going to beg them for what we want. We are going to MAKE them give it to us.

When I say "make," I do not mean that we are to arm ourselves and go out to hold up millionaires. Millionaires are merely creatures of a system and no sooner would we kill one batch off than we would find a fresh crop to take their places.

PREPARING FOR A NEW SYSTEM

The truth is that you and I are victims, not so much of any man or of any set of men, as of economic laws which govern the decaying system we live under. This system, which holds the entire world in its grip, is known as Capitalism. Its constant tendency is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Long ago it demonstrated its unfitness to govern the relations of human beings and every new day places a fresh crop of brutalities, injustices, crimes, wars and murders to its credit. It will die only when men and women no longer compete but co-operate. They can learn that co-operation best by a study of working-class economics and, above all, by combining their brains and energies to work for the organization of a new society in which gold shall not dominate men but serve them.



NOW THIS OUGHT
TO WORK UP INTO A
NICE DISH OF HASH!



From the Chicago Tribune.



Photo by John R. Idoux, St. Louis.

THE WAR COMMITTEE.

Top Row (left to right): Midney, —, Ruthenberg, Spargo, Boudin, —, Quinlan, —, O'Hare, Lee, Berger, Hillquit.

Lower Row (left to right): Shipley, Dillon, Hogan, Harri-man, Spiess, Sadler, —, —, —.

Delegate Zickman and Mrs. Hillquit on top row and Mrs. Lee, Delegate Zimmerman and Max Sherover on lower row were not on this committee.

The Emergency National Convention

By LESLIE MARCY

IN compliance with a mandate hurriedly issued by the National Executive Committee, delegates assembled at the Planters Hotel in St. Louis on Saturday morning, April 7th. All states were represented with the exception of Alabama, Alaska, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, while Texas was represented part of the time by one delegate.

This convention was called without a referendum vote and in face of the fact that there was very little demand on the part of the membership for it. The Constitution nowhere empowers the National Executive Committee to call a special convention. In many states the membership was not even given an opportunity to elect delegates but the rank and file will be asked to dig up \$15,000.00 to cover the cost of the convention. The excuse for the convention was to find out how the party stood on the question of war. All the National Executive Committee had to do was to say, Let there be a convention, and there was a convention.

As many theories were represented regarding war, its cause and cure and the attitude the party should take in the present crisis, as there were tongues around the Tower of Babel. Many of the dele-

gates came uninstructed but there were half a dozen delegations which came instructed to vote against all wars, offensive or defensive. The delegates from Illinois, Michigan, Washington and Ohio were cleancut and uncompromising and voted solidly together for a clear, concise statement of the party's position.

The convention was called to order by Comrade Germer and Morris Hillquit, as temporary chairman, made the opening address, which was generously applauded. We quote two or three interesting statements from the New York Call:

"We, the Socialist party of the United States, are today the only permanently organized force that has still retained a clear vision, an unclouded mind, in this general din of confusion, passion and unreason, and it devolves upon us to continue our opposition to this criminal war even now, after it has been declared." (Applause and cries of "Good!")

* * *

"This war will be ended, not by diplomacy, not by representatives of the monarchical governments of Europe. It will be ended by the rebellious working class of Europe. (Applause.) And when the hour comes, Comrades, when the proletariat of the world finds itself, when it resumes its struggle for liberty and for social justice, let us see to it that the new movement finds us in a condition where we can proudly take our place in the ranks of the rejuvenated international to continue

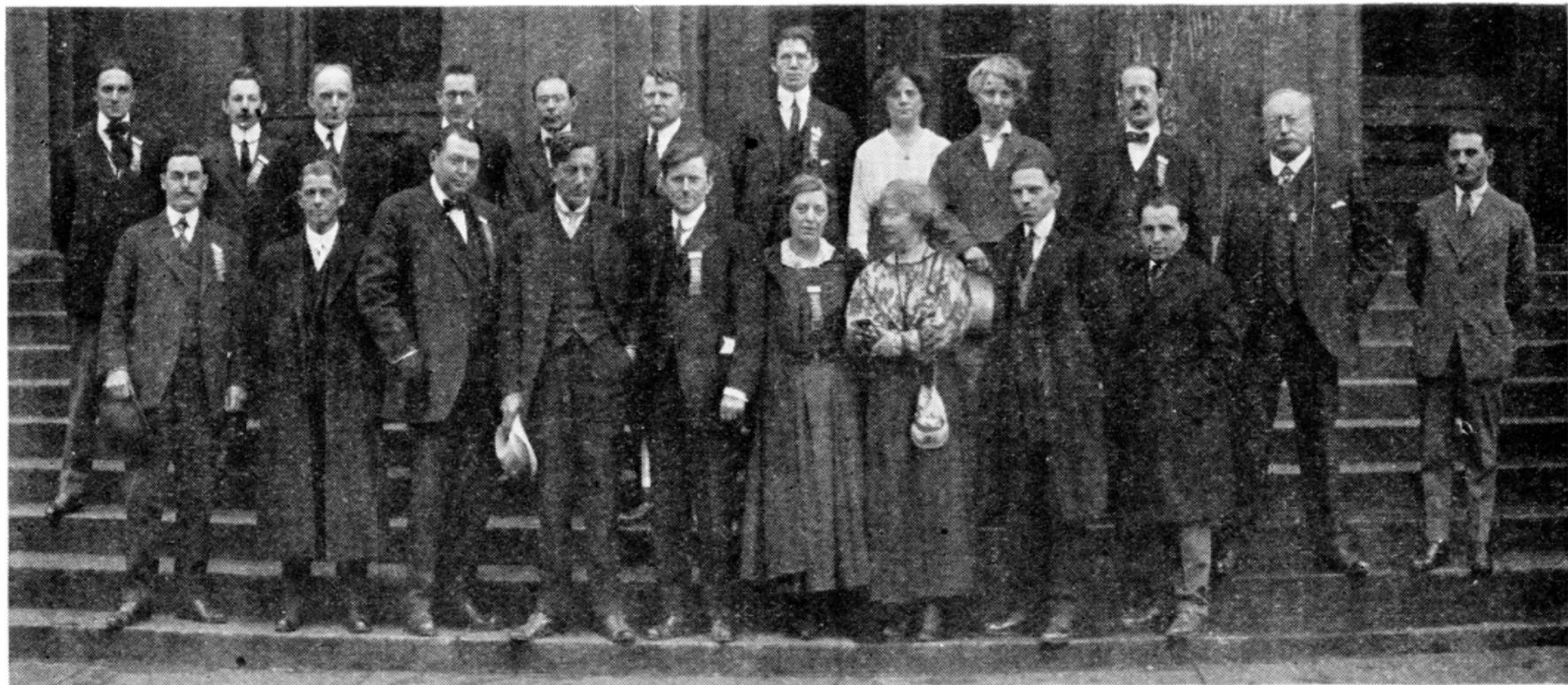


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DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST

our struggles for the emancipation of the working class of the world." (Applause.)

* * *

"Comrades, it will serve no good purpose to close our eyes to the fact that our party and our movement have gone backward since 1912. We have lost members. We have lost several organs of publicity. We have lost votes in the last election, and, worst of all, we have lost some of our buoyant, enthusiastic, militant spirit, which is so very essential, so very vital, for the success of any movement like ours." (Applause.)

* * *

The usual order of business was adopted and a committee of fifteen was elected on war and militarism. And the first real battle or line-up for a no-compromise war resolution was waged around a motion by Delegate Katterfeld of Washington to the effect that before they proceed to ballot for the committee each candidate should be asked to answer the following question by "Yes" or "No": "Are you opposed to all militarism and to all war, either offensive or defensive, except the war of the working class against the capitalist class?"

The motion was lost by a vote of 96 to 66; in other words, 66 comrades were willing to stand by their guns for a straight-from-the-shoulder position, while 96 went on record as wanting a

document or war resolution which would be a compromise position. They wanted something which the pro-German Victor Berger would put his John Hancock to; and in the end they won.

I will quote a few of the arguments advanced for and against this motion as the same arguments were used time and again:

Gaylord (Wisconsin) opposed it as being undemocratic and stated there was a clique who wanted to control the convention.

Solomon (New York) opposed because he wanted all views represented on the committee.

Hayden (Pennsylvania) said an affirmative answer was necessary to qualify as a member of the party.

Dillon (New Mexico) said he was instructed to vote "Yes."

Spargo (Vermont) opposed. His argument was, "If we had a Socialist government, it would have to be defended by arms."

Maley (Minnesota) opposed. "The motion reflects intolerance. The war resolution must reflect all the views in order to be representative."

Midney (Ohio) defended the motion on the ground that it would be impossible to vote for a comrade on the committee unless his views were known in advance, and this motion would put them on record.

Hillquit (New York) informed the convention that he had practiced law for twenty-five years and the most vicious thing in law prac-



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tice was the insistence upon an answer to a categorical question, "Yes" or "No." He argued that the Russian comrades had to depend upon arms at the present time.

The Work of the War Committee

For three days, including night sessions, the war committee was in session while the various other committees on Constitution, Platform, Resolutions, Organization and Ways and Means, also worked overtime. But all eyes were focused on the War committee which, after an informal discussion of several hours, appointed a sub-committee consisting of Hillquit, Lee and Ruthenberg to draw up a report which could be accepted as a basis for the committee to work upon in building up their report. The arguments advanced by the different members consumed hours and reflected the views afterwards expressed by delegates from the floor of the convention. They are in part as follows:

Lee (New York): "We must not take a stand unqualifiedly against all wars." By way of illustration he put the question: Suppose the workers of Mexico should revolt and that the United States declared war on that country; what would our attitude be? If we say the workers have no country, then we abdicate our rights in this country.

Harriman (California): We cannot oppose the war, because it is here. The governments

of Europe have been forced to take over the industries. Therefore, we will gain the confidence of the people in the United States if we advocate government ownership of the mills, mines, factories, etc.

Hillquit (New York): We must rally all the forces in the nation around us worth while rallying. Our statement should be clear-cut and this is our opportunity to bring clarity of vision into the international movement. It should be vigorous and revolutionary—yet sane. In order to be revolutionary, the statements in the document must be sane. Continuing, he said there are three phases represented in this committee: ultra-radical, conservative, and Berger's position. He contended that the radicals are ultra-pacifists, which is an impossible position, as in the case of civil war they would have to defend the economic interests of the working class.

Boudin (New York) asked Hillquit if he would advocate the trade unions going on strike, and Hillquit replied: "I am a lawyer and could not strike. Therefore, I would not ask others to do what I could not do myself."

Midney (Ohio) took the position that the only interests worth defending are working class organizations. Hillquit, who assumed the role of chief cross-examiner, put the following question to Midney:

"If the capitalists of this country would attempt to take away the workers' rights, would you fight?"

Midney: "Yes."

Hillquit: "If foreign rulers attempted to do the same, would you fight?"

Midney answered: "In Russia, where the



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workers were denied the rights of men, the revolution would bring them more substantial gains than the workers in this country now had." He said he would fight against an external or internal attempt to take away the workers' rights, but the only force we can rely on is working class organization, industrial and political. He concluded by asking this question, which was not answered: "Is it not a fact that the Russian workers did not have the patriotism to stand by their government, but took advantage of its hour of weakness and overthrew it?"

It soon became evident that John Spargo and Louis B. Boudin would submit minority reports. Berger also intimated that he would follow suit unless the majority report met with his approval.

A running debate then ensued for hours. Boudin submitted his minority report. The sub-committee also brought in a report which was accepted as a framework. It was then chewed up and hashed up. A part of Comrade Boudin's minority report was incorporated in the majority report which was finally signed by 11 members of the committee.

Harriman urged that all views presented should be incorporated in the majority report.

Spieß (Connecticut) replied that we would then convince the people of the United States that the Socialist party does not know what it wants, and stated that if a man would listen to all the ideas expressed in this committee,

and take them seriously, he would go insane.

Ruthenberg (Ohio) said all wars are fought in the interests of the capitalist class. He argued that the German Socialists took the same position, but were tricked by the ruling class because they held the nationalist ideal.

The committee threw open the discussion to all delegates who had anything constructive to offer. Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare remarked that the committee had received forty-one anti-war and anti-conscription communications.

On the Work of the Convention

The majority report was presented to the convention in a twenty-minute speech by Morris Hillquit. Boudin presented a minority report signed by himself, Kate Sadler and Walter Dillon. John Spargo presented a minority report signed by himself. Both Comrades Boudin and Spargo eloquently defended their position and bitterly criticised the majority report. Boudin characterized it as phraseology, that it clouded the issue and Spargo said it was not an honest document when a pro-German Berger could sign it. Benson presented a written statement, also Seidel offered a substitute, to take the place of the majority report as well as the two minority reports; both were tabled or lost sight of. Kate Richards O'Hare said, "The Committee tried



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to represent all views expressed in this convention just as well as it possibly could." Hillquit argued for the adoption of the majority report, saying, "It contains most of the shades in this convention, which should be a recommendation to you."

Williams (California) said, "I am an American, and a convention which is pro-foreign cannot do justice to American institutions."

Porter (Nebraska) argued for Spargo's report and favored support of the government in this war against Germany.

The vote was as follows: For the majority report 140, for Boudin's report 31, for Spargo's report 5.

In the next issue of the Review we will tell of the work of the convention on other matters such as the attempt to compromise with other political parties by striking out of the Constitution Section 10, Article 3, as well as the Non-Partisan League issue.

The famous sabotage clause was dropped from the Constitution. It has served its purpose, which was to guillotine and drive out most of the revolution-

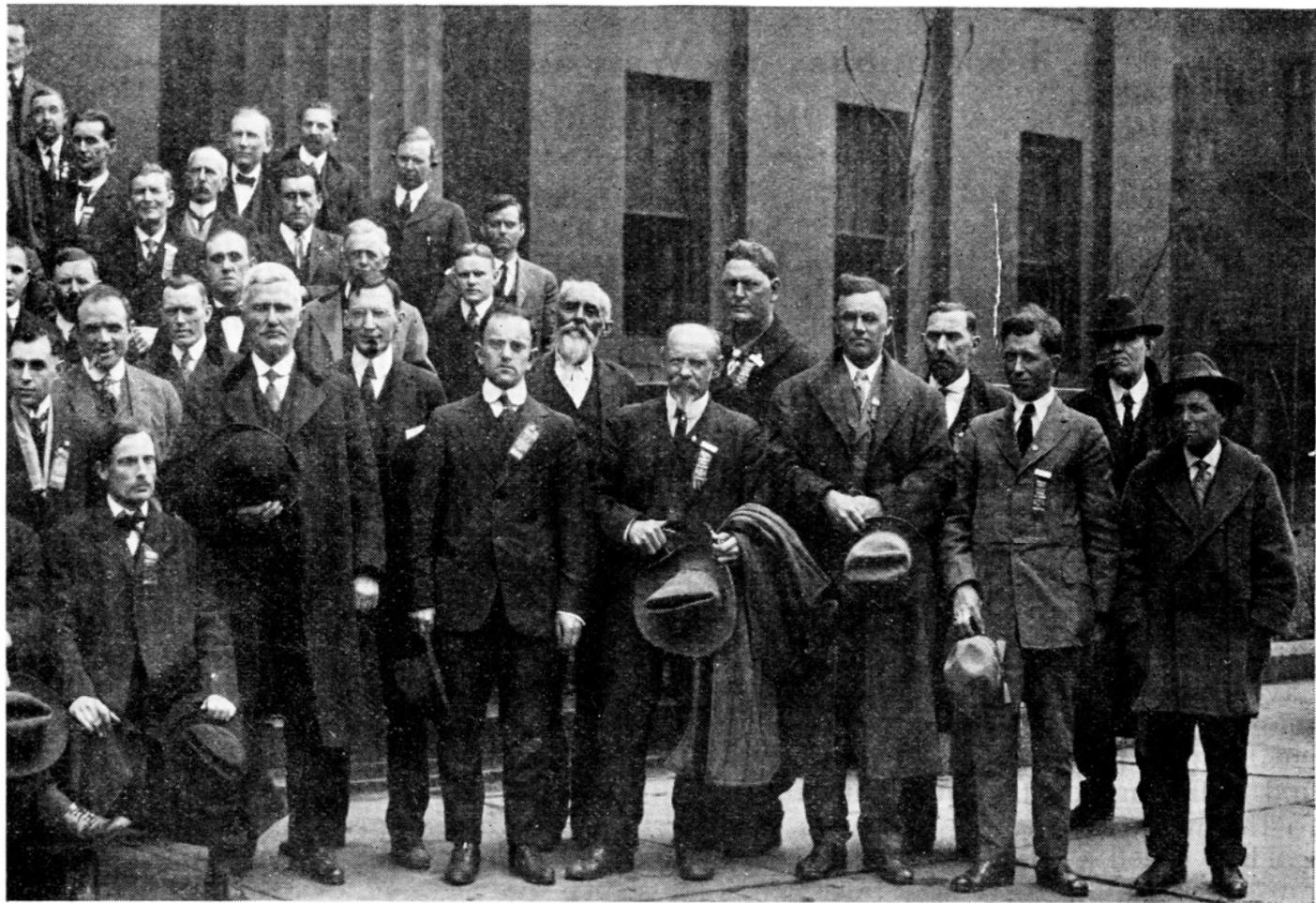
ary workers from the party. The Constitution committee recommended that it be stricken out by unanimous consent without going on the minutes or records. Ruthenberg opposed. He insisted that it be struck out and the minutes show the record of the action. It was carried almost unanimously.

A new party platform submitted by J. Mahlon Barnes was adopted by the convention to take the place of the present one, as every one practically recognized that the present platform which was drafted by the National Executive Committee is a joke.

An industrial union plank to be inserted in the platform was defeated by a vote of 63 to 61. Had it been offered as a resolution it would have gone thru by a big majority.

Strong resolutions were adopted on the Tom Mooney and Everett cases.

The convention adjourned after singing "The International" and parading around the big hall. The flag of the Russian revolutionists, which is now the official flag over all Russia was carried at the head of the column.



CONVENTION AT ST. LOUIS.

Resolutions on War and Militarism

THE MAJORITY REPORT.

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars, as a rule, have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth, which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leading nations were therefore centered upon the domination of the world markets. Imperialism became the dominant note in the politics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial possessions and the extension of spheres of commercial and political influence became the object of diplomatic intrigues and the cause of constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which, years before the outbreak of the present war had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism had thus laid the foundation of an inevitable general conflict in Europe. The ghastly war in Europe was not caused by an accidental event, nor by the policy or institutions of any single nation. It

was the logical outcome of the competitive capitalist system.

The six million men of all countries and races who have been ruthlessly slain in the first thirty months of this war, the millions of others who have been crippled and maimed, the vast treasures of wealth that have been destroyed, the untold misery and sufferings of Europe, have not been sacrifices exacted in a struggle for principles or ideals, but wanton offerings upon the altar of private profit.

The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling class of this country.

When Belgium was invaded, the government enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly demonstrating that the "dictates of humanity," and the fate of small nations and of democratic institutions were matters that did not concern it. But when our enormous war traffic was seriously threatened, our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization."

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast of the enormous profit of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the allied arms thru their huge loans to the governments of the allied powers and thru other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of American people as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be imposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocrisy to say that the war is not directed against the German people, but against the Imperial government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battlefields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country, the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany or of any other country. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Germany or of any other country. The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country thru its representatives in the National Administration and National Congress, its demagogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other servile instruments of public expression.

We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world.

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage.

No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation against its will.

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the

proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active and public opposition to the war, thru demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislations for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expense by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire, furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States has already accentuated, we demand:

(a) The restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, the fixing of maximum prices, and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

(b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessaries of life;

(c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.

Recommendations

1. We recommend that the convention instruct our elected representatives in Congress, in the State Legislatures, and in local bodies, to vote against all proposed appropriations or loans for military, naval, and other war purposes.

2. We recommend that this convention instruct the National Executive Committee to extend and improve the propaganda among women, because they as housewives and as mothers are now particularly ready to accept our message.

3. We recommend that the convention instruct the National Executive Committee to initiate an organized movement of Socialists, organized workers, and other anti-war forces for concerted action along the lines of this program.

(Signed)

Kate Richards O'Hare, Chairman, Victor L. Berger, Job Harriman, Morris Hillquit, Dan Hogan, Frank Midney, Patrick Quinlan, C. E. Ruthenberg, Maynard Shipley, George Spiess, Jr., Algernon Lee, Secretary.

DEFENSE FIRES OPENING GUNS

Everett Brutality Revealed in Court

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

THE prosecution in the case of Thomas H. Tracy, the workingman accused of the murder of Deputy Beard on Bloody Sunday, November 5th, in Everett, rested its case last Friday. On Monday the defense fired its opening guns with the calling of Herbert Mahler, former secretary of the joint locals of the Industrial Workers of the World in Seattle, and James B. Thompson, a labor speaker of national reputation.

After a long and tedious succession of Commercial Club Open Shoppers and deputy sheriffs of Everett, all telling the same story and all professing ignorance regarding brutal treatment of free speech fighters, the frank and straightforward stories of Mahler and Thompson came as a refreshing contrast. The questions asked them by the defense were, in the case of Mahler, to prove that the expedition to Everett was of a purely voluntary character, discrediting the assertions of conspiracy made by the prosecution, and in Thompson's case to disprove the allegation of incendiary and violent utterances alleged to have been made by him and other speakers in Everett.

The courtroom became temporarily a rostrum of industrial propaganda when Thompson was questioned regarding the nature of the speeches he had been making in Everett when arrested. The searching indictment of social conditions, the arraignment of the industrial despotism of America and the stirring call to the working class to organize for power and advancement had an instant and most favorable effect on the audience, and, it is to be hoped, on the jury. Under cross-examination, Thompson was questioned closely regarding the advocacy of violence but countered every question with an ex-

planation of working class technique. That much misrepresented phrase, direct action, was explained by Thompson as being the organized action of the workers in industry in contrast to action through political delegates.

A long series of men and women, residents of Everett, testified to the brutal tactics of the Commercial Club deputies. It seems that the practice of the citizen deputies was to march up the street in military formation with white handkerchiefs around their necks to distinguish themselves from the unfortunates they hoped to club, and to put an end to a peaceable meeting by the simple process of driving the people off the streets by sapping them up and arresting and deporting the speakers. One lady testified, who was struck twice by a deputy. Mr. Henning, a shingleweaver, stated that he was beaten over the head by Sheriff McRae when quietly standing by a meeting and knocked unconscious. Then he was dragged away by another deputy and beaten up while lying on the ground.

Mrs. L. S. Johnson, of Everett, testified that she had listened to several street meetings, had heard no advocacy of violence and no incendiarism. She stated that, one day, coming out of a store, she heard a policeman and a couple of men talking about the street speakers. They were saying that they would drive them out of town and never let them speak. She protested against this and discussed the matter with them for a few minutes. Two hours later, Sheriff McRae came to her home to see her, telling her that it had been reported to him that she had made statements in favor of the I. W. W. She said that she was certainly in favor of their being accorded their constitutional rights. The sheriff then let his true na-

ture and intentions become apparent. He said that they should not speak under any circumstances; that he would stop them coming to Everett even if he had to have soldiers brought in. McRae then went on to say that he had the backing of the mill owners of Everett and they would help him drive every one of them out of town. He said that if they tried to come he would have soldiers there, if possible, and **would shoot them down on the dock!** This was some time before November 5th and shows that he was already foreseeing the tragedy and was exulting in anticipation of the slaughter.

Harry Weinberg, a speaker and one of the seventy-three defendants, went on the witness stand and gave evidence that, after a meeting at which he had been arrested, he was taken to the county jail where he was beaten up by the sheriff. The sheriff took him out of the jail and knocked him down the steps. On the sidewalk were some more citizen deputies. These respectable gentlemen pounded Harry upon the shoulders and back with their billies and fired two shots after him as he ran to escape their brutality.

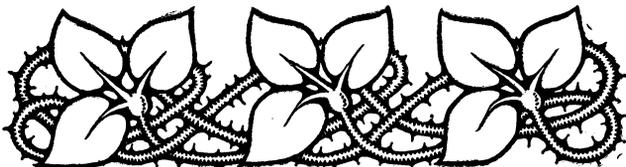
On Thursday, the 5th, there was a startling development. One G. Reese, a member of the I. W. W. and the Longshoremens' Union, had been making incendiary speeches in Everett so that Feinberg was compelled to pull him from the

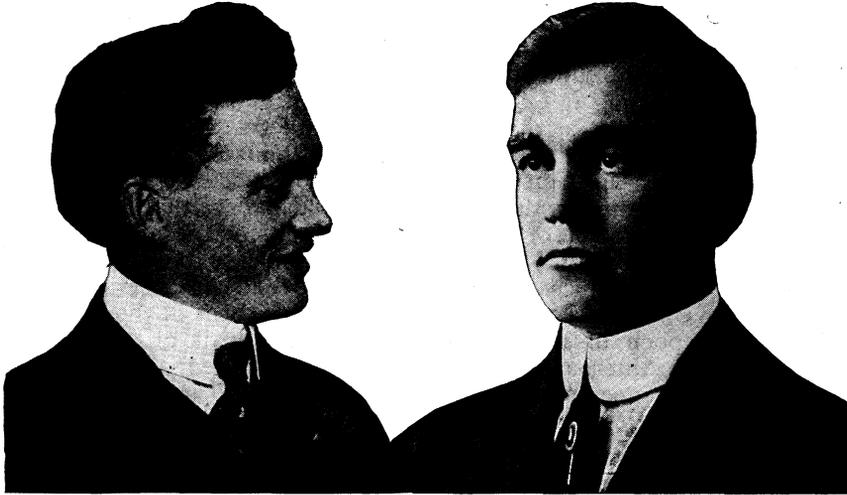
box because of the inflammatory nature of his utterances. He was also on the "Verona" on November 5th, but was released by the chief of the Pinkerton Agency in Seattle—Ahern. On Thursday, Ahern, the Pinkerton chief, was placed on the witness stand and testified that Reese was in the employ of the Pinkertons for the Snohomish County sheriff's department on November 5th and previously. Thus it was revealed that a detective was on the "Verona." This looks bad for the "First Shot Theory." Even, as is most improbable, it could be proved that it came from the boat, one could reasonably expect that it was fired by the stool-pigeon.

The defense is in urgent need of funds to carry on the case. Will you do your duty? Many think that now the case has started, there is no need of further support. Nothing could be more untrue. In fact, expenses are heavier now than ever before and it is a tremendous struggle for the defense to keep its head above water. All depends upon the enthusiasm and willingness with which the workers respond to this appeal.

Send all funds to Herbert Mahler, secretary-treasurer, Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee, Box 1878, Seattle, Wash.

Act now! Fail not, workingmen! Delay is fatal!





WARREN BILLINGS.

TOM MOONEY.

TO THE SHAME OF LABOR

By ROBERT MINOR

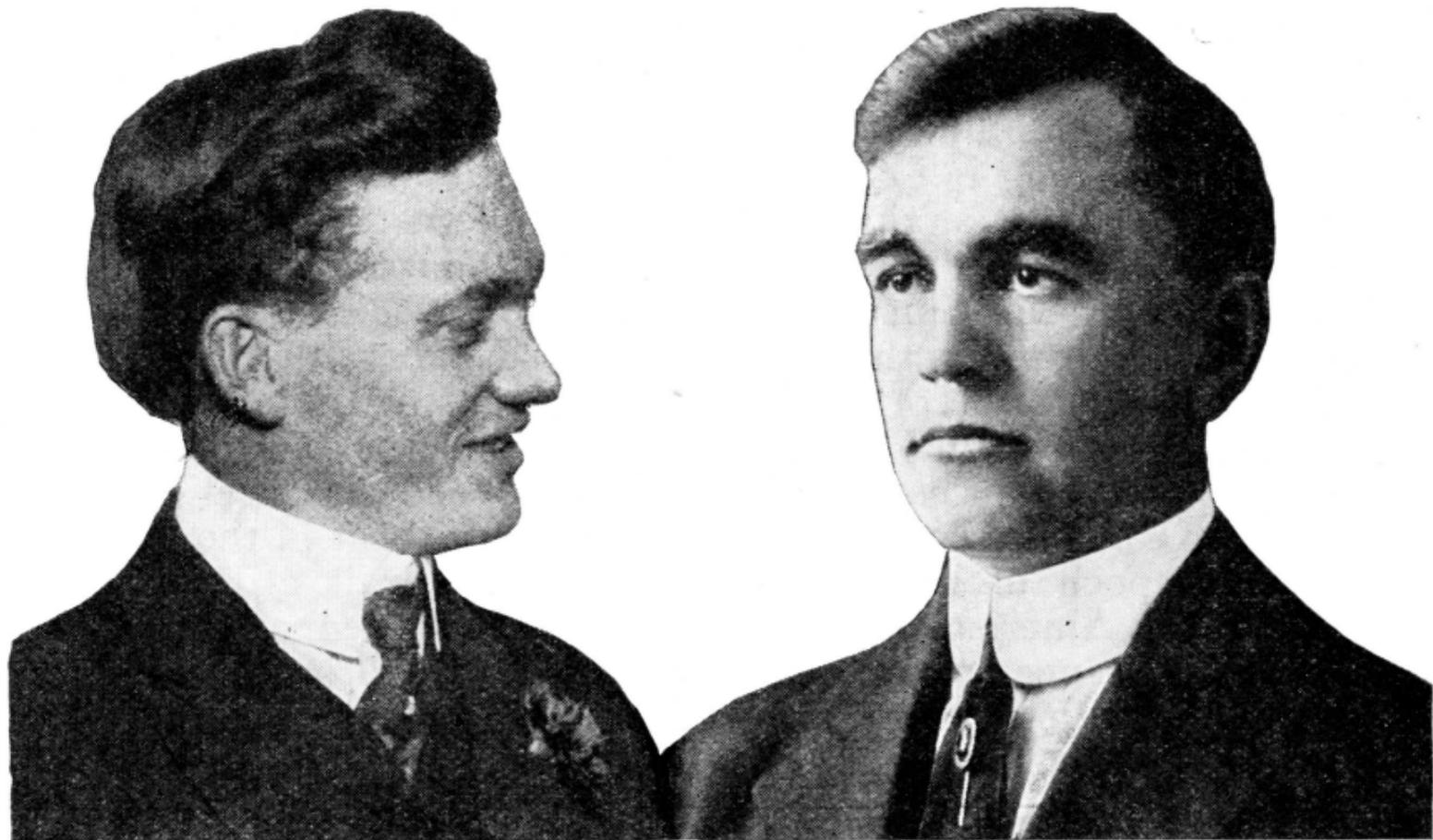
MOONEY PLOT EXPOSED!

Just as we go to press we are in receipt of a telegram from San Francisco, saying that a new witness has come forward with evidence that will certainly set Tom Mooney free and show up the whole dastardly plot against labor on the Pacific Coast. F. E. Riegall, of Grayville, Ill., is the man whom the prosecution, and whom the unspeakable Oxman, on whose perjured testimony Mooney was convicted of throwing a bomb during a Preparedness Parade, sought to bribe. And Riegall brings telegrams, letters and much other evidence to prove his claims. He was offered a bribe to testify that he was in San Francisco and saw Oxman on the street corner where Oxman swore he saw Mooney throw the famous bomb. But Riegall refused to do the dirty work. His evidence will prove to the world exactly to what degrading depths the Capitalist Class on the Pacific Coast has sunk in its efforts to further enslave the working class.

W. Bourke Cockran is a democratic leader, as well as the most noted lay orator in expounding the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Bourke Cockran is known internationally for his remarkable mentality and almost unequalled oratory in Congress and upon the democratic platform. He cannot be accused of being prejudiced in favor of violent overturners of society. Cockran spent six weeks in San Francisco as volunteer chief counsel for Tom Mooney, and at that time steeped himself in every detail, confidential or

otherwise, of the entire story of the prosecution of Mooney, Billings, Nolan, Weinberg and Mrs. Mooney on the charge of blowing up the preparedness parade. One of the highest-priced attorneys in the world, he charged for his services—nothing.

When a cynical jury of twelve business men and retired derelicts sentenced Tom Mooney to hang, Cochran told me that he had never received so heavy a blow in his life. He said that if such things could be, the nation was rotting at its foundation.



WARREN BILLINGS.

TOM MOONEY.

The greatest orator of America is now touring the United States fervently pleading to the American conscience to awaken and stamp from its soil the viper of corruption whose poisoned fang is exhibited in the dishonest proceedings against the Labor unionists in California. Twenty thousand heard Cockran in Chicago in a most eloquent appeal, under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Ten thousand packed Carnegie Hall in New York, under the auspices of the Central Federated Union. Cockran is giving the present epoch of his life to what he declares is to America what the Dreyfus case was to France. Cockran is not a ranting, cursing, lie-spitting Billy Sunday, and therefore the foul capitalist press is not telling much about it; but the massmeetings of Bourke Cockran are one of the biggest things of the kind ever seen in America.

Why does Cockran do this? If Mooney is guilty, Cockran knows it. If there were any doubt about Mooney's innocence, Cockran would have that doubt. Why is the grand old man who holds the leadership of American oratory as ably as it once was held by Ingersoll, giving his life and world-wide name, at the age of sixty-three, to this case?

It is because working men are being slowly, in most cowardly hypocrisy, murdered in California for daring to assert the primary right of human beings to organize for their own protection.

As cruelly as ever men's bodies were broken upon the rack and wheel are these men tortured with the lying hope of justice through the farcial jugglery of court rooms, as they wend their way one by one to death. With an understanding that he had to meet a certain charge, built upon the same story which was used to convict his alleged co-conspirator, a prisoner brings his perfect proof of innocence before the court with the quivering hope in his heart that surely he will not be murdered in defiance of evidence.

Only to be met by a change of stories! Although he was charged with committing the act in the company of another man, going together, doing the same thing, and the other man has been convicted upon that story, he finds that the prosecutors simply abandon that story and tell another one, another hideous lie

entirely different and contradictory to the lie that convicted the first man! The same witnesses get on the stand in the second trial and blandly assure the court that, though they had lied in the first case in convicting the first prisoner, they would now tell the truth, and that the truth was so and so. Then the witness will proceed to tell a story that gets around alibi photographs, witnesses, every sort of disproof of the case that the prisoner thought he would have to meet.

Before the heat of the bomb had cooled from the sidewalk at the scene where ten people were killed, a private detective for the United Railroads was put in charge of the investigation by a district attorney, notoriously the hired tool of the same street-car corporation—in fact, put in office solely to dismiss indictments against crooked street railway officials. Within a few minutes a sledge-hammer and crowbar had destroyed the scene of the explosion and constructed a framed-up scene entirely different from that caused by the bomb. Photographs of this fake "effect of the explosion" were taken and actually shown to the juries to prove that a suitcase bomb had been placed there instead of a thrown bomb falling there. Six reputable persons, one of them a prominent physician, who marched in the parade, saw the bomb fall into the crowd. All but the prominent physician were terrorized or chased out of the city or persuaded to keep quiet until after we had caught the district attorney lying red-handed and declaring that he did not know the address of one of the witnesses. When he finally turned over her address about three hours after she had left the city for a secret residence elsewhere—we finally located all six of the witnesses and proved that there was never a suitcase bomb in the affair.

The first prisoner was convicted while the district attorney had, locked in his safe, photographic films proving the innocence of the boy that he asked the jury to hang. The boy's attorney heard of the photographs and demanded them. The district attorney turned over what purported to be the photographs, but the street clocks in these pictures of Mooney and his wife on the roof of their home a mile and a quarter away from the scene of the crime did not show the time of day

and therefore the value of the pictures was almost destroyed. The boy, Warren K. Billings, was convicted.

Then, when Mooney came to trial, somebody tipped us off that the photographs turned over by the district attorney were not authentic, that they had been falsified so as to obliterate the time on the street clocks. By a hard legal fight, the defense forced the district attorney to disgorge the films to be examined by an expert. The expert enlarged them, and the street clocks showed the exact time that Mooney was supposed to be committing the crime with Billings a mile and a quarter away! Thus Mooney went to trial with absolute proof that the witnesses against Billings had lied in saying that he and Mooney were at the scene of the crime at or near that time. What did the prosecutors do?

Their witnesses took the stand and told a different story, swearing that they had testified falsely before as to time. Also, the chief witness, a drug victim named John McDonald, alias McDaniels, testified that he had lied to the Grand Jury and in the conviction of Billings in saying that Mooney and Billings crossed the street on foot through the parade. He said now that they did not cross the street through the parade and that he did not see them on the other side of the street, as he said in convicting Billings. That gave an opportunity for the State to claim that the men left in an automobile, in order to make the mile and a half from the scene of the crime to the roof of the Mooney's home at 1:58, when the first photograph was taken.

A cattleman from Oregon, named

Frank C. Oxman, took the stand under the influence of liquor, and swore that he saw the men come and go in an automobile.

There happened to be in the audience a woman who was with Oxman a mile away from there at that time, and she, in horror, came and made oath to that effect.

But it makes no difference. Truth, decency, justice are dead letters where labor is being baited with a mock trial by the Chamber of Commerce that has sworn to crush the last throb of labor rebellion on the Pacific Coast.

Warren Billings is in the penitentiary for life; Tom Mooney is sentenced to hang. Israel Weinberg faces the black-robed lynching before a jury of the business class on April 23d.

Then will come Rena Mooney and Ed. Nolan.

Tom Mooney's offense was to organize a strike against the United Railroads. Billings and Weinberg committed the offense of refusing a \$5,000 bribe to testify against Mooney. Rena Mooney is to die for helping Tom organize the car men. She is one of the best known music teachers in San Francisco. Edward D. Nolan is slated for hanging for being a friend of Tom Mooney and active in all recent strikes in San Francisco. He was in Baltimore as a delegate to the National Machinists' convention at the time he is charged with having to do with bomb making in San Francisco. The only evidence offered against him was a box of Epsom Salts, which a detective swore before the Grand Jury was gunpowder.

Oh, what a shame to all America!

Economic Determinism and the Capitalist Class

By JACK MORTON

NEARLY all of us are accustomed to pointing out how economic conditions or economic pressure drive the workers of a nation to do certain things and act in certain ways. But we rarely take the time or the trouble to try to discover how the capitalists or owning classes are also driven into new lines of conduct by economic conditions and events. We forget that the profit-takers, to whom the relinquishing of their

dividends is the one unthinkable course, may also find themselves forced into new activities, changes of government, into abolishing old social institutions, or into great wars.

Take the German ruling class for example. For the first time in the history of a united empire, Germany was, in July, 1914, utterly and completely prepared to make war upon her neighbors. For two generations the capitalist and landed

classes had been adopting and adapting every invention of modern science, every labor-saving device known to modern industry, every new practical chemical process and had organized and perfected the science of agriculture until they possessed some of the most modern scientific farms in the world.

For two generations the ruling class had been fortifying Germany, had built the new nation; in fact, upon the foundation of military preparation.

Hundreds of thousands of men had been employed for many years in constructing military and industrial railroads, always with the movement of large bodies of soldiers, war munitions, food, etc., etc., in the mind of the ruling class. But this road building *had* employed enormous groups of men. Marvelous railroad terminals and elaborate railway switching facilities were planned and constructed; harbors, enormous storehouses and warehouses were built at large shipping centers along the great rivers; a great network of canals was perfected to transport commodities cheaply by water.

Coal, iron and steel were produced upon the most modern and scientific bases. The best chemists of the empire experimented with by-products until Germany's dyes and other chemicals brought in to the capitalist class of that country millions of dollars of profits annually. It came to be the boast that in Germany nothing was wasted; nothing lost. Even the hours of the working class were under the supervision of the Government from youth to old age. The moments were utilized scientifically to the upbuilding, the perfecting, the modernizing of Germany.

For forty years hundreds of thousands of Teutons had been employed by the Government in feeding millions of useless soldiers, in clothing, warming, housing, transporting, amusing them; in caring for them when they were sick. Thousands of workers had been employed in constructing the Kiel canal, in raising and storing vast quantities of food for war, producing guns, munitions and the thousand and one commodities to be used by the army and navy in wartime.

Came a time, in July, 1914, when the Kiel canal was completed; when the millions of tons of food for war, was stored and the guns were ready; when railroads

and canals were finished and the vast furnaces of the steel cities employing hundreds of thousands of men about to become silent and cold—because their work was done when millions of new army uniforms for eight million soldiers hung in eight million lockers in the barracks; when millions of new pairs of shoes and outfits complete for war to the smallest detail stood waiting to be used.

Came a day when Germany was completely modernized industrially and in a military sense, *for that day*, and the work of preparation for war was perfected in so far as any nation can be really prepared for war. All was ready.

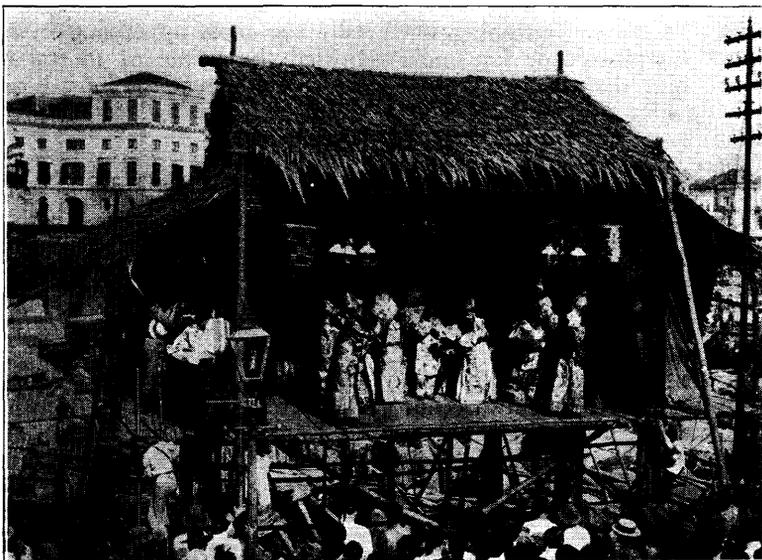
Were the vast armies of workers who had labored long and faithfully for the Government, in steel cities, fields and mines, on the railroads and canals—to be sent back to their homes without *jobs*? Would it be possible to throw a vast number of people upon their own resources who had been taught to look to the Government for work and for wages? And where were these people to find work if the factory wheels ceased to revolve and the mills were closed?

Or were the millionaire classes, who had made their fortunes from the labor of the working class, to become humanitarians and shorten the hours of labor, make two jobs out of one, and employ all the men who would be thrown out of work by the stoppage of military preparations and thus *abolish their own profits*?

Obviously those who had been taught to look for employment to the Government would continue to expect the Fatherland to employ them—or they would become penniless. Hunger would drive them to revolt.

No capitalist class in times of peace has ever willingly shortened the hours of labor to employ the unemployed and yielded up their profits for the good of humanity. They have had no other alternative save *expansion, or war for war's sake—to prevent revolution.*

And so, because of the desire of the ruling classes of Germany to prolong the present system, and to gain profits and still more profits, because of their military preparedness, their economic need (as capitalists) of new fields of exploitation and their fear of vast armies of unemployed and possible revolution at home, Germany went to war.



OPEN AIR THEATRES.

A Ramble Through the Streets of a Chinese City

By R. R. HORNBECK

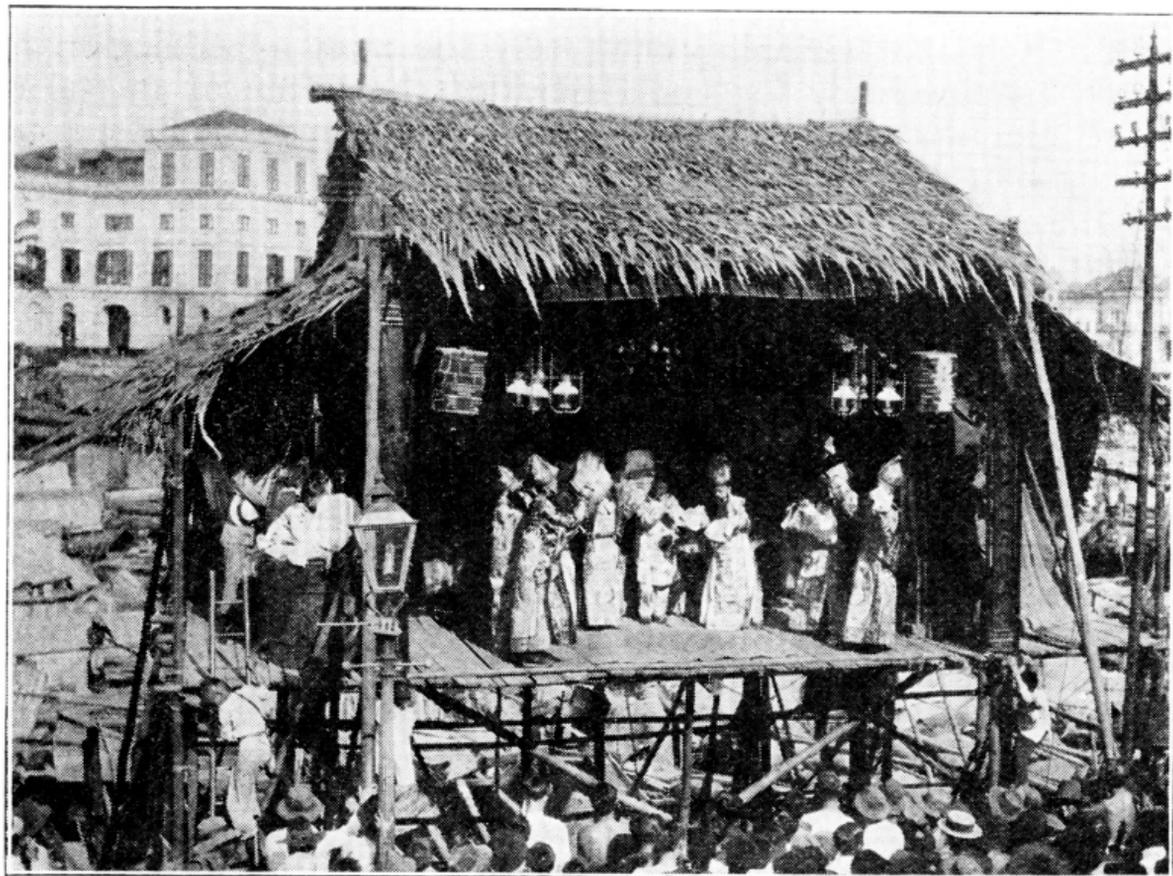
SINGAPORE, in the Straits Settlements and at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, can consistently be called a Chinese city, because of the more than 300,000 inhabitants, about 195,000 are Chinese and I will add parenthetically, fewer than 40 are Americans.

It is an intense pleasure for an American sojourner in Singapore who has been working strenuously day after day in the enervating tropics to forget for a few brief moments the annoyances of a business life and to plunge joyously and heedlessly into the vortex of Chinese commercialism, which grows most animated after sundown.

Tonight my friend and I will go whither our fancy dictates, feeling confident that we will see things that will enliven our languishing spirits.

We leave our boarding house on the city's principal thoroughfare and turn into a narrow side street. The sea is only four blocks

away; and after getting our lungs full of the invigorating salt breezes we decide to see our first opium "den." It is not difficult to find, for a short distance ahead is a sign reading "Public Smoking Room." We do not hesitate to enter, as we did in New York's Chinatown on Mott and Pell streets, for here the Celestials are a happier lot and have not learned the cunning wiles of their expatriated brothers in the West. There is a dirty curtain across the doorway, and the window panes are frosted. We unceremoniously brush aside the curtain, and enter. On our right is a small room enclosed by upright wooden bars and with a small opening, and we instinctively reach for a dime to buy a ticket. But the window is for the convenience of the habitues, for the sleepy-eyed Chinaman behind the bars hands out the pipes and the opium "on receipt of cash." The room is filled with smoke and there is an offensive odor. Along the walls



OPEN AIR THEATRES.

are wide benches and reclining thereon are many Chinese, some in a stupor, others muttering incoherently as they leer at us, many smoking and a few loungers who haven't the price of a smoke. Grinning, one of them offers us his pipe ready for smoking. We assure him that we would not think of depriving him of such a pleasurable gratification, so he contentedly smokes it himself. There are small lamps on the benches, and we soon see that they are quite essential. A lump of opium sufficient for three or four smokes cost about twenty-five cents, and in this state is called "chandu." It is a dark brown, sticky substance, and requires careful manipulation and repeated heatings over the lamp before it is ready to inhale. After being placed in the bowl of the pipe it yields only two or three whiffs. We learn that all opium "dens" close nightly at ten o'clock, and feeling a little faint because of the stuffy atmosphere, we leave.

On emerging we are greeted with the most abominable, unearthly sounds we ever heard, but never mind—that is Chinese orchestral music and signifies that two hearts now beat as one and that the bridegroom can afford to invite all his friends to his wedding feast, and intends to especially please those who delight in just such discordant noises.

We see a fruit shop, and after fingering

and smelling about forty varieties of tropical fruits we pay fifteen cents each for a few Australian apples and two cents each for some mangosteens, which are undoubtedly the most appetizing morsel that ever tickled the palate of mortal man—a fruit that would cause the most hopeless dyspeptic to think he had found the Fountain of Youth.

We now find ourselves in the most populous section of Chinatown. The streets are fairly gushing over with half-naked humans. Jinrickisha pullers are helpless here and must take side streets. There are ear-splitting shrieks of laughter and of anger on all sides. Some of the older men curse the younger for jostling them so unmercifully, calling down imprecations on all their relatives to the seventh ancestors.

Seeing a Hindoo temple nearby we leave the bustle and enter. We must, however, remove our shoes before entering and leave them outside, for there are positively no exceptions to this requirement. The temple is built of stone and on the tile roof are four crude images of sacred bulls. About sixty Hindoos are inside, worshipping their heathen idols by muttering strange gibberish, beating on tin vessels, kowtowing and gesturing frantically, then painting hieroglyphics on their bodies to denote their caste, and strutting around like peacocks, with chests thrown out and arms swinging



ON THE WAY TO MARKET.



ON THE WAY TO MARKET.

proudly. Among the idols is a life-size peacock made of silver, which is guarded day and night and exhibited in their frequent ostentatious street parades.

Leaving the temple we get our shoes and stroll into a road running alongside a canal crowded with house-boats. There are hawkers galore on both sides of the road. The stands are small and can be carried across the shoulders of the owners, but we see a surprising variety of commodities. Here is a man cooking and selling fish, shells, rice and macaroni; another sells toilet articles, buttons, handkerchiefs, towels, and Chinese locks; this man sells nothing but Chinese shoes, from the plain wooden ones at eight cents to the glittering, gaudy shoes for women at twelve dollars. Finally we see an opium pipe and decide to buy it as a curio. We ask the price and are told four dollars. Astounded, we examine it again,

and seeing the joke, offer forty cents. The hawkler takes the pipe, lays it on the shelf and casually remarks that two dollars will buy it. We offer him fifty cents and start to leave. He calls us back and takes the fifty cents, and we have bought an opium pipe.

Further down the street we see an attentive crowd gathered around an ugly old Chinaman who is gesticulating wildly and talking at the top of his voice. We learn that he is a public story teller, who reads tales of Chinese conquest in days long past and then recounts them with many embellishments to his enraptured hearers, who each pay him one cent a night if the stories are satisfactory.

It is now ten o'clock and the shops are closing, so we go home, in much better humor than when we started.

MESSAGES FROM OVER THE SEAS

MANY inspiring messages and news items have found their way to this office during the past month, but nothing more quite so fine as the appeal directed to the proletariat of the whole world from the Russian revolutionists.

An especial appeal was made to the workers of the central powers, urging the proletarians of these countries to "throw off the yoke of autocratic rule, as the Russian people have overthrown the imperial autocrat and refuse to serve longer as an instrument in the hands of kings, capitalists and bankers."

"By united working class effort" the appeal declares, "we can stop this awful murder, which is the shame of humanity." The Russian comrades state emphatically that this is not a craven appeal for peace, adding:

"If it is *NECESSARY* the workers of Russia will defend their new-found liberties against all interference, whether from within or from *without*. We will not permit ourselves to be coerced by foreign military power."

M. Tcheide, socialist member of the дума and president of the workmens' and soldiers' delegates, said:

"When we speak to the Germans we always keep guns in our hands. We shall fight to the last drop of blood for liberty, if the Germans do not accept the appeal. We are seeking peace by urging others to throw off the yoke."

Crown lands, aggregating more than half the vast domains, are to be divided among themselves by the Russian masses. Carried away with joy at the hope of throwing off a part of their shackles at last, everywhere at meetings the Russians are sending messages to their German and Austrian comrades asking them to rise against the imperial authority.

Germans Rebel

Julian Pierce, Editorial Director of the Socialist News Service, at Washington, sends in the following on our friends in Germany:

Authentic reports from Germany announce that the election of Franz Mehring to the seat made vacant in the lower house of the Prussian Diet by the imprisonment for treason of Karl Leibknecht, is regarded by the anti-war Socialists of Germany as a distinct victory for the Social Democratic Union of Labor, the new Socialist anti-war organization.

Mehring belongs to the Socialist anti-

war minority, which has fought the German government in the Reichstag by voting against the war credits and demanding that the government open negotiations for peace on the basis of no annexation of territory.

The "official" Social Democratic party has supported the German government in each of its war measures since the outbreak of hostilities in August, 1914. It was the action of the official majority, in voting for the war credits demanded by the Kaiser when war was declared that brought discredit upon the international Socialist movement of the world. The official action was imposed upon the entire Socialist parliamentary group thru the mandate of the party caucus.

Mehring's victory, coming coincidentally with the definite organization of the anti-war Social Democratic Union of Labor, is significant as indicating a pronounced working class revolt in Germany against the war. It will do much to remove from the Socialist movement the odium attached to it by the pro-war Socialists who dominate the Social Democratic party. It is doubly encouraging to the anti-war Socialists in other countries than Germany, carrying as it does a denial of the repeated declaration that the German Socialists were or are a unit in support of the war.

The anti-war Socialists who backed up the Mehring campaign charge the official majority with conspiring with capitalist interests to defeat Mehring. The anti-war Socialists claim that they were in legitimate control of the party organization in the district, which is the one in which Liebknecht was deprived, thru imprisonment, of his parliamentary credentials. According to the custom of the party, it was their legitimate function, inasmuch as they constituted the majority fraction in the jurisdiction, to determine the candidate of the Social Democratic party.

It is charged that the official war-Socialist majority, in violation of the practice and precedent of the party, set up a rival majority candidate against Mehring, hoping thru a fusion with capitalist interests to defeat the anti-war Socialist Mehring. Mehring's overwhelming victory in the face of such a coalition is the

most remarkable political development since the war began.

An anti-war Socialist paper is to be established in Berlin by the Social Democratic Union of Labor, according to reports regarded as reliable received from various Socialist anti-war centers in Germany.

The paper will be used by the anti-war Socialists as the fighting machine to carry on their struggle with the majority Social Democratic party for the control of Socialist movement in Germany. The anti-war Socialists claim that such a paper is necessary in order to make up for the handicap they are under thru being deprived by the majority of the use of the columns of *Vorwaerts*.

It is declared by the anti-war Socialists that the pro-war Socialists controlling *Vorwaerts* base their hope for the defeat of the opposition on the difficulties that will be encountered in the establishment of an anti-war Socialist paper in Berlin. It is stated that the pro-war Socialists expect to receive the assistance of the Government in preventing the paper from seeing the light of day. It is felt that the Kaiser, in view of the loyal support which the majority Socialists have given to his war policy, will not require much urging in the matter of censoring the proposed paper out of existence.

All of which seems to indicate that the Socialists might well democratize the Socialist party before they undertake to democratize industrial society.

Haase, the great anti-war Socialist, declared:

"The majority, pro-war 'Socialists' and the minority, anti-war 'Socialists,' are as far apart as the poles of the earth."

From Australia

Fellow-worker Mack of Australia, manages to get the following news to us for readers of the REVIEW. "We defeated universal military service here and now I think the imprisoned boys will soon be released. An election is coming on. Broken Hill selected a candidate pledged to release them, and others are following. It looks as tho this would be a big issue."

The Curse of Censorship

The tentacles of censorship are extending every day. In addition to the press

ensorship, which enables the Government of the day to suppress the views of its political opponents, there is now a censorship of moving pictures, and the Wowsers are clamoring for the extension of censorship to the theaters and vaudeville shows. It now appears that books coming into the Commonwealth are also subject to censorship. Mr. G. M. Burns, M. A., speaking in the House of Representatives the other day stated that the Censor for Victoria (Colonel Newell) had prevented a lot of books from coming into the country. The books were ordered by Mr. Will Andrade, of Bourke-street, from Kerr & Co., of Chicago, the well-known publishers of Socialistic literature. The books were mostly Socialistic works including such classics as Marx's "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" and Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." There were also some scientific works, such as "The Law of Biogenesis" and "Science and Superstition," and a

large number of pamphlets on Labor questions. Mr. Burns said that Colonel Newell had stated that he had not read the books; but that we should not be allowed to get such rubbish into this country. This is censorship with a vengeance! Apparently the people of Australia are not to be trusted to select their own reading matter, but must read only what their masters think good for them. The censorship was established to prevent information of military importance from reaching the enemy; but further than that it should not go. The recent extension of the censorship to films and books is a pernicious usurpation of authority, even worse, in its far-reaching effects, to the manipulation of the censorship by Hughes for political and personal purposes. A determined protest must be made by the people, or there is no knowing where these encroachments will end.—(Australia.)

THE CHANGING ORDER: A STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

By OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS, Ph. D.

"The real problems of life in America are neither ecclesiastical nor governmental—they are industrial. What men are struggling for today is industrial freedom What is needed at this hour is not to establish free government, but to develop free men—not, as William Morris once said, 'to establish socialism, but to educate socialists.'" These sentences from Dr. Triggs' Introduction indicate the viewpoint of "The Changing Order," and the book consists of seventeen studies in which the author traces the spirit of democracy as it spreads from the workshop into the fields of art, literature, philosophy and education. One more quotation will give an idea of his method: "The struggle of this modern world to gain its industrial independence is leading directly toward artistic constructiveness. Every gain in freedom means a step forward in art. The issue of the industrial battle is perhaps the greatest in history. For in it are wrapped up the possibilities of a universal art." Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid. With the REVIEW one year, \$1.50.

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TO THE OLD GUARD

By FRANK BOHN

WHEN you read this article (which I am writing April 2), you will be in the midst of snapping flags, screaming bugles and resounding drum-beats.

Our group of internationalists, we who have stood for the indestructible principles of the world labor movement as against all the forces of the crumbling class system about us, are finding that we are not very many in any nation when the final stroke of fate sifts us out and makes us stand alone.

A majority of the spokesmen of the Socialist Party of the United States are now either pro-German or pro-war-with-Germany. Some of our erstwhile comrades would fight to defend the Kaiser in murdering everybody within reach; others are pro-war Socialists who would have us go to war with the Kaiser because we oppose the Kaiser.

To both these groups we bid good-bye. We shake our skirts clear and free, and stand alone. At this moment I pity both Victor Berger who is pro-German and Charles Edward Russell, who is pro-war. Both are being weighed in the balances of the Great Cause and found wanting.

Think Clearly—Speak Calmly

At this time I wish to make a few suggestions to that minority of out-and-out Socialists who are now taking stock of the situation from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon.

Don't agree with the pro-Germans. True, they are against the war and we are against war. They are against it, so to speak, because they are from the North Pole and we are against it because we are from the South Pole.

If to beat the Kaiser and his Junkers who have enslaved the German people more than any modern white population has been enslaved before in the world, it is required that America throw herself into the balances, then let the American ruling classes fight that fight. I, for one, am sure that it is not necessary. Germany is today crumbling at both ends.

She will collapse by midsummer. Her enemies need no troops. If they need supplies and loans, then, in the name of common intelligence, let our property classes furnish them loans at 3 per cent and food and ammunitions at cost. For two years and eight months our capitalist hogs have charged them from 5 to 7 per cent for loans, have grabbed their gold reserves to the extent of a billion dollars flat, and in return have given them supplies *at the average of one hundred per cent more than they should have charged.* For our dominating plutocratic class to now talk of "helping the allies" is like the fox telling the hen while he is eating her that he is swallowing her to protect her from the wolf.

This is the ruling class of America which wants our working men to go to war.

Be unafraid.

Hold up your head, you revolutionary workers everywhere. Look them straight in the eye. Let no day pass but that you speak your mind. Tell any property-holder who asks you to go to war or advocates war on any pretext whatever, that he must first yield up his property for war purposes before he dare advise anybody in your presence to give his life for war. How can any property-holder argue against this policy? All the industries in the land are needed to make war. When the industries are turned over we shall then be in a position to consider whether we shall surrender our lives.

Furthermore, there are in the country at least two millions of able bodied men who are not at work in the industries. There are at least two million men, business men, professional men and commercial travelers, who will possibly be much benefited by military drill, and the experience of war. There are one hundred thousand preachers. These have been preaching war. Let them go to war. There are 100,000 lawyers who have been arguing for war. Now, for a change, let

them go and argue from the butt end of a machine gun.

One thousand Harvard University students, 90 per cent of whom are the pampered, lily-fingered offspring of the plutocratic classes of our great cities, are drilling in an officers' corps. These young sporting gentlemen wish to ride on horses and give commands to the young working men who will be tramping in the mud with packs on their backs. Tell them you are far too wise for their little game. Tell the thousand at Harvard, the six hundred at Leland Stanford, the two thousand at the University of Illinois, that after they have enlisted as private soldiers and are tramping in the mud with packs on their own backs, that then there will be plenty of time for you to consider whether or not you had better enlist. Out of ten thousand New York and New England business and professional men just one (please get this straight, one and no more), enlisted and went to the Mexican border last summer. These rich young men *all wanted to be officers*. There are, right now, a hundred thousand ignorant, conceited, totally untrained, tin-horn sports wire-pulling night and day at every state capital and at Congress in Washington to get officers' commissions. They are looking for about two million fool wage-slaves to brush their clothes, to clean their horses, and snap up their hands in salute before and after the job. These officers will mostly sit in the second line of trenches smoking cigarettes and getting from \$125 to \$300 dollars a month, while the fool wage-slaves up in the front trench are getting \$15 a month to breathe the poison gas and get their bowels torn out.

When the officers return they will come back to a country which they own or in which they are assured good financial and social standing. When the workers return they will tramp the streets look-

ing for work and be thrust into jails for striking against unbearable conditions. That is why intelligent workmen are not going to enlist for this war.

Don't be against the United States and for Germany. Be for your class against its enemies in all lands.

We Demand

We demand that since the workers are needed to raise food and produce the necessities of life in the cities they shall be kept on the job and that the first to go to war shall be all the capitalists, all the commercial travelers, all the preachers, all the lawyers, all the editors, and all the college professors and students.

We demand that privates in both the army and the navy receive as good food and clothing and as much pay as the highest ranking officers in the service.

Finally, we shall not surrender our right of private judgment as to war and the necessity of making war. The German nation today is a curse to the human race because it has been Prussianized into a total surrender of the private conscience. The possession of our own minds, our judgment as to what is right or wrong to do with our own lives, that is our single precious heritage from American history. Hence, we shall oppose conscription with every means in our power. In doing this we are protecting and defending what the flag is supposed to stand for while the militarists are undermining our ancient liberties and are traitors to the flag they claim to love.

A Final Word

Don't "slop over." Don't hunt for trouble. Don't let them make you angry. Take the above arguments and use them. Stick to the facts. Do that and you can go before any honestly chosen jury and find protection against the wolves, foxes and skunks of militarism.



NEWS FROM NOWHERE

TO those of us who remember when the first publication of "News from Nowhere"* was made in the "*Commonweal*," which William Morris published in the late eighties, this reprint comes with all the joy of an old and well-remembered friend. It is the most delightful and stimulating romance that the Socialist movement has produced and is destined to eternal fame because it rests on everlasting foundations and is free from the accidental influences of a particular period. At a time when the movement in general looked to politics as the path to the new society, Morris felt more deeply, poet as he was, and saw farther, for he was a trained economist and historian.

He makes his new society man say, "We are very well off as to politics—because we have none." Now and again we feel among ourselves the growth of a spirit which he predicted, to the scorn and amusement of his contemporaries. Thus speaking of punishment:

"The punishment of which men used to talk so wisely and act so foolishly—what was it but the expression of their fear? And they had need to fear since they—the rulers of society—were dwelling like an armed band in a hostile country."

But the interest in and the appreciation of the artistic things in the new society are typical of and peculiar to Morris alone. It is doubtful if there has ever lived a man in our period who could speak with such authority upon the art instinct and the tendency of the human to create things of beauty and joy if left to his own devices and unhampered by the restrictions and necessities of a sordid and corrupt society. He says:

"The art or work-pleasure, as one ought to call it, sprang up almost spontaneously as it seems from a kind of instinct amongst people no longer driven desperately to painful and terrible overwork, to do the best they could with the

work in hand, to make it excellent of its kind. And when that had gone on a craving for beauty seemed to awaken in men's minds and they began crudely and awkwardly to ornament the wares which they made, and when they had once set to work at that it soon began to grow."

The work properly and carefully read is a mine of information and suggestion on the burning problems of life and of modern society and it is very doubtful if all the cumbersome tomes of the libraries on social science and social psychology have really succeeded in striking at the root of things any more effectively. It is certain that they have not done it with more sincerity or artistic skill. The book is a refutation of the sneer of the commonplace who urge that because a man is a poet he cannot have intellectual and rational conceptions of life. A Marxian scholar, as Morris with much toil taught himself to be, and who was at the same time a poet and a craftsman, a man who knew the technique of production as few have known it, must necessarily have great advantages in discussing social life, and these are apparent to the careful and studious reader.

But on the other hand the book is written with such consummate art and the mere literary quality is of so high an order that the superficial will be carried along by the sheer power of the narrative so that they will overlook the great significance of much of it. Never was English scenery more bewitchingly described, and to no one was the glory of sea and sky, of changing cloud and sweeping river more wonderfully revealed. And to no one did the "love of love," the sweet sympathy of a man for the troubles and affections, the joys and the pains of our common human lot, more compellingly appeal. In short the book is the epitome of Morris himself, the poet craftsman with the great tender heart, which would not let him rest on his own laurels but drove him ever onward to battle for the downfall of the people-devouring kings.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

**News from Nowhere: An Epoch of Rest.* By William Morris. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. \$1.00.

USEFUL NON-PRODUCTIVE WORKER

By Fore Cast

WE industrial unionists, or industrial Socialists, are accustomed to say we will organize a system of society in which the productive workers, and they only, shall enjoy the values they create. Are we sure that this would be either desirable or possible?

Today, of course, the men and women who produce, who make things, are only permitted to enjoy a very small portion of the value of their products. They are paid, in wages, just about enough of this value to keep them in condition to appear on the job the next day and to rear children to take their places when they are thrown on the scrap heap. Sometimes they receive one-fifth of the value they create, or one-third and even as low as only a tenth. And much of the surplus value taken from them by their employers is used to support those elements in society which do not produce any value, nor perform any useful service.

What we want to consider here is whether or not we desire to bar all that portion of mankind which makes no commodities, and very few of whom create any value, from sharing in the products of the working class.

The actual commodity producers are accustomed to saying they support the whole world and that some day they will place the rest of society outside the circle of those who shall enjoy the things they have made.

We know of one Socialist Party Local which was all split because two coal miners, who actually brought up the coal we consume in our stoves and furnaces, declared their intention of keeping the entire value of that coal for themselves. They were going to cut out the men who work about the mine, load the coal on to cars, etc., etc. They would refuse to "divide up" even with the carpenters who timber the mine. They could not see where the railroad boys ought to come in for any share of their product at any point. This is often the attitude of workers who do not consider the social basis of industry today.

We have to remember that everywhere in modernized nations today, industry is organized socially. We see social instead

of individual production. Teamsters and sawyers and cutters go out into the forests to cut down trees and bring to the mills the logs that are later sawed up into lumber, for furniture, staves and barrels, boxes or fuel. Other men load and haul these logs to the saws, or cutters in the mills, while still another group of workers cut or saw the logs up into different kinds of lumber, shingles, siding, boards, laths, posts, scantlings, staves, hoops, box stock, etc., etc. All depends upon the purpose for which the logs are intended. Often the logs are loaded onto flat cars and shipped to furniture factories or mills some miles distant. Men are employed estimating the number of feet of lumber in a patch of woods, in checking up the number of feet cut by the cutters, in the number of feet shipped to the factory or mill.

Now nearly all these groups of men are directly employed in the production of lumber. The men who wheel kegs of nails to the men at machines, or who go about with oil cans from one machine to another, are a part of the productive plant and process, because we have social production today.

The men who check in the logs and check out the number of feet of lumber shipped to the mills are not producers of commodities. Neither are they producers of any value. But they now perform, and probably will continue to perform, a very necessary function in the lumber plant. This is an age of specialization and it means a saving of the individual labor of many workers to use other men to check their products rather than that all the men stop work to record them every time themselves. Such labor is one of the necessary "expenses of production" and its pay will have to come out of the value produced by the productive workers in that industry.

Men on the steamboat lines, expressmen and railroad men produce no commodities, but they produce value. Every man and woman in America uses things every day that are brought to his city and to his door by these men. It is a great saving of individual labor for men to be able to buy wheat that somebody else has raised, to

buy flour that others have specialized in producing, to have this flour, or bread brought right to his door instead of each man having to produce it from planting the crop to baking the bread. It is a great saving of individual labor to have the steamship lines, the railroad men and the expressmen bringing these things to our doors. We don't have to go to Minneapolis to carry back a sack of flour.

Wheat crops in Kansas would not feed the Lawrence mill workers or English weavers without the labor of the railroad and steamship men. These groups of workers are the world's great grocery, clothing and fuel deliverymen, who bring these things to our doors and make modern life possible. These men add labor and value to commodities already produced. Without them we would, each and all, need to go to the point of production and carry home our own potatoes, our own wool, or cloth or clothing. Everything carried, or transported by these railroad men contains added value.

Men and women working in shoe or clothing factories will be unable to leave their machines to show and fit their wares to customers. It will be a great saving of their labor to appoint some of their numbers to do these things. These clerks are a necessary expense of production. They will have to be paid out of the value produced by the shoe and clothing makers.

THE PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE

We all need the doctors sometimes in our lives. They usually bring us into this world and sometimes they usher us out. But physicians and surgeons produce neither commodities nor value, altho they are necessary to society. Without doubt, in an industrial democracy, all the workers will pay a certain annual amount to an authorized medical staff—sufficient to equal the standard rate of recompense per year for their own services, when every individual will have "free" medical or surgical attention whenever it is needed.

And we shall probably educate men and women, at the expense of the workers, as scientific specialists in every branch of industry, particularly in the branches of chemistry and agriculture and mechanics, to advise with us on best methods of production, best soil fertilizer required on certain soils, best crops a certain kind of soil will produce, etc. These specialists will not then be permitted to hold us up for enormous

fees for their services. They will be paid the prevailing rate of reward, for serving us, out of a fund which we shall pay.

As for the lawyers and the clergy, we hope we shall neither need nor desire them in the wonderful days a-coming. We believe lawyers will disappear with the old governments and the old laws in a co-operative society where committees of the various industries, appointed by and paid by the workers, will conduct the business of the world, discover the value of commodities, the number of these commodities on hand, and the demand for them; so that the supply will meet the need.

Unless the workers desire to tax themselves to pay them to teach worn-out dogmas in a new-born world, the preachers will have to go.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Other Non-Productive Workers

The school teachers and college faculties will produce no value, but they will perform a very necessary function in society. Some of them even do today. We believe the rest of society will pay enough annually to have "free" schools and colleges and to assure to the teachers and professors the average recompense received by the productive workers.

Doubtless in the new society the necessity for bureaus and committees, municipal, national and international will arise to oil the wheels of social life. Some of these, such as the lighting, heating and water bureaus produce value and will be recompensed like other productive workers. Cleaning, sewerage and dredging departments, while producing no value, perform a necessary function and will need to be paid by the other members of society for this work.

One might go on indefinitely discussing possible branches of municipal, national or continental and international requirements of the future. But the workers will decide these things in their own good time. We believe they will surround their work and their lives with all and more of the charm and beauty with which they today surround the lives of the capitalist class.

With the constantly improving methods of production and machinery and with the great natural powers utilized to do the drudgery of the world, they will have more and more leisure to enjoy the exquisite things of life, more and more reward for

their labors—that is, more actual products for the same amount of effort.

Some may ask why, if the productive workers will have to produce the value for running a future society, just as they do today, why we should struggle for the revolution. We say: there is every reason. We shall make this the best possible world for useful people to live in, where all shall be workers, either producing necessary or beautiful things which men desire, or performing some useful function in society.

The productive workers do all these things for society and many more. They feed and clothe and house the world. From the surplus value taken from them, comes all the millions upon millions of dollars annually squandered by non-productive workers. From this value, produced by them and appropriated by their employers, are supported millions of utterly useless members of society, million of middle men, wholesale merchants, brokers, governments, with their retinues of officials, lawyers, public officers, the advertisers, churches, armies and navies and all that vast horde of human by-products, the useless parasitical class of idlers from which we shall then be free.

Then all the wealth of the world required in production and distribution, in the making of wholesome, normal lives, shall be the property of the workers, just as today it is the property of the capitalist class. Then, as now, we shall continue to produce the useful and beautiful things of life. We shall discard all the wasteful, useless human institutions that exist today in industry; we shall abolish armies, navies, governments and stock exchanges, middlemen, with their hundreds of thousands of attendant parasites now consuming value produced by us, for which they give no return in useful labor. We shall abolish profits and keep the surplus value for those who have made it.

We are supporting the whole world today while perhaps two-thirds of the people,

who are the beneficiaries of our generosity, contribute no useful word, or act, or product. We shall put these people to work beside us to share in the labor and help earn the rewards. We shall produce more and better things than the world has ever seen. The days of joy and ease and plenty shall arrive for all who are useful among mankind.

QUESTIONS.

1. Are there any necessary workers in society as it is at present organized, who produce neither value nor commodities? Name two or three branches.

2. If these men or women continue to perform a necessary function, does the revolutionist propose to pay them out of the value produced by other workers?

3. Could modern society be maintained by the commodity producers alone?

4. Why not? Explain.

5. Could modern society be maintained by the commodity producers *and* the workers who produce value but no commodities, without any outside help?

6. Why not? Name some commodity producers. Name some classes of workers who produce value but no commodities.

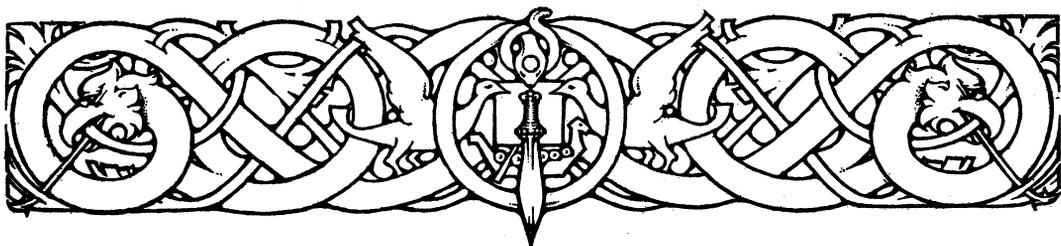
7. How are all the bills incurred by society paid today?

8. Whence comes the value that pays these bills? Can bills be paid today in any other way?

9. Does this mean then, that the value today produced by the productive workers, pays *all* the bills of society, as well as constituting all of the exchange value, of commodities, in the world today?

10. Name twenty branches of work and business that are today purely parasitical, that is which buy and sell or pretend to serve society, which we shall abolish in the industrial democracy. Would unnecessary wholesale firms, duplicating industries be included in this list? Would unproductive, unnecessary branches of middle class activity come under this list?





INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Signs of Unrest in Germany. The greatest fact in our world is the Russian revolution. Since this great uprising of the people of the greatest empire of Europe is dealt with in another part of the REVIEW, I shall content myself here with reference to a single fact. No sooner was the new regime firmly established at Petrograd than the Russian workers began to think of their comrades in other lands. Their minds turned involuntarily to the Germans. An uprising of the people of Germany would mean, not only German freedom, but peace and opportunity for universal reconstruction. In a formal appeal to the German people the workers of Petrograd called to their comrades over the border to "throw off the yoke of autocratic rule, as the Russian people have overthrown the imperial autocrat, and refuse to serve longer as an instrument in the hands of kings and capitalists."

We are all suspicious of reports of discontent in Germany, for most of our news from the continent comes through England. But there are certain signs which seem to show that there has been a change in the fatherland. For one thing, at the recent session of the Reichstag the Socialists of both factions voted solidly against the war budget. The idea animating the "Majority" seemed to be that the Germans have now won enough and should be content to declare definitely their terms of peace. There is nothing very Socialistic about this. If the German government had sufficient political insight it probably would do that very thing. But at any rate the Socialists dare stand alone at last.

Stories of riots and of prosecutions for treason or near-treason are growing more and more common. There is, too, no diminution of tales about posters surreptitiously attached to walls, and of leaflets secretly circulated. It all reminds one of Russia in the old days.

Socialist deputies are speaking up with surprising plainness and frequency. On the 24th of March it was reported that Paul Hoffman, of the Union of Labor group, said in the Prussian diet: "With the club of possible service at the front you prevent workers from leaving their employment or doing anything to increase their wages. Meetings of the Socialist opposition are constantly forbidden. Through your censorship you prevent the people from knowing the course of the war or the nature of your purposes. You talk much about the new tendency in internal affairs, but in reality nothing has changed. But in spite of all, my friend Liebknecht, whom you have condemned to a criminal's fate, shall live in the hearts of the people as a man of honor." At this point he was called to order. He went on, however, to describe the sufferings of the women and to proclaim that if the rich had to endure a fraction of the sufferings of the poor the war would soon be brought to an end.

About the same time Socialist Deputy Kunert spoke in the Reichstag. Vice-Chancellor Helferrich, scolded him for comparing conditions in Germany and Russia. Kunert answered: "Because I compared German reactionaries with Russian revolutionists you say I insulted the fatherland. I should be proud if such progress had been made in our country as

has been made in the Russian empire." Haase and Ledebur have also made vigorous addresses during the past month.

But the best proof of the effect of the Russian revolution is a speech made by Bethmann-Hollweg before the Prussian Diet. They were debating the ancient proposal to reform the suffrage law. The Chancellor seemed to be deeply moved by something. Those who bear in mind what happened to Nicholas II can easily imagine the source of his emotion. Of course, he is reported to have said, the German people would have reforms; but not now. Now they are in the midst of war. The one necessity is to beat the enemy. But we will go far; we will appoint a commission to investigate the matter. After the enemy is beaten the commission will report, and we will consider their recommendations. This is statesmanship. But it shows, at least, that the German ruling class has had news from Petrograd.

The Election of Mehring.—Karl Liebknecht, before his conviction of treason, occupied two posts: he was a member of the Prussian diet and of the imperial Reichstag. After his conviction, these posts were declared vacant and special elections were ordered. The seat in the diet, he held from a district in Potsdam. According to the famous civic peace entered into by the German Socialists there should have been no contest for the place. The nominee of the local Socialists should have been declared elected. The local Socialists nominated Franz Mehring. Mehring is an old and honored comrade. He is a great scholar, perhaps the best historian in the whole Socialist movement. He is, moreover, a clear and uncompromising Socialist. Not for a moment has he been deceived by the patriotic program of deception. For such a man there is no civic peace. As soon as he was nominated, the official Socialists put up a war-Socialist against him, a man named Stahl. The bourgeois parties turned in to help Stahl, and he was elected.

But the Reichstag election furnishes a different story. In the eleventh Berlin district, which Liebknecht represented, Mehring was again the nominee. Again the Socialist majority put up an opponent, a certain Brunner. The election machinery is complicated. Some six hun-

dred and fifty electors are chosen and they elect the deputy. In the first balloting Comrade Mehring secured 218 electors, the Progressives 25, and the war Socialists just six.

The Kaiser's Master Message.—Even Kaiser Wilhelm II has learned of what happened in Russia. At Easter time he addressed a sort of open letter to Bethmann-Hollweg. He said in part: "Reform of the Prussian Diet and liberation of our entire inner political life are especially dear to my heart. For the reform of the electoral law of the lower house preparatory work already had been begun at my request at the outbreak of the war.

I charge you now to submit to me definite proposals of the Ministry of State, so that upon the return of our warriors this work, which is fundamental for the inner formation of Prussia, be carried out by legislation. In view of the gigantic deeds of the entire population there is, in my opinion, no more room in Prussia for election by classes. The bill will have to provide for direct and secret elections of deputies."

German editors seem to be very thankful for all this beneficence. **Vorwaerts**, which is now a Majority organ, is quite blissful. "The monarch himself," it jubilates, "guarantees the new orientation in Prussia."

Critical outsiders cannot but notice that his Majesty does not promise the "one-man-one-vote" so long demanded by the Socialists. A secret and direct election seems to him enough of a revolution for the present. And he seconds his Chancellor in not indulging in undignified haste. It would be impolite to steal a march on the soldiers by stealthily instituting reforms while they are on the frontier looking the other way!

Revolt in Spain.—The Russian upheaval shook the surface of politics even as far as Spain. Toward the end of March a group of twenty-six heads of labor organizations signed and published a manifesto calling on the people to strike in favor of a complete change of government. It is understood that the high cost of living had something to do with this move. The government was very "firm." That is, it arrested the labor leaders; it closed the headquarters of the organiza-

tions; placed the country under military rule, and instituted a rigid censorship of news. Middle-class republicans waited hopefully to see whether the labor unions could really get the revolution started. As it turned out, there were only local uprisings.

No Allied Socialist Congress.—The National Committee of the French Socialist party issued invitations for a conference of Allied Socialists to meet in

Paris on March 15. At the last moment this plan was abandoned. The reason was that only a few groups would have been represented and some others offered vigorous opposition. The Italians insisted on a full meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. The British National Socialists feared that conflicts between war-socialists lists and pacifists would lead to division rather than union.

Four Per Cent and Safety

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

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

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

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If you wish additional information before deciding, write us.

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by Act of Congress of August 24, 1912
Of International Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1, 1917.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
COUNTY OF COOK—ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles H. Kerr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the International Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.
Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):

Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

(All others hold less than 1 per cent each.)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state):

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

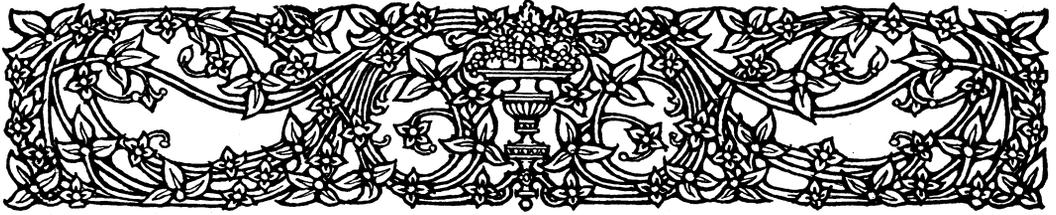
5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is _____ (This information is required from daily publications only.)

CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1917.

MICHAEL J. O'MALLEY.

(My commission expires March 8, 1920.)



NEWS AND VIEWS



Ella P. Hines, Stratford, Conn.—This is a photograph of one of the oldest Socialist women in America, taken by Andrew Ensign of New York. Comrade Hines was born in Buffalo in 1840, and is a descendant of two radical suffragette workers, and for more than forty years has been talking Socialism to every one she has met. Comrades in New York write us that her friends are always welcome to visit "Gram," who has a large adopted family, and they tell about baked beans piping hot served by her. Comrade Hines is an Internationalist and advocates birth control, and strenuously opposes the war. We are very glad to tell the readers of the REVIEW about this faithful woman worker for working class emancipation.

Looks Good in Louisville—Comrade J. L. Stark, State Secretary, closes a very interesting letter with this paragraph: "Please send me by return mail ten (10) more copies April REVIEW. Sold out entirely last Saturday night meeting. Can make May order 50 copies. This month's issue is great."

Brotherhood of Metal Workers—Lodge No.

14, at Newark, N. J., came in for a second bundle of the April number. The boys say the REVIEW looks good to them, and that their first bundle sold like "hot cakes." There are a bunch of you union men across the country who read the REVIEW regularly and we want you to get busy with your Local.

Local Grand Rapids, Mich.—Sold 170 REVIEWS at their big Debs meeting. The Comrades write that the only trouble that they didn't have half enough REVIEWS. They fired in an order for another hundred and are going to handle a big bundle of the May Day number, all of which goes to show what a live Local can do.

No Compromising—Comrade Richardson of Maryland writes: "Dear Comrades: Now that the master class are to set in motion every Christian cannon on earth, I rededicate myself to International Socialism."

Passing Events—Comrade Archibald of Canada writes: "The REVIEW is certainly alive these times. Your manner of comparing present with historic events ought to awaken anybody up."

Ohio Organization—Comrade State Secretary Wagenknecht of Ohio writes us that that state is collecting a \$1,000 organization fund and that donations from every revolutionist will be welcomed. The friends in Ohio have already donated over \$375, but they want to roll this up to \$1,000, so that the state can send out organizers and buy an automobile to carry them from city to city without paying out railroad fare. The address of the state office is 1291 Cook avenue, Lakewood, Ohio, care A. Wagenknecht, State Secretary.

San Jose for Mooney—*Resolved*, That we, San Jose Local No. 499 of the Industrial Workers of the World affirm our belief in the innocence of Tom Mooney and his co-defendants, and pledge them our aid in their efforts to secure justice; and be it further

Resolved, That organized labor go on a (general) strike on May 1, 1917, and demand the immediate freedom of Tom Mooney and his fellow-workers, now held in prison by the capitalist class; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread on the minutes and a copy be sent to all working class presses for publication. (I. W. W.)



Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

1. **The Evolution of Man.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Contains absolute proof of the truth of Darwin's theory of the descent of man. Illustrated.

2. **The Triumph of Life.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Describes the resistless triumph of the Life Force over all obstacles. Illustrated.

3. **Life and Death.** By Dr. E. Teichmann. A study in biology, explaining how and why life began and how the life of each individual ends.

4. **The End of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. A study of the natural forces that will some time destroy all life on the earth. Illustrated.

5. **The Making of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Describes the process by which dead worlds are re-born into new worlds and how life begins again. Illustrated.

6. **Germs of Mind in Plants.** By R. H. Francé. A remarkable work proving that "mind" is not limited to man or even to animals, but is found in plants also. Illustrated.

7. **Human, All Too Human.** By Friedrich Nietzsche. A study of human motives, showing the absence of "free will" and the folly of orthodox theology.

8. **Science and Revolution.** By Ernest Untermann. A history of the growth of the Evolution theory, showing how at every step it was fought by the ruling classes and welcomed by the workers.

9. **Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. The causes of belief in God and the origin of abstract ideas explained in a brilliant and convincing way.

10. **Evolution, Social and Organic.** By Arthur M. Lewis. A volume of popular lectures in which the relation of the Evolution theory to Socialism is fully explained.

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For Mooney—Fellow-worker W. J. Leomn of Salt Lake City sends a most inspiring resolution passed at a citizens' mass meeting in that city on the Mooney case, calling for a general strike to get a new trial for our Comrades. It was also recommended that all California products be placed on the unfair list by the City Federation of Labor, to give the workers a chance to use their economic power. This position has been crystallized by the rebel members of the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. and the Socialists, so that it looks as tho Salt Lake City would be able to help deliver a blow for our friends who are in jail for their revolutionary activity in San Francisco.

From Japan—Comrades: The Imperial Diet was dissolved on January 25 and on the same day we Socialists in Tokyo proclaimed Comrade Sakai as candidate for the membership of parliament for Tokyo constituency. This caused a great panic among the people thruout the land, but especially to the government. A few days later we drafted a manifest, but hardly it went to the public when its types were all put to pieces and all copies finished were taken over by the police. This manifest was headed "The Socialist Manifest," but in its text we did intentionally everything in our power not to allude to our last aim, but only to the so-called immediate policies. In a word, it was merely a social reformers' manifest.

Since that time we arranged several lecture meetings. But every time they were suppressed after a few scores of minutes, on the pretext of their being "dangerous." Even leaflets and handbills for the meeting could not escape the atrocious claw of the police.

On February 18 (Sunday), Comrade Sakai's wife and daughter, together with a number of our female comrades, started on campaign, distributing handbills which contained short sentences like "Tokyo citizens, don't you want to send for trial a Socialist to your legislature." Even this was deemed very "dangerous" to the police's eye and the ladies participating were all called to the police office and "carefully admonished" never to take part again in such "an indiscreet action." The picture attached shows Comrade Sakai twitting a policeman with his shameless discipline. The lady standing by him is his daughter, Magarasan, smiling at the policeman's silly reply.

The general election is to take place on April 20. We, of course, cannot expect success in this campaign, considering that our franchise is extremely limited, the electors making only one-fiftieth of the whole population. We are, however, convinced that our campaign in this election would not a little serve for the advance of our cause.—Yours for the cause, A Socialist in Tokyo.

From Milwaukee—A Comrade from Milwaukee writes: "A person needs the REVIEW to keep the issue clear while among the trimmers and compromisers of Milwaukee."

Back Again—Comrade Horn of Arkansas writes us: "I dropped out for four years, but I beg leave to acknowledge my neglect of duty and want to come back into the fold

with the true red bloods. I see by the papers that the compromising, vote catching reformer element has set back the party considerably. Here's my mite to help carry the real light of Socialism to the workers." Comrade Horn accompanied his subscription with one for another friend.

Kentucky Minister Fights War—Dr. John G. Stilli of Louisville, Ky., and pastor of St. John's Evangelical Church, is one minister who is not afraid of his job. He hurls defiance into the face of Mammon worshipers of another church in that city and arouses wrath of capitalist-kept ministers and newspaper writers who, not being able to answer his arguments in defense of peace and Christianity, like the mob of old who crucified Jesus, they accuse Dr. Stilli of being pro-German and un-American because he accused the capitalist class of all nations as being the CAUSE of WARS, and who, being the beneficiaries of wars, should do the fighting.

Dr. E. L. Powell of the First Christian Church held a protest meeting in his church, advocating war, at which meeting leading business men met and gave vent to their feelings against the Senators who blocked the Ship Neutrality Bill. Bishop Woodcock, head of the Methodist Church, also spoke at this meeting and declared that, while he was too old to fight, he was not too old to pray for the fight to go on. It was his and Dr. Powell's offering to pray for fighting which Dr. Stilli replied to at a special meeting of his church, which was crowded to overflowing. His reply was so telling that 50,000 copies of it were gotten out in a special leaflet. Requests for these have come from every point in the United States. So great was the demand that it was impossible to supply orders coming from ministers, who ordered bundles for their churches.

As a consequence of this great sermon in behalf of labor, and its interest, Dr. Stilli has been preaching to crowded houses every Sunday night, and his straight-out gospel of Social Revolution is causing widespread interest in Socialism.

It is to be hoped the other ministers will wake up and join Dr. Stilli in his great fight against barbarism and bloodshed. He has turned his church into a labor temple.—Jas. Pendragon.

Changed His Mind—Comrade Fraer of Oregon writes: "Send me the REVIEW. I used to think the REVIEW was pretty wild; now I can see that it was even tame for the occasion."

Back Again—We are more than glad to see that our old friend, S. B. Hutchinson, is back managing a new Socialist paper in Grand Junction, Colorado, with Charles L. King as editor. The name of the new paper is "The Critic," and its price is \$1.00 a year. Judging from the contents of the first issue we have seen, these two comrades are going to start the Socialist movement in Colorado on the up-grade again. If you want to subscribe, address them at 620 Main street, Grand Junction.



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John Spargo, Socialism, and the War—A perfect avalanche of publicity has slipped down the tall tower of the REVIEW building the last week in regard to John Spargo, Socialism, the war, and free speech. The occasion of this slippery deluge of misrepresentation, criticism and ridicule is John Spargo happened to strike Spokane just at the time when every effort is being made by capitalists to excite the war frenzy among the working class. This torrent of abuse, ridicule and criticism is calculated to affect the workers in the same way that the workers in Germany were affected two years ago—that is, to stampede them into enlisting to fight for the capitalists. Socialists understand all this. Many others do not, and are deceived by this sham praise of "good" Socialists.

Our limited space requires us to be very brief in writing of this affair. At the solicitation of the Intercollegiate Society of New York (which is independent of the Socialist party), the Socialist local in Spokane arranged for a lecture and for brief addresses in the high schools and Whitworth college by John Spargo. When this was done, we were in ignorance of the fact that Spargo differed from the other members of the national executive committee in their opposition to the war. Spargo arrived in Spokane two days ahead of his schedule and introduced himself to the public thru a prominent interview in the *Spokesman-Review*, in which he agreed in important particulars with the war program outlined by the capitalists of the country. This being in exact opposition to the belief and program of the Socialist party, national, state and local, it was felt that Spargo had done a most injudicious act and forfeited the support of the organization.

A special meeting was called for that (Thursday) night, to which Spargo was invited. He did not attend, but came out in another interview in the *Evening Chronicle*, insisting that the local had no strings on him, and that we were attempting to suppress free speech. In this meeting, invitations were given to any and all to express opinions as to what should be done, the chairman especially requesting those who wished to justify Spargo's conduct to speak. Not a word was said in Spargo's defense. It was then voted unanimously to repudiate and protest Spargo's war talk, and to withdraw all support that we expected to give him in his public addresses.

The charge that the local tried to muzzle Spargo and to prevent him from speaking is maliciously false. All we did was to withdraw our support, and to refuse to assume any responsibility for what he might say. This action was entirely consistent. In fact, we

should have merited the everlasting contempt of consistent people had we done otherwise. Mr. Spargo has the privilege, the right, to express any views he may hold about the war, about Socialism, or any other subject so long as he is speaking as an individual. Neither he nor any other person, merits the support of the Socialist local when he expresses views that are in conflict with the adopted policy of the Socialist party. Mr. Spargo is not bigger than the Socialist party. We are under no obligation to accept his views when they differ from the views of the great majority.

It is truly amusing to see what a hero Mr. Spargo becomes in the eyes of all those people who are heart and soul opposed to Socialism. It is interesting to have the great *Spokesman-Review* open its columns to him in such a generous way, and to be lauded editorially as a really great man, tho a Socialist. This same great newspaper had not a line of report to make of the speech made by George R. Kirkpatrick, Socialist candidate for vice-president, when he spoke in Spokane last fall. It sent no reporter to interview HIM on the war situation. We could get no more than a few lines in an obscure corner to announce his lecture. Why was this? Because Kirkpatrick stood with the international Socialist movement in opposition to war and capitalism.

Are *Spokesman-Review* readers so stupid as not to understand how to read its tainted news and inspired editorials? Do they not know that it is the organ of capitalism, and that on every occasion it has taken the side of the exploiters of labor? Have they not learned that its owners, as members of the capitalist ruling class, have good reasons to oppose free speech? For any defender of the laboring classes, Socialist or otherwise, to be complimented and praised by the *Spokesman-Review* is pretty good ground for suspicion of the fidelity and loyalty of that man to his class.

Let us give thanks that Spargo has come, and gone.—*From Spokane Socialist.*

A Socialist Circulating Library—Comrade Louis V. Middleton, 921 Ottawa avenue, N. W., Grand Rapids, Mich., is trying an experiment that ought to work well elsewhere. He is starting at his drug store a Socialist circulating library, charging 2 cents a day for the use of the books to cover expenses and pay for additional books to circulate. We have helped him make a start by putting in a bunch of shelf-worn books for less than cost, and we shall be glad to do the same for any other comrade trying the same experiment. Comrade Middleton will have the REVIEW on sale regularly, and we hope many of our Grand Rapid readers will call on him.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Trying Times Ahead. When the European war broke out, the sales of our revolutionary literature suddenly dropped to less than half normal. After the first few months there was a slow recovery, so that while there was a considerable loss for the year 1915 and a slight loss for the year 1916, we were able to put aside a small reserve during the first three months of 1917. Since the decision of the United States to enter the world war, there has been another abrupt drop in our receipts, and we have a heavy deficit for the month of April. The situation is made still worse by the fact that the cost of paper and printing is going up while our cash receipts are going down.

What Are We to Do? No capitalist stands behind our publishing house; its capital has been subscribed in small sums and is nearly all owned by wage-workers. If our small reserve is used up, there will be no one to assess. What we must do is to stop the deficit as soon as possible.

We May Raise the Price of the Review. By charging 15 cents a copy and \$1.50 a year we would cover expenses. But we are reluctant to take this step except as a last resort, for fear that it would cut off the very readers who most need the REVIEW, the ones who are most mercilessly exploited by the capitalist class. So first we shall await the result of the appeal we are now making. There are five ways in which our readers can help. Perhaps YOU can or will help in one of the following ways.

1. **Contributions.** Last month a Colorado comrade sold a house and sent as a contribution to our publishing house the purchaser's note for \$1,200 secured by a trust deed, and payable in five years with interest. This is the first large gift we have received for many years, since we have preferred to make no appeal for gifts. In the present emergency, however, there may be others who will follow this comrade's example. We would

publish her name, but for the fact that she fears this might result in annoyance or worse from her patriotic and capitalistic neighbors.

2. **Loans.** About two years ago, as we announced in the REVIEW, Comrade Estelle Baker, author of "The Rose Door," lent us \$1,500 without interest, as a help to our work. Now, owing to ill health she finds it necessary to withdraw this loan in monthly installments, and we are repaying it in this way. We have at different times received other loans from comrades and have always repaid them when desired. We offer four per cent interest on loans to be repaid on thirty days' notice, and we also solicit loans without interest to be repaid on demand. If you leave your savings in a bank, you are helping your enemies. Why not use them to help on your own work of education, which our co-operative publishing house is doing?

3. **Stock Subscriptions.** Eight hundred shares of stock in our publishing house still remain to be subscribed. The price is \$10 each, and you can pay for a share in ten monthly installments of \$1.00 each, if you prefer. Stockholders get no dividends, but they can buy the books we publish, postpaid, at forty per cent discount; you can, if you wish, buy books in this way while making your monthly payments. If this stock could all be subscribed this year, it would strengthen our position immensely.

4. **Review Subscription Cards.** Send \$3.00 before June 30, and we will send you five subscription cards, each good for the REVIEW one year to any address in the U. S. A. This barely covers the cost of printing at present prices, and we may soon be obliged to raise the rate. Moreover, it is only by receiving a **large number of subscriptions** each month that we can afford to make this rate, or even the make this rate, or even the rate of \$1.00 a year on single subscriptions. If the

wave of patriotism reduces the number of subscribers, we shall have to raise the price. Your prompt response with \$3.00 for five subscriptions may help us keep the subscription price where it is.

5. **Buy Socialist Books.** Remember the co-operative house of Charles H. Kerr & Co., owns both the REVIEW and the book business, so that an order for books is almost as great a help as a subscription toward covering the expenses of the REVIEW. Look over our book advertisements on other pages of this issue, and send what you can spare for books.

Don't Wait. You can surely help in one of these five ways, perhaps in more than one. Do what you can at once, and we shall have an optimistic report to make in next month's REVIEW. Address all business letters to

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Socialism and War

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN

Author of "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx."

A brilliant and adequate Socialist interpretation of the Great War by the foremost Marxian scholar in America.

This book develops a theory of the economic basis of Imperialism that is at once original and satisfactory.

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Various Headaches

"It is necessary in order to treat headaches properly to understand the causes which produce the affection," says Dr. J. W. Ray of Blockton, Alabama. Continuing, he says: "Physicians cannot even begin the treatment of a disease without knowing what causes give rise to it, and we must remember that headache is to be treated according to the same rule. We must not only be particular to give a remedy intended to counteract the cause which produces the headache, but we must also give a remedy to relieve the pain until the cause of the trouble has been removed. To answer this purpose Anti-kamnia Tablets will be found a most convenient and satisfactory remedy. One tablet every one to three hours gives comfort and rest in most severe cases of headache, neuralgia and particularly the headaches of women.

FOR SICK-HEADACHE

If a patient is subject to regular attacks of sick-headache, he should take two A-K Tablets when he feels the least sign of an oncoming attack. These tablets are prompt in action, and can be depended upon to produce relief in a very few minutes. Such patients should always be instructed to keep their bowels open.

Influenza or LaGrippe

It is quite refreshing these days to read of a clearly defined treatment for Influenza or La Grippe. In an article in the "Lancet-Clinic," Dr. James Bell of New York City, says he is convinced that too much medication is both unnecessary and injurious.

When called to a case of La Grippe, the patient is usually seen when the fever is present, as the chill which occasionally ushers in the disease has generally passed away. Dr. Bell then orders that the bowels be opened freely with salts, citrate of magnesia or other laxative. For the high fever, severe headache, pain and general soreness, one Anti-kamnia Tablet every two hours is quickly followed by complete relief.

A Remedy for Pain

"The efficiency of any drug," says Dr. C. P. Robbins, "is known to us by the results we obtain from its use. One of the principal symptoms of all diseases is pain, and this is what the patient most often applies to us for, i. e., something to relieve his pain. If we can arrest this promptly, the patient is most liable to trust in us for the other remedies which will effect a permanent cure. One remedy which I have used largely in my practice is Anti-kamnia Tablets. Many and varied are their uses. I have put them to the test on many occasions, and have never been disappointed. I found them especially valuable for headaches of malarial origin, where quinine was being taken. They appear to prevent the bad after-effects of the quinine. Anti-kamnia Tablets are also excellent for the headaches from improper digestion; also for headaches of a neuralgic origin, and especially for women subject to pains at certain times. One or two Anti-kamnia Tablets every two or three hours give prompt relief."

Acute Rheumatism

In the hands of one observer we find that a certain drug has been used with the utmost satisfaction; others have found the same remedy to be a great disappointment. All physicians however agree that every method of treatment is aided by the administration of some remedy to relieve the pain and quiet the nervous system, and Dr. W. S. Schultze expresses the opinion of thousands of practitioners when he says that Anti-kamnia Tablets should be given preference over all other remedies for relief of the pain in all forms of rheumatism. They are also unsurpassed for headaches, neuralgia and all pain.

Indigestion-Dyspepsia

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As an Antipyretic—In intermittent, puerperal and malarial fevers, bronchitis, pleurisy, etc.

As an Anti-Neuralgic—In acute or chronic neuralgia, facial neuralgia, earache, toothache and pains of sciatica.

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JESUS—"One of Those Damned Agitators"

In his "The Carpenter and the Rich Man" Bouck White proves to the satisfaction of all intelligent men and women that Jesus of Nazareth TAUGHT the very things the Churches and so-called Christians today CONDEMN in the name of Christ.

Jesus approved of the acts of David and his hungry followers when they entered the temple and took the blessed shew bread from the sacred altars to satisfy their want.

In New York a Catholic Priest declared he would die rather than permit the Unemployed to contaminate the "sacred" Church by using it to protect them from the winter's cold, although they had not where to lay their heads. The Catholic Priest had these starving men arrested and sent to prison.

Jesus said: "I was in prison and ye visited me not," for "inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the LEAST of these my brethren, ye did it not to me." According to Mr. White in his "Carpenter and the Rich Man," Jesus looked upon legal and all authorities as ENEMIES of the poor. He demanded that his followers and friends visit and support their comrades when imprisoned by the hated authorities.

That Jesus loved ALL the poor and despised ALL the rich there seems to be no reasonable doubt after reading this book. Comrade White points out how when a rich man asked permission to follow Jesus and become one of his band of OUTLAWS, Jesus said to him: "Sell ALL you have and GIVE to the POOR and take up your cross and follow me."

In thus referring to the cross, Mr. White shows how Jesus meant that his companions must be ready and willing to give up ALL things, to be prepared to DIE if necessary in their crusade for the poor.

Jesus stood for the poor thief, the propertyless lawbreaker, the oppressed SABOTAGER, the HOMELESS and HUNGRY Church defiler (if we are to accept the definition of defilement as laid down by our Priestly parasites today).

He was the BOLDEST of REBELLIOUS workingmen. All things could be forgiven ANY POOR man and the possession of riches in the midst of poverty irrevocably damned the owner, according to the Nazarene.

The outcasts of the world were the beloved of Jesus. Prostitutes, thieves, beggars, workingmen, ex-convicts were all the friends of Jesus. For the banker, the great property-owner, the usurer, the RICH MAN, he held only the most deep-rooted hatred and scorn.

Jesus demanded material communism among his comrades, and—above all—revolt against ALL CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY.

Comrade White proves how most of the books of the New Testament were written several hundred years after the death of Jesus and bear the imprint more of the aims and minds of the AUTHORS than they do of the FIGHTING CARPENTER.

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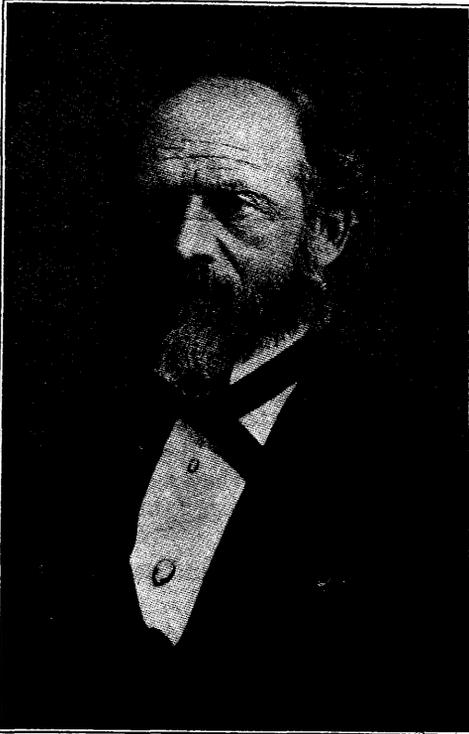
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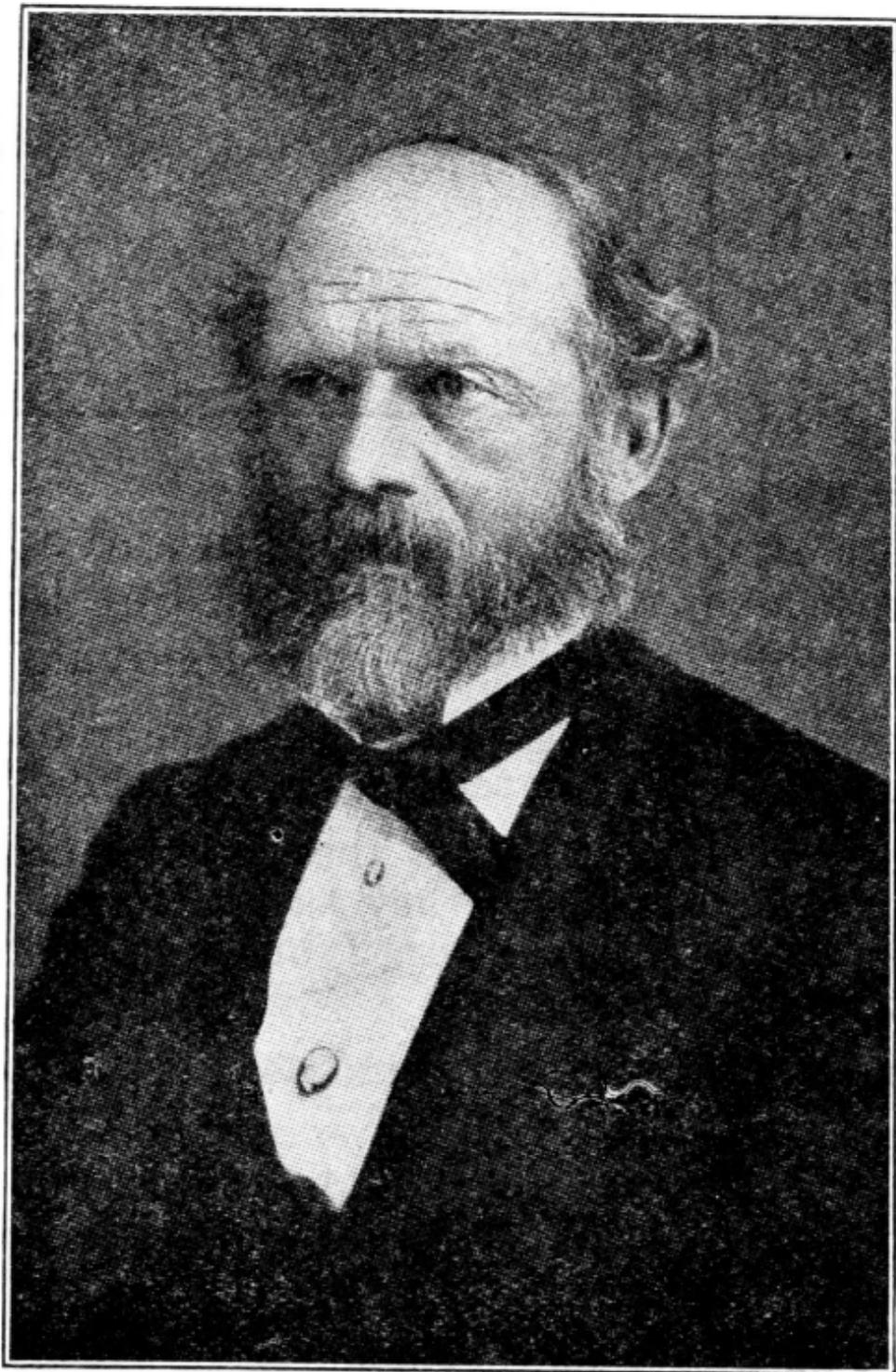
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LEWIS H. MORGAN

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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 RELIGIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"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.

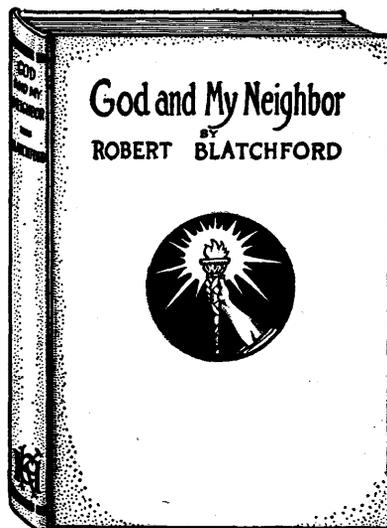
"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

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

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

These are a few of the questions discussed in a great book by ROBERT MICHELS, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Basle, entitled

POLITICAL PARTIES: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy

The author does not attempt to solve our problems for us. He merely shows what *has happened* in the Socialist parties and the labor unions of France, Germany, Italy, England and the United States. Here are a few of the chapters:

The Need for Organization.

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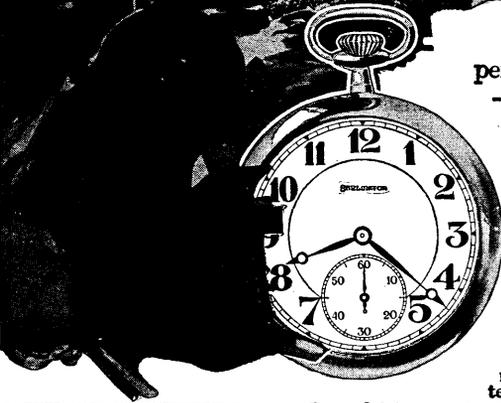
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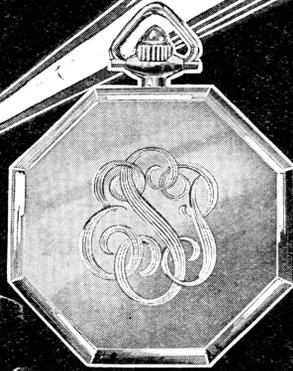
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