Guide to scans of 2 page wide center (mostly political) art of The Masses Dec 1912 - Dec 1917

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Introduction:

The Masses 1911-1917 is noted for its literature and graphic art content. One aspect of its graphic art content is the 2 page wide art (usually political cartoons) found in the center of many of the issues. There are in the 79 issues of The Masses printed roughly 50 such 2 page wide works of art (or works of art less than 2 pages wide, but where some of the work of art crosses the area between two facing pages). The first such is a brilliant Art Young cartoon that appears in the December 1912 issue. Most of these two page wide images are political cartoons, tho one is a color work of general art, and two or three are not a single two page wide or center-crossing graphic image, but rather two page wide mixes of text and several graphic images.

Problems with previous efforts to make a digital record of this:

Many of the projects involving making a digital record of two page wide center art by special libraries and universities have done a compromised job of rendering these two page center of publication images, for a number of reasons:

(1) Failure to render black ink on white (or cream) color paper AS black on white images, wasting most of the file space with color information that records NOT the art, but details of how that particular page aged, tore, got stained, etc.

(2) Failure to render the two page wide single work of art AS a single image, instead rendering it as two separate pages.

(3) Failure to unbind bound collections of magazines and failure to press the materials being digitally-imaged flat against glass, resulting in serious distortion or even loss of part of the image in the center of the work of art.

Sadly, the otherwise in many respects excellent Krause reprint of The Masses butchered pretty near all center works of art by cutting out part of the center area of the two page wide art in most cases.
Thus we usually have poor rendition of the center art of The Masses by all who
previously tried to make digital images of it. I here have tried to offer alternatives to
this.

Academic and special collections libraries attempting to archive original material using
microfilm or digital means have for the most part failed to understand that paper should
be pressed flat for imaging. They also have for the most part been blind to the notion that
if images of material are distorted or lost in gutters of bound volumes, these volumes
must be unbound and their pages pressed flat. These two mistakes account for a great
deal of incompetent imaging of archival material over the last 60 years.

The excuse often given for these failures is “we can’t do that... it will damage the fragile
originals”. After having worked with over 100,000 pages of fragile originals, I know this
excuse to be nearly always self-serving rationalization. A falsehood intoned as dogma by
those who are too ignorant or unwilling to make quality archival images. In some cases
this unwillingness is (by the admission of some of those involved, personally, to me)
deliberate because the institution does not wish to have the highest quality images
available to the world, for it fears this will cause people to no longer be forced thru their
doors, and thus cause their institution to lose importance. To this day it’s considered
standard of practice to use overhead scanners without glass to press paper flat, instead of
flat bed scanners (such as those I use), or overhead scanners / digital camera copy tables
equipped with hinged glass plates to press the material being imaged flat.

Note that in general Hathi-Trust’s scans of The Masses collection of University of
Michigan tend to be more thoughtfully done than those scans of The Masses by Tamiment Library. They at times (tho not always!) render two page art AS two page
wide scans. Unfortunately, the collection at Hatcher Labadie was not as complete as that
at Tamiment Library. On the Riazanov Library hard drive and on Marxists.org all three
digital archives.... mine, Tamiment’s, and Hatcher Labadie’s (made by Hathi Trust) are
presented.

**Origins of the scans in This Collection:**

**Scans I Personally Made Directly from Original Issues:**

Between my personal collection of original issues of The Masses, the collection held by
Holt Labor Library of San Francisco, and the Theodore Watts’ (author of the definitive
indexes to The Masses, The Liberator, and New Masses) personal collection, I had
original issues available to scan using techniques I deemed appropriate for 25 of the 79
issues of The Masses. 21 issues of those 25 contained 2 page center art. Thus I
personally scanned about 40% of the 50 two-page center art pages presented here,
directly from original paper.
I made these scans using an Epson GT 20000 flat bed tabloid size scanner and a Contex Flex 50i broadsheet size flat bed scanner at the Riazanov Library digital archive projects scanning facilities.

As for the remaining 24 images here...

**Scans We Restored and Repaired from Tamiment Library’s digital images:**

Tamiment Library embarked on a project of scanning its near complete collection of The Masses a number of years ago. At that time Michael Nash (their long-time director) told me that original full resolution scans of the pages would be made available to all when the project was done. After he died his successors were reluctant to provide such.

Years later I managed to get hold of their full resolution (400 and 600 dpi) digital images in original tiff file format. I ascertained Tamiment Library had no intellectual property rights to the scans: The scans were in the public domain because they were “slavish reproductions” of public domain material. Note this is true of scans made of The Masses by Hathi Trust, Google... and by me as well.

I proceeded to convert Tamiment Library’s individual monster tiff files (which occupied nearly 500 gigabytes for the entire archive) into .pdf files of individual issues, reducing the size of the entire archive to under 5 gigabytes. This process took weeks of work. The full resolution Tamiment Library scans are now available for the first time ever on this hard Riazanov Library hard drive as .pdf issue files, and are posted for all to download from the Internet on the Marxists.org web site.

[The scans Tamiment Library and their partner, the Modernist Journals Project offered to the world were low resolution 200 dpi scans. Adequate for 100 dpi screen display, but not for printing or fine analysis.]

With the original full resolution tiff files from Tamiment’s project in my possession, I and Robin Palmer spent hundreds of hours working together to restore the two page scans from issues I was not able to scan myself. This involved stitching together the severed images, converting color images to proper single bit black and white and/or high contrast gray scale images, removing stains and other damage in their images, and at times attempting to mitigate distortion of the images introduced by Tamiment Library’s failure to flatten the pages when acquiring digital images.
Example of our restorations of Tamiment Library’s scans:

Just before presenting here the 50 scans that constitute this archive of the individual two page graphic images from The Masses I have included four scans that, together, give an idea of what we started with when restoring Tamiment Library’s scans, and the problems encountered.

The first two of the images are the two pages with which Tamiment Library digitally acquired and saved the center 2 page wide political cartoon for the December 1912 issue of The Masses. The next image is the same as page 1 of the 50 scans in the main archive that follows, showing the restored image Robin and I created from those two pages, after much effort. The fourth of these four pages is a low resolution scan I found on the web of this cartoon, which shows what the image SHOULD have looked like if the distortion due to Tamiment’s imaging team refusal to properly flatten the pages had not been present. Note that this distortion was most acute in this one scan made by Tamiment Library. In most of our restored scans either such distortion was not present or it was present to a lesser degree. We spent hours at times removing this and other flaws to produce the 24 restored scans provided here. As noted above, 21 other scans I was able make personally direct from original issues, obtaining better results in a tenth or less the time the restorations of the Tamiment Library scans took.

The originals for the other restored scans in this collection can be viewed in the main archive of scans of full issues of The Masses made by Tamiment Library, provided elsewhere in the section on The Masses on the Riazanov Library hard drive and on the Marxists Internet Archive page that presents scans of The Masses.

We met with what I’d call generally good but less than perfect success in restoring scans for this project. Our skills in digital restoration were rudimentary, as were the tools we had available to us to apply to that restoration. I leave it to you, who views this collection, to decide which is the more appropriate way to archive and present this material.

---marty  June 2016  Brooklyn NY
The Freedom of the Press
Guide to the 50 scans of The Masses 2 page Center Art
[the two digit number in front of the volume and issue number is page number in the thumbnails display in Acrobat of the scan in question.]

01  v4n03  dec 1912
    Art Young - The Freedom of the Press
This is the first time a two page wide political cartoon appears across the center two pages of an issue of The Masses. It’s also one of my favorite of all of the political 2 page wide cartoons in The Masses, and as true today over 100 years after it was printed as it was back in 1912. Present is the stitched together and restored cartoon from Tamiment Library’s original digital imaging, in Black and White at 400 dpi. Unfortunately this restoration is less than perfect. We did not have the time or skill or software tools to fully correct the distortion introduced by Tamiment Library’s imaging team’s failure to press the two pages flat. Thus there is some distortion to some of the material in the center of the image.

02  v4n04  jan 1913
    John Sloan - Why, He Did It
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

03  v4n05  feb 1913
    Maurice Becker - None So Blind as Those Who Can’t Afford to See
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

04  v4n06  mar 1913
    Art Young - US: You’re a Cheap Bunch of Soreheads and You Can’t Land Here.
Scanned by me directly from original issue.

05  v4n07  may 1913
    George Bellows - The Business Men’s Class
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

06  v4n08  may 1913
    Art Young - Defeated
This is one cartoon whose message I frankly can’t figure out.
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

07  v4n09  jun 1913
    Stuart Davis - Saving the Corpse
Scanned by me from original issues
08 v4n10 jul 1913
George Bellows - Splinter Beach
A particularly beautiful rendition of a scene from a century ago. Evocative of what working class life for young adults growing up in Brooklyn and NYC must have been like circa 1913: rough and tough, hard, ebullient, joyous -- full of the chaos of struggling life. Appears to be by the East River near the Brooklyn Bridge. One of my and Robin’s favorites.
8 bit gray scale scan restored and stitched from Tamiment Library’s scans.

09 v4n11 aug 1913
John Sloan - The Woman’s Night Court / Before Her Makers and Her Judge
A woman being judged ... not by her peers!
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v4n12 sep 1913 NO two page center art

10 v5n01 oct 1913
Maurice Becker - Absolute Justice / Portrait of an Arbitration Court / Labor, Capital, and an “Impartial” Third Party
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

11 v5n02 nov 1913
Maurice Becker - Street Peddlers / The Uncurbed “Curb”
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

12 v5n03 dec 1913
John Sloan - The Masses [priest addressing wealthy congregation]
Thus, friends, we see The Masses filled with a vague unchristian spirit of discontent. They cry out upon work, bewailing their divinely appointed lot, forgetful, my brethren, of the heavenly law which ordains that only through toil and tribulation by the narrow path of self denial may we enter into the higher values of spiritual blessedness. Let us pray.
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

13 v5n04 jan 1914
Stuart Davis - War
scanned by me from original issues.

v5n05 feb 1914 NO two page center art
v5n06 jan 1914  NO two page center art

14  v5n07 apr 1914
John Sloan - Calling the Christian Bluff
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

15  v5n08 may 1914
Maurice Becker - Unlawful Assembly
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

16  v5n09 jun 1914
Maurice Becker - Ammunition
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

17  v5n10 jul 1914
Stuart Davis - The Dignity of the Uniform
[How company thugs get turned into official legal “soldiers”]
Text: “Before they put on the Kaki suits they are gunmen and thugs in the employ of the mine owners. Dressed up, they are soldiers of the state militia, engaged in the “protection of life and property.” This wonderful transformation scene may be observed in Colorado, Calumet, or any strike region.”
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v5n11 aug 1914  NO two page center art

18  v5n12 sep 1914
John Sloan - His master: “You’ve done very well. Now what is left of you can go back to work.”
Searing comment on the mutilation of the workers used as cannon-fodder in imperialist war, and how the rulers see this.
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

19  v6n01 oct 1914
K. R. Chamberlain - Afterwards
“He: The war is over. You can go home now, and WE’LL run things.”
“She: “You go put up that gun, and perhaps we’ll let you help.”
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

20  v6n02 nov 1914
K. R. Chamberlain - [Grand Jury investigation of Colorado Mine Strike]
Colorado Mine Owner: “We only got 14 of them. Better go ahead and indict a couple of hundred more for murder.”
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.
21 v6n03 dec 1914
Art Young - The Sport of Kings
“Colorado mine-owners have enlisted a new batch of militia-gunmen to hunt strikers in the coalfields. We suggest that they let the gunmen drive in the game, and they do the shooting themselves.” [This is a representation of a fox hunt, but with mine-owner militia shooting miners for sport.]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

22 v6n04 jan 1915 mostly text with assorted sketches by Frank Walts
Max Eastman article - What is the Matter with Magazine Art
Frank Walts: assorted small illustrations
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

23 v6n05 feb 1915
Eugene Higgins - The New Calvary
A single 8 bit 400 dpi gray scale image made by me directly from original paper.

24 v6n06 mar 1915
K. R. Chamberlain - Now We Will Talk
Text: “After refusing for twelve months to meet any person representing the striking miners, the Rockefeller interests - now that the miners are all either murdered or whipped back into the mines - graciously offer an interview to the strike leaders. “I am sure we shall understand each other better.” said John D. Rockefeller Jr. “and our meeting will have an influence for good”
["Junior" is how John D., Jr. was called to distinguish him from his father, who was known as "Senior" An author in Wikipedia comments on this image: In April 1914, after a long period of industrial unrest, the Ludlow Massacre occurred at a coal mine operated by the Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) company. Junior owned a controlling interest in the company (40% of its stock) and sat on the board as an absentee director.[3] At least 20 men, women, and children died in the incident, and in January 1915 Junior was called to testify before the Commission on Industrial Relations. Many critics blamed Rockefeller for ordering the massacre. Margaret Sanger wrote an attack piece in her magazine The Woman Rebel declaring, "But remember Ludlow! Remember the men and women and children who were sacrificed in order that John D. Rockefeller Jr., might continue his noble career of charity and philanthropy as a supporter of the Christian faith." [4][5] He was at the time being advised by William Lyon Mackenzie King and the pioneer public relations expert, Ivy Lee. Lee warned that the Rockefellers were losing public support and developed a strategy that Junior followed to repair it. It was necessary for Junior to overcome his shyness, go personally to Colorado to meet with the miners and their families, inspect the conditions of the homes and the factories, attend social events, and especially to listen closely to the grievances. This was novel advice, and attracted widespread media attention, which opened the way to resolve the conflict, and present a more humanized versions of the Rockefellers.[6] Mackenzie King said Rockefeller's testimony was the turning point in Junior's life, restoring the reputation of the family name]
One single bit BW 400 dpi image restored from Tamiment Library’s scans.
25  v6n07 apr 1915
  John Sloan - The Constabulary / Policing the Rural Districts in Philadelphia 1910
  Text: “We need a constabulary in this state to police the rural districts” - Tactful New
  York Gentleman. “The proposed NY State constabulary is modeled after that of
  Pennsylvania., which proved its usefulness so notably in the great streetcar strike in
  Philadelphia” - candid Pennsylvania Editor.
  Scanned directly from original paper by me 400 dpi

26  v6n08 may 1915
  Glenn O. Coleman - The Sawdust Trail
  [“The Sawdust Trail” was a term for the revival tent circuit, where “sinners would be
  redeemed”. In this case the term is being used ironically, the reference being the
  sawdust on the floor of bars.]
  Scan made by me from original paper

27  v6n09 jun 1915
  Maurice Becker - During the Prayer
  “Well, father, we’ve got John Lawson out of the way”
  [John Lawson was a Colorado coal striker sentenced to life in prison]
  600 dpi 8 bit gray scale image scanned by me from original paper

28  v6n10 jul 1915
  M. A. Kemph - To the US: Did You Call?
  [the specter of involvement in WWI]
  Scan made by me directly from original paper

29  v6n11 aug 1915
  Art Young - A Strike-Breaking Agency
  “Against this kind of capitalist warfare the laboring man is expected to be courteous,
  gentle, and patient” Strike-Breaking Rates: A Tap on the Nut - $10 / A shot in the
  hoof - $15 / Knockdown with a kick in the navel - $7.30 / A crowd cleanout, dead or
  alive - $100.”
  Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

30  v6n12 sep 1915
  Glenn O Coleman - Heat
  This shadowy work of art transports one to the summer streets of a century ago.
  [Three scans, two with a tabloid scanner and some cropping of text outside of the art
  itself (600 dpi gray scale and 1200 dpi single bit BW), and one full edge to edge scan of
  both pages at 400 dpi grayscale with a broadsheet scanner. Scanned by me from original
  This was a very dark, low-contrast image, which was quite difficult to render digitally.
  Rather to my surprise, a single bit BW scan rendered this image more accurately and in
  more detail than did assorted gray scale scans.
31 v7n01 oct-nov 1915 largely text
Stuart Davis - Types of Anti-Suffragists
Three images, each with its own caption. The center image crosses the two center pages. Captions are: “We’ve got other things to do, haven’t we, Mary, besides interfere in politics.” [wealthy woman to char-lady] and “What do we need with the vote. We can get all we want without it”. [wealthy woman to servant] and “What’s the use” [down-trodden and dissipated woman].
Scanned by me from original paper.

32 v8n02 dec 1915
Art Young - Breed!
A biting cartoon on the role men / capitalist society would impose on women.
This scan was made the old-fashioned, low tech way, involving printing out each of the two severed parts of the image produced by Tamiment Library, then physically cutting and taping the two pages together, then scanning them

33 v8n03 jan 1916
Maurice Becker [anti US involvement in WWI cartoon]
President Wilson: “But I don’t want them [munitions] - there isn’t any enemy to fight”
Morgan, Schwab, & Co.: “You buy these guns and we’ll get you an enemy.”
400 dpi single bit BW image made directly by me from original paper.

34 v8n04 feb 1916
Maurice Becker - The Higher Education [at Harvard]
“A reform for Harvard University suggested by her most illustrious graduate”
[anti-war / anti military training on campus cartoon]
single bit BW 400 dpi stitched and restored from scans made by Tamiment Library

35 v8n05 mar 1916
Art Young- If You Belong Here, Line Up!
biting satire in an anti-militarism / anti-imperialist war cartoon. Hard to imagine such a cartoon appearing in *any* publication outside of a small circulation left publications today.
Single bit BW stitched and restored from Tamiment Library scans.

36 v8n06 apr 1916
Art Young - April Fool!
[Curious cartoon regarding the bourgeois press. Includes small images of Art Young and of Max Eastman.]
Single bit BW 600 dpi scanned by me from original paper.
37  v8n07 may 1916
K. R. Chamberlain - “Parade of 2,000,000 Charity Workers, to be held in 1950, in honor of a destitute person found in the slums” / “NY City has now some 10,000 paid workers for organized charity”
[Lampoon of parasitic and fake “charity workers” that probably offended petty bourgeois sentiments then... and offends them today, too.]
Scanned by me from original paper.

38  v8n08 jun 1916
O. E. Cesare - Permanence of Worship [Rockefeller]
“Denver, April 9 John D. Rockefeller Jr. is willing to endow a Protestant or Catholic Church or both in every Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camp where adequate support and permanence of worship are assured.”
[pages include text article on the subject by Max Eastman]
[A searing attack on the hypocrisy of religion.]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

39  v8n09 jul 1916
Boardman Robinson - The Deserter
[firing squad executes Jesus]
Scanned by me, single bit BW, from original paper.

40  v8n10 aug 1916
Robert Minor - “Either Platform Will Do”
[shows Democratic platform and Republican platform to be the SAME hangman’s platform for Mexico]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

41  v8n11 sep 1916
Art Young - [typical scenario in court faced by the poor]
Attorney for the Defendant: “Your honor, the defendant was out of work. He has a sick wife and three small children.”
Prosecuting Attorney: “Your honor, I object. The evidence is irrelevant, incompetent, and immaterial.
1200 dpi single bit BW scanned by me from original paper.

42  v8n12 oct 1916
Boardman Robinson - Europe 1916
[grim image of death on a donkey (Europe), offering the carrot of “victory” as it entices the donkey to advance over and off a precipice.]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

43  v9n01 nov 1916
Maurice Becker - Power
[cartoon about the fight for the 8 hour day]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.
44 v9n02 dec 1916
Arthur B Davies - Struggle  COLOR plate on center 2 pages
This is the ONLY instance in all of the 79 issues of The Masses of a COLOR center two page wide (or at least crossing the center of the two center pages) work of art. The scan presented I made from an original issue. My issue I had unbound from a large bound volume, and it had a dozen HOLES running vertically on each side of the center crease. I spent a couple of hours digitally removing those flaws. Scan is 24 bit color, 600 dpi.

45 v9n03 jan 1917
Boardman Robinson - [image of Judas / Cleric urges military training]
“Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said ‘Master, is it I?’ He said unto him, Thou hast said.” Matthew 26:25 / “Our Lord Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price. . . Every true American would rather see this land face war than see her flag lowered in dishonor. . . I wish to say that, not only from the standpoint of a citizen, but from the standpoint of a minister of religion. . . I believe there is nothing that would be of such great practical benefit to us as universal military training for the men of our land.” - Reverend Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City. [Boardman Robinson is known for his use of biblical images in cartoons in “The Masses” and “The Liberator”. This anti-war cartoon is both visually biblical AND quotes from the book of Abrahamic-religious superstition known as “The Bible”:]
This scan made by me directly from original paper.

v9n04 feb 1917  NO two page center art
v9n05 mar 1917  NO two page center art

46 v9n06 apr 1917
Art Young - The Way of Ancient Rome
[worker as canal mule pulling ship of the ruling elite of the US]
Single bit BW scan 600 dpi made directly from original paper by me.

47 v9n07 may 1917
George Bellows - Benediction in Georgia  [Minister addresses convicts]
Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v9n08 jun 1917  NO two page center art

48 v9n09 jul 1917
Boardman Robinson - The New Freedom
[Devil whips masses into fortress adorned with US flag with Liberty tied to a stake.]
Single bit BW scan made by me from original paper.
49  v9n10  aug 1917
    Boardman Robinson - Making the World Safe for Capitalism
gray 600 dpi scan made from original paper by me.

    v911 sep 1917    NO two page center art

    v9n12 oct 1917    NO two page center art

50  v10n01  nov-dec 1917
    Art Young - “Oh Lord, control my appetite if you must, but don’t take my pie away.”
    [capitalist sits before a pie of coal, iron, railroads, telegraph, water power, and lumber]
    Single bit BW 600 dpi (but only 53 kilobytes for entire image) made the old fashioned
    way from Tamiment’s scans by, after restoration to BW, printing out each of Tamiment’s
    two pages of the severed image, cutting and pasting together with sissors and tape,
    touching up with a physical pen, then scanning the result.
Why Did HE Do It?
None So Blind As Those Who Can't Afford To See
U.S.: "You're a cheap bunch of sорheads and you can't land here."
"Superior Brains"

The Business Men's Class
THE WOMEN'S NIGHT COURT

Before Her Makers and Her Judge

Drawn by John Sloan.
ABSOLUTE JUSTICE
The Portrait of an Arbitration Court
Labor, Capital and an Impartial
Third Party.
HIS REVERENCE: "Thus, friends, we see the masses filled with a vague, unChristian spirit of discontent. They cry out, 'Let us be happy, let our labours be fruitful!'; neglecting, my brothers, the heavenly Law which ordains that only through toil and tribulation, by the higher path of self-denial, may we enter into the higher values of spiritual blessedness... let us pray!"
Calling the Christian Bluff
AMMUNITION

Drawing by Maurice Becker
His Master: "You've done very well. Now what is left of you can go back to work."
AFTERWARDS

Her: The War’s Over. You can go home now, and We’ll run things
She: You go put up that gun, and perhaps We’ll let you help.
Colorado Mine Owner: "We only got fourteen of them. Better go ahead and indict a couple of hundred more for murder."

The Los Angeles County grand jury, after investigating the Colorado strike disorders, has indicted two hundred members of the miners' union for murder. Chief among the "strike disorders" thus investigated is the Ludlow Massacre, in which twenty dead and eighty wounded were said to have been killed by strikers and militiamen. No strike guards or militiamen have been indicted. The situation is capable of just one interpretation, and that is the one presented in this picture.
THE SPORT OF KINGS

Colorado mine-owners have enlisted a new batch of militia-guerny to hunt strikers in the coal-fields.

We suggest that they let the gunmen drive in the game, and they do the shooting themselves.
WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MAGAZINE ART

Max Eastman

RAWING is created to a high place among the arts, for drawings, like music, can be olsten-integrated and widely distributed, while this has appeared a deterrent in the light of utilitarian ideas, in the light of democracy, it is a fine virtue. The ideal of democracy has infested us with a sense of democracy for 25 years. Some of the best painters in America would draw for the popular magazines, if popular magazine editors had as much sense as their patrons.

That the editors have not an interest in true art is, I suspect, not so easy to comprehend in these days, but their struggle for existence under the prevailing system of journalism is not to be scoffed at. And the system, briefly, is this:

I. Publication is a piece of goods manufactured and sold in competition with others for the labor of whom their advertise-world company that owns it. The stockholders as a group are interested in dividends, they have the option to put out a publication that will sell, and they pay them according to their success. Editors, like human beings, are prone to eat and drink, and human beings, which is to say that their name and ideas are subject to an economic interpretation. And they seek to make these publications a little bit of everything that will sell. The editorial art is the art of achieving a new consistency without alienating the old. The result, as more passages (for variety, but a perfectly executed turning down of every variant that appears. A profitable mediocrity—sometimes called a "golden mean"—is the editorial ideal.

And artists, like editors, are "economically determined." They have to draw pictures that will sell, pictures that will attract new constitutents without alienating the old. Or of their native inventiveness is to be found in an individual, as object of hate as well as love, it is strange—given that they do not draw for the public, but rather to the public which amounts to the same thing in its effect upon magazine art.

This then, is the diagnosis of published art in America. It is not good art. It does not aim to imitate the beautiful, the real, the ideal, the characteristic, the perfect, the sublime, the lofty, the grotesque, the hyperbole, the memorial, the personal, or the familiar. The only medium in which various schools of art and art critics have with similar effect been slighted is the one which, it is argued, amounts to the same thing in its effect upon magazine art.

At this point, certain persons whom I wished to make more clear some of the difficulties of the present system of magazine art, and the magazines have given people who want them.

The trouble is not so simple. It would not take "those people" long to discover and suppress their flimsy flings flimsy for true art, if enough true art, enough kinds of true art, were offered them. Only they look for all flimsy things for the same kind. And that is where the trouble lies.

True art is not one and indivisible, the same to-day, yesterday, and to-morrow, the same to-day, yesterday, and to-morrow, the same to-day, yesterday, and to-morrow, the same to-day, yesterday, and to-morrow. There are not people in the world who like true art, still the effort to please a great many people all the time and never displease any, results in a dull and flimsy kind of art. Might we not almost define good art-bearing the learned degrees of the schools—an art which gives a high degree of satisfaction to those who like it? And how is it almost always that it will give equal or greater satisfaction to those who do not like it? But the aim of the average magazine is to give juices. In fact, there is no difference between a picture of an apple and a picture of a man. And a man seeks on a chair at the end of a dirty day’s work, a man who has lab and smells bad to himself, and smiles when he is glad. However, there is no centering for a picture, the picture lacks a focal point. That fact, which is the relation that is not seen people will see the picture, and another people will see the picture in a different way. It is with great joy, it is not a picture of a picture, nor even a picture of a man, but a picture of a perception of a man.

The difference between drawing a man and a drawing of a perception of a man, is able to the difference between knowledge and experience. This thing an artist who has transmitted his knowledge and his way of back传真. Take a real man in a suit. Do you, being so unfamiliar with the term, and you draw a picture of your knowledge instead of drawing a picture of the man.

Subsequently, I mean to point out the real difference between knowledge and experience. This has no meaning to an artist who has transmitted his knowledge and his way of back传真. Take a real man in a suit. Do you, having no knowledge of the term, and you draw a picture of your knowledge instead of drawing the look of a man.

That is the difficult way. I mean to point out the real difference between knowledge and experience. This has no meaning to an artist who has transmitted his knowledge and his way of back传真. Take a real man in a suit. Do you, having no knowledge of the term, and you draw a picture of your knowledge instead of drawing a picture of the man.

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"NOW WE WILL TALK"
The Sawdust Trail
DURING THE PRAYER

"Well Pa, we've got John Lawson out of the way!"
To the U. S.:

"DID YOU CALL?"
A STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCY

MIKE THE BITE, BLOODY BERNSTEIN, DUM-DUM DAVITT, COCO CHARLEY, FRED THE HELL, CRAWALIVE EMERY

STRIKE-BREAKING RATES
A tap on the nut — $10.00
A shot in the head— 15.00
Knockdown with a
kick in the navel— 7.30
A crowd clean-out
dead or alive — 100.00

THE MASSES, Aug., 1913.

Drawn by Arthur Cravan

Against this kind of capitalist war
the laboring man is reported
to be courteous, gentle and patient
TYPES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS — By Stuart Davis

“We've got other things to do, haven't we, Mary, besides interfere in politics!”

STUART DAVIS

“What do we need with the vote? We can get all we want without it.”

“WHAT'S THE USE?”

without consent of the steel corporation, on account of the trust's ownership of railroads and so. And this, enrolling before the Committee on Ways and Means, made practically the same statement. But when we have broken up this control and placed the great local natural resources and monopolies in the hands of the people, where they belong, we will have taken the first step in re-establishing a condition where industry will develop to its maximum, where every man will have work, where labor will find its best safeguard, power, and jobs will be looking for men instead of men looking for jobs.

Let labor unite to fight for government ownership of the things which labor must be able to touch in order to live. Private ownership in the necessities of civilization is, as President Wilson has said, intolerable and indefensible. America is realizing this as Europe has long realized and acted upon it. If there were a single crop on a desert island you would not let one rust, or even a minority group among the outcasts, monopolize or control that crop. You would realize that its possession by the whole ship's company was a matter of vital necessity and justice; that if one group controlled it as against the rest, immediately those who had water could dictate to those who had not water; in short, that already economic slavery had begun. Until this tyranny is ended there will be no real freedom either for labor or independent capital. But with natural resources and transportation in the people's hands, accessible to all on equal terms, there will be no restriction of labor or of industry, and America will take a place of leadership among the nations in the development of real instead of nominal democracy.

And above all while we are fighting to restore labor to a position of independence, remember, too, that before the public lands were exhausted there was little or no unemployment or industrial oppression in this country. When a man was free to take up a good homestead and make a living on it, he never went hungry nor could force him into the slave pass of Lawrence or compel him to submit to the snare-American degradation of the western mining and western labor unions.

Today the report of the Department of Agriculture tells us that half our able-bodied folks is so small that it was 200 years ago. To bring the idle man to this idle land and create self-sustaining whole, where there is now waste and poverty, is perhaps the foremost task of constructive American statesmanship. Let labor feel in this great work. It means its own emancipation.

In the labor movement today we find the main hope of democracy. It contains the real idea of American life. Political parties are essentially selfish. Without fundamental principles, they are nothing more than the mere holding of office to get votes or to control the state and prevent others from controlling it. Reform bodies are only carrying on superficial movements that do little harm—except to waste energy that might be usefully employed. They are generally trying to find some way to help the poor, without interfering with the special privileges of the rich. The church does not play a helpful part in the struggle for economic justice: its tendency is to assume privileges. But the labor group stands out as the one organized body that is ready to make great sacrifices for a single and righteous aspiration. Labor is immensely vital because it is fighting for humanity's basic needs and rights.

That the gentlemen who are rooting for truculence in the field of American industry have understood as little the meaning of the labor movement as because they understood as little the meaning of democracy—which is but another word for life itself.
“BREED!”
President Wilson: "But I don’t want them—there isn’t any enemy to fight."

Morgan, Schwab & Co.: “You buy these guns and we’ll get you an enemy!”

“WILLIAMSON”
As To Patriotism

The editors of the New York Globe have favored us with a public demurrance for offering to our readers an anti-semitism pledge. They seem to think we are as about as bad as Christ. For they accuse us of opposing settlement not only in the future but in the remote past.

If Editor Eastern had been in Spain when the Three Hundred were rescued who defended democratic Greece against the onrushing army of Pisa, he would have argued them out to refit.

That is a wild inference. Suppose an editor announced that the lighting with swords and pikes was out of date, would that be a betrayal of Leningrad? Every one in a while we have to decide that something has seen its day. Every one in a while we have to take an inventory of our stock, and throw away what is rotten and useless. War is rotten and useless. If the editors of the Globe will read a book by Norman Angell, called The Great Illusion, they will find very cogent proofs offered of the proposition that victory in war between modern nations brings no substantial benefits—political, cultural, or even financial.

The book is not about Leningrad, it is about us. But it throws a backward ray of light over the whole history of nationalism that makes war look rather futile and ridiculous. We are not sure Greek culture and the democracy of the archaic cities (all mainland cities were democratic if you didn't see the slaves) would have lasted much through Persian conquest. It is possible that a Persian conquest would have spread Greek culture beyond Greece and India.

The fact that Leningrad was a hero need not prevent our seeing this. If we have not attained a higher ideal than Leningrad, that is, if we have not fulfilled the promise of his death.

We have in fact attained a higher ideal than nationalism—the ideal of a free humanity. And in some of us this ideal, we are happy to say, has replaced patriotism altogether.

And while it might conceivably happen, that this ideal should demand our enlisting in a national army—to fight either against our own country or with it—it is in the highest degree improbable. It is so improbable that people of the pledge-taking disposition may very well be encouraged to express in that way their abso- lute renunciation of the patriotic ideal, and its military sanctions, as essentially barbaric, insane, and harmful.

We suspect that those who signed that pledge would be the first to bleed, were the cause of industrial liberty at stake.

ZENOBIA

Oh, Caesar's legions, victorious,
A sight to glad and pride the Roman eye!
Wretched and monstrous elephants, sweep by,
Making the earth to quake beneath their tread;
Caesar, himself, with beard on his head,
Rides next, and all his banners fill the sky.

But now the eagle conquers gowns and horns,
For she who makes the triumph-marsh complete,
Zenobia, hailed and imperious, comes
With gold chains clinging from her hands and feet—
Her kingdom overthrown, herself a priest—
Yet no capitulation in her eyes!

Harvey Mans

THE HIGHER EDUCATION

A Reform for Harvard University Suggested by Her Most Illustrious Graduate
IF YOU BELONG HERE—LINE UP!
April Fool
Parade of 2,000,000 Charity Workers, to Be Held in 1950, in Honor of a Destitute Person Found in the Slums
CHURCHLY ROCKEFELLER
Max Eastman

OUR magazine has been drawn out of the subway
stands and rejected by the distilling
agents in New York, Philadelphia, Boston,
and many small towns besides being proh-
bited from the Union of Canada, because of its
attract to modern thought. That churches as a
whole are against the progress of the lower classes
towards liberty, is against discretion, in flagrant
rebellion, is against the arrest assertion of human
rights, in order to think as well as human action
toward a free and happy world—that is very
stupid. And to this we add the story that Jesus of Nazareth
was more than half in favor of these things, and that
the churches maintain their position by denying and
betraying him when they profess to believe diam-

cently and permanently with the next world, with its spiritual
blessings, and life of grace, are the qualities of mind which make it easy to
enforce people of their material rights and the ancient
products of their toil. They are the qualities which have
become more and more associated with churlish wor-
ship in the modern world. It is no surprise, there-
fore, that the American Church be so indifferent to the
benefits of looking-deprivation—should announce that
he will give away churches of all kinds, free for noth-
ing to any of his minstrel towns in Colorado where
"permanence of worship" can be guaranteed.
He was not willing to give back any of the money
or any of the liberty, he had taken out of these
towns. He was not even willing to talk about such matters
with his new. He would not allow them to form
unions, but he would give them churches. They
would not meet to discuss their rights in this world, but
they would hold these happy places in which to pray for
peace in heaven. Permanence of worship among
his employees is permanence of peace and profit to him.
This is the underlying and most true explanation of
Rockefeller's Christianity and the cause of his
success as a worker in the world of his time, and the
reason for the demand of their human nature.
He is undenominational, and therefore Rockefeller knows it is not.
The other day I was talking to a material scientist
who works in Rockefeller's laboratories, and he told me
that all the contrary to the word-Rockefeller is a
sinner. His seal for the welfare of his fellow-
men is simple and genuine. It is the kind of a fal-
ner that would light the world and get up at night
trying to think what he could do for people.
It is perfectly possible. It has been true of a great
many others, who, nevertheless carefully guarded
their personal property and source of income against
every accident. The larger part of our work is in
rejection, and it knows how to take care of these
emotions. We rejoice over our mistakes, but our
agency quite automatically forgets to get seized
at the red point at which, by the power of your
fury, we can relieve them.

Woodrow Wilson is an amusingly candid man. He
always tells you everything that comes into his
mind. But he is so deftly adjusted by nature that
nothing ever comes into his mind except what he wants to
tell you.

Definiteness in a similar if more tedious thing is true of
Rockefeller. He was the "heroes" witness that
Pink Whal brought to the pilory before the Industrial
Relations Committee. I am inclined to say

Whether a conscious hypocrite could be so absurd.
The decision, the social, the perfect mission of
which his success came to the public of churlish
and conventional morality along which his bundle
down and uncurled, his life and purposes are
congruous and I am willing to credit to his
conscience.

It is said of him that he has the most
salient devotion of desire, which is the abstract idea
in entire childlike ignorance of what moves and calms
him. It becomes more necessary for us to avail those
mysteries. We can show others what he is doing. And
perhaps even this miracle was suggested by the mate-
rial scientist—we can show him. Far be it from me to
appeal any wonder that took place to a number of the
Rockefeller Institute!

An Exception

HAY have lately been urged that in sociology
excepting will be found to give to every general
truth. There are ministers and there are con-
gresses who will even seek for the re-

cuit of the poor. I was reminded of this by
an experience in Detroit, where one minister seemed
to have given up as far as in defending a lecture on
the class struggle, as another went in mythology
the lecturer. The latter, a Presbyterian, when he
found that the editor of The Nation was to speak in the
Presbyterian House of the Universalist Church, denounced
him in his pulpit as a Sibyl, and protested against
his being allowed to "go out" by his presence the
house of God, or any of his orations. He brought
along The Masses, and endeavored to stop the
commerce a bull in praise of Joseph the Mau-


"Permanence of Worship"

"Permanence of April—D. Rockefeller, Jr., is willing
to endow a Protestant or Catholic Church, or both, in every Colorado
Fuel and Iron Company camp where adequate support
and permanence of worship are assured."
EITHER PLATFORM WILL DO.
Attorney for the Defendant: "Your honor, the defendant was out of work. He has a sick wife and three small children."

Prosecuting Attorney: "Your honor, I object. The evidence is irrelevant, incompetent and immaterial."
EUROPE, 1916
STRUGGLE

A DESIGN BY ARTHUR B. DAVIES

THE MASSES, December, 1916
"Our Lord Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price . . . Every true American would rather see this land face war than see her flag lowered in dishonor . . . I wish to say that, not only from the standpoint of a citizen, but from the standpoint of a minister of religion . . . I believe there is nothing that would be of such great practical benefit to us as universal military training for the men of our land."

—Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City.
The Way of Ancient Rome
Painting the Lily

The Little Father is dead; long live the Little Brother!

It proved so easy to push Nicholas off his throne that Russia must be wondering why it didn't do it twenty years ago.

There will be complaint in some quarters that the Russian revolution was not accompanied by the necessary number of important funerals, but it is, of course, impossible to please everybody.

The papers indicate that the friendly relations which have so long existed between Germany and Russia are about to be broken off.

One hopes that Mr. Romanoff's new house will have all the modern conveniences including an attic where he can store the divine right of kings.

If the news ever reaches Columbia University, it will probably be regarded there as a deliberately unfriendly act.

There is an unconfirmed rumor that Siberia is to be opened for emigration.

The railway brotherhoods insist that the eight-hour law shall be enforced, and you know very well what that is—Anarchy.

Humanitarians will be glad to know that members of Congress were allowed time between sessions to collect the mileage for the drearvictual trip home and back.

Those who have been urging us to go to war on behalf of suffering Russia were no doubt gratified to learn that the first concrete result of our break with Germany was that the American relief work was kicked out.

Frederic R. Coudert says that a pacifist is really a murderer.

Yet, so complex is the human organism that in his private life a pacifist may be a kind husband and an indulgent father.

General WOOD complains that the activities of pacifists tend to slow up recruiting. Slowing up recruiting in this country must come under the head of painting the lily.

The President has put all postmasters into the civil service. Bang goes the one poor little issue of the late Mr. Hughes.

The Germans did not seem to have any better luck in coming to an understanding with Mexico than we did.

The call to 20th Century Past to Revere for Universal Training.


Howard Rehnker.

Benediction in Georgia

George Bellowes.
"The New Freedom"
Making the World Safe for Capitalism
"O Lord, control my appetite if you must, but don't take my pie away!"