

# THE INTERNATIONALIST

FORMERLY THE WESTERN COMRADE

May, 1918

Price 10 Cents

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By Lincoln Phifer

# Your Gateway to Freedom

LLANO'S 16,000 ACRE PLANTATION IN THE HIGHLANDS OF WESTERN LOUISIANA

**T**HE Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony was established at Llano, Los Angeles County, California, in May, 1914. It attracted attention throughout the country because of the calibre of the men who were conducting it. Hundreds joined the colony and during the three years hundreds of acres of orchards and alfalfa were planted, a community garden was grown, and many industries were established. From the first, the intention was to form other colonies, extending the work as rapidly as possible. The first extension has been organized.

## 16,000 FERTILE ACRES

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

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

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

## A TOWN CAME WITH IT

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

## WHAT CAN BE PRODUCED ?

This is the first question asked. A careful investigation has been made. No chances of mistake were taken. It is found that a great variety of products do well here. Peanuts, sweet potatoes, melons, of all kinds, corn, cotton, and sugar cane, will be the best producers and the best income-bringers. Vegetables of all kinds do well, and berries will yield great returns. This region is not sufficiently well developed for fruit to make detailed statements possible, but from a number of sources of undoubted reliability, assurance is given that figs, peaches, prunes, cherries, and similar fruits can be profitably grown. Cattle and sheep and goats can find forage during nearly the entire year, while the raising of hogs is profitable because of the abundance of corn that may be grown here.

## PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

Farming comes first. The Colony thoroughly realizes the responsibilities and the necessities put upon it. Efficiency is insisted on, and once each week foremen are required to attend efficiency classes. The remaining workers are also given instruction. Records are kept showing use of time, achievement, results, costs. There is a systematic and orderly organization being perfected. Land is being cleared and plowed as rapidly as possible. With a complete understanding of the needs

of agricultural production, every available man is put on the farm. This work takes precedence over all else. very avenue of waste is being closed as fast as discovered. Elimination of useless work and reduction of only partly necessary tasks is insisted on. The aim of the Colony is not only to support itself the very first year, but to have an ample margin left over. This will take careful and systematic planning. Through this care and foresight, the new Colony will be able to take care of all of its residents, including increase. Housing is simplified by the number of houses acquired with the property.

## COLONY INDUSTRIES

The establishment of industries goes forward as rapidly as this can be achieved. These are at present secondary to food production. Land must be cleared, plowed, fenced, tilled. Later industries will be given attention. At present the hotel, dairy, printing department, livestock, etc., are the industries. Some machinery is on the ground which has not been set up and will not be until circumstances justify.

## HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER

The price of a membership in the Llano Colony has been set at \$2000. A change in the rate of initial payments, operative on and after May 1st, 1918, is based on the number of persons in the family and their ages, the minimum payment being \$1000, and ranging to \$2000. Other changes are contemplated. In order to become a member, it is necessary to fill out an Application for Membership form which is passed upon. The incoming member, when he becomes a resident, occupies a colony house, is paid on the same scale as all other members of the colony, and under the present arrangement, works out one share of stock a day until the entire membership has been worked out. Employment is given all members of the family. All applicants for membership are required to give reputable references. Those wishing to take out membership are requested to write to the Membership Department direct for full information and to take out memberships through it. No Agents Are Authorized to Make Contracts or to Accept Money... Mere ownership of stock does not give the right of membership.

There is also the Instalment Member plan by which those who cannot make payments in full at once may take out a membership on which they may pay \$10 or more each month. Those interested in this plan are invited to write specially concerning it.

## WHEN YOU VISIT US

remember that Stables is on the Kansas City Southern Railroad, which runs due South from Kansas City to Port Arthur, and we are about one mile from Leesville, in Vernon Parish, midway of the State, and in the extreme western part.

## AGENTS WANTED

Trustworthy agents are desired in different communities, and those who can furnish first-rate references are invited to correspond with the Membership Department concerning becoming our representative.

## LAND FOR SALE

Many have inquired about buying land. The Llano Land Bureau will offer land close to the Colony for sale at reasonable prices and on reasonable terms.

## FOR MORE INFORMATION

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

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

Membership Department

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY  
Stables, Louisiana

Political Action

Co-operation

Socialism

"The Most Constructive Magazine for Socialism in America."

# THE INTERNATIONALIST

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No. 1

## EDITORIAL

By Job Harriman

**T**HE INTERNATIONALIST appears at a most opportune time, not only in its history, but in the history of the world.

Its former name "The Western Comrade" was used when it was in California and limited to substantially that locality. But now that it has moved to the South where it is in easy touch with all the world as well as with our own country, it must occupy a larger field, and, at least in some degree, respond to the new internationalism that is springing out of this war.

As its new field of work opens it will endeavor to portray the reasons why the whole fabric of our capitalist civilization is dissolving, and will endeavor to assist in its feeble way in blazing the course out of the jungle into which we have been plunged and onto a higher plane of life.

The walls that capitalism has built around the countries are crumbling and we shall soon be bounding over them and mingling with other peoples in spirit and in life.

With this world war has come excruciating pain, but it is a birth-pain.

The world is being born again,—born into new thought, world patriotism, world spirit, world brotherhood.

The national lines and feuds are passing. The national characters will soon be a thing of the past. The International will be the standard.

And we shall endeavor to make THE INTERNATIONALIST a worthy spokesman.

**R**OBBING a man of hope is like robbing an egg of meat—it leaves only a shell.

### GREED

**G**REED will dig its own grave. No power can save it from the tomb. Its urge is always toward death. Like a cancer, it eats the heart in which it dwells. It petrifies the brain that bids it welcome. It makes an outcast of all who drink its elixir. Ambition and tyranny are its partners, and capitalism is its all-consuming fire.

Observe the trenches.

### LOVE

**L**OVE builds its own throne. No power can crush or dislodge it. Its magic touch gives life and joy. It is a fountain of perpetual happiness in every heart in which it dwells. It inspires and illuminates the brain that bids it welcome. It makes a god of all who drink its elixir. Hope and charity are its partners, and brotherhood is its all-absorbing aim.

Observe the pacifist.

**C**APITALIST papers and magazines are charging the Bolsheviki with all the crimes on the calendar.

The North American Review says, "they are a group of despotic leaders who are grasping at autocratic power by inflaming the cupidity of the lowest class to murderous violence."

Is there not at least something suggestive of "murderous violence" along the trenches?

Did the Bolsheviki or the Socialists inflame or incite the governing classes to these deeds?

"Great wealth," they go on to say in defense of capitalism, "is the fruit of extraordinary gifts of insight

and energy." And, they might truthfully say, crimes.

Great wealth represents so much human energy or power extracted from the individual lives of the nation. Whoever extracts it without rendering an equivalent commits a social crime. Whoever will commit a crime to gain power will commit a crime to hold it.

This world war is a diabolical crime to hold fast to ill-gotten power and capitalism is responsible for it.

There is one dastardly difference between a buzzard and capitalism: a buzzard will devour its dead, but capitalism will devour the living and the dead.

—o—

**L**ESE MAJESTY is now the law in Texas. This law was passed as a sort of fly trap for I. W. W. speakers.

If the theory of the law is correct, it should be applied against the freedom of the press as well as against freedom of speech.

Such an application would catch an extraordinary variety of criminals.

Some bright spring morning would disclose in chains Roosevelt and the editor of the Kansas City Star, the editor of the North American Review and a host of others who are guilty of violent criticism of both the government and the President.

There is a difference, however, between the I. W. W. criticism and that of Roosevelt and the Review.

The one represents a multitude of suffering human beings calling for bread and justice, while the other is a carping, hypocritical campaign for the gratification of political ambitions.

The one is punished and the other goes free.

The one is weak and the other is powerful.

The one is treated with contempt, the other with respect for the same act.

Justice! Thy name is "farce"!

—o—

**T**HE CENTRAL POWERS have always held the fundamental advantage in the war.

They lie between and divide their enemies.

At first this was considered a weakness because they could be attacked from all sides; but it proved to be an advantage.

The trenches in every direction lie close to the seat of supplies.

Every need could be reached within marching distance.

The agricultural, industrial and military resources are in touch with the field of battle.

The population is dense and quickly available.

All industrial lines were highly organized and agriculture is reduced to intensive cultivation.

Transportation is of such minor importance that it is scarcely a problem.

All the elements of efficiency is present. They require a minimum man power for transportation and production, leaving a maximum man power for military demands.

The military efficiency of a nation is measured by its ability to concentrate a maximum number of men and a maximum quantity of equipment, easily and quickly.

Within a few weeks two million men with food and equipment were transferred from the eastern to the western front, in full preparation for battle. Seven millions more are trained and ready to be drawn, and are within marching distance of the trenches.

The reverse is true of the Allies.

The Allies and their colonies are scattered throughout the world. Though their power is enormous, their inability to concentrate that power places them at a tremendous disadvantage.

No more glaring instance of this fact can be cited than that of the United States.

Her transportation problems west of the Mississippi alone are far more difficult and perplexing than are all the transportation problems of the Central Powers.

Add to this the transportation of troops and equipment east of the Mississippi.

Again, add the transportation of food and military supplies over a vast territory where intensive agriculture is scarcely known.

Again, add the necessity of building sufficient ships to transport these troops and equipment 3000 miles; and then add the necessity of transporting them through dangerous seas swarming with submarines, and you have a picture of unavoidable obstacles which demands a maximum number of men for purposes of preparation leaving only a minimum number for military purposes.

The same is true, only worse, in the case of the colonies of England.

This fact places the fundamental advantage with the Central Powers, while the minimum efficiency is with the Allies.

No one knows these facts better than Mr. Roosevelt and his associate defamers. It is nothing less than diabolical, political turpitude to blame President Wilson for military inefficiency in the face of these facts.

From a military point of view, it might have been far more sagacious to have placed millions of soldiers in the agricultural and industrial fields, thus enabling us to bountifully feed and supply the Allies whose soldiers were near the battle field, but Roosevelt and his band do not raise this point.

Sordid ambition appears to be their only guide.

**S**ABOT—a kind of wooden shoe worn by the peasantry of Europe.

What has this to do with sabotage?

Simple enough! The shoe was thrown into the machine for the purpose of destroying its usefulness in times of strikes.

That is the meaning of the word.

Other meanings that may be attached indicate that the mind of the author of the new interpretation is changing while the original meaning persists.

The theory and practice of sabotage is wrong. The cause of the working class must be worked out along the lines of constructive, and not destructive, effort.

Life is constructive and productive of hope.

Death is destructive and brings with it despair.

Death, destruction, despair—are unconscionable in their operations. They lead to the pit.



**S**ECRET DIPLOMACY is among the most dangerous of all methods ever conceived to adjust international affairs.

It must be abolished or peace will ever be broken by repeated wars.

Establish secret diplomacy between the States of this country and a civil war would soon follow.

A few powerful states would seek to control by arms what they now strive to control by politics.

Lay all the cards on the table in a world parliament, center the military or police authority there, open the commerce of the world to all, and we will put the world in a fair way to work out international harmony.

This would bring about a harmony of states, but internal discord extends its roots far deeper than politics. They run down into the vitals of capitalism, animal greed and ambition. Combined these develop insatiable cannibalism.

Internal harmony can be established only by eliminating all conflict of interest and by laying a substantial foundation in a community of interest upon which a genuine brotherhood can rest secure.

**M**AN acts in line with his belief.

Belief arises in logical sequence from an established or assumed premise.

Belief is therefore determined not by right or wrong, but by the accepted premise.

First, the premise and the reasoning.

Second, the conclusion and the belief.

Third, the action.

This is the mental process that unlocks the infinite energy of the race and turns loose the dogs of war as well as the princes of peace.

Look carefully, therefore, into your premise.

Can man live in harmony when conflicting interests evolve out of his institutions?

Is it right for one to expropriate the energy of another?

Is profiteering right either in times of peace or war?

If so, is the conservation of energy a fundamental law of nature, or is it even a law at all?

If the conservation of energy is a fundamental law, is not capitalism or expropriation in any form, a violation of that law?

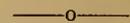
Can one who expropriates human energy contrary to this fundamental law be trusted to use such energy wisely?

If conservation is the law, is not restoration the only just answer?

If restoration is made, will there not be peace and harmony?

If restoration is refused, will there not be conflict and war?

Some say that pacifists are traitors; that war is natural. But we say unto you, "Look well into your premise, for the nature of the animal is determined in the egg."



**H**INDENBURG will go down in history as the world's greatest general and hence the world's greatest destroyer.

Tolstoi will go down in history as the world's greatest pacifist and hence the world's greatest savior.

Choose ye whom ye will serve.

## The International Lives!

By David Bobspa

Wave forever,  
Oh good red flag of universal brotherhood.  
For the International lives!  
Never died the spark of freedom's fire.  
Earth trembles today  
In birth of the era of Humanism.  
Blindly we groped for  
The International  
Through rapacious years of exploitation.

The Great War  
Has clarified our vision  
And thorofied our understanding  
Of humanity's Greater War!

Rise of Humanism  
In Russia dawned, as  
The red flag of the International  
By Bolsheviki flung  
Proclaimed to all the world  
The hour of freedom's triumph.

Oh glad May Day  
One-nine-one-eight  
When arouses the proletariat  
To make real today  
The International!

# The Story of American Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer, Editor "The New World."

## I. THE DRAMA OF COLONIZATION

### OWEN'S INTELLECTUAL APPEAL

ROBERT OWEN was born in Wales in 1771. He was poorly schooled and at eleven was apprenticed to a London merchant. His ability was such that within ten years he had arisen to the superintendency of more than 500 workmen. He quit the place and became a partner with Arkwright, inventor of the spinning jenny, in the New Lanark, Scotland, cotton mill. The village went with the mill, and the employess were mostly children, who were slept and fed in barracks and treated much like beasts. Owen at once began reforms. The spinning jenny owned by them, in one of the few mills in the world that used it, assured business success; and child labor was abolished, model tenements were erected, the liquor business was curtailed and in general, conditions were improved, while free schools were established. When the partners objected to the reforms Owen published a statement of the case, which, being widely circulated, called enough liberal-minded men to his side to enable him to buy out the objectors and proceed with his work. His reforms and agitation brought him such renown that he was called on to aid the English government in ameliorating labor conditions in general and he devised, on request, the famous educational system that has since been used in Prussia.

It was with this equipment that Owen turned his attention to a plan for the reorganization of society. He called his plan Socialism. He lectured on it, and had the learned and famous as auditors. Finally, he projected a community, and finding the Rapp community, land and houses in Posey county, Indiana, for sale, he bought them all and launched his community there on 30,000 acres of land. Though he had devised a building on the order of the old California mission houses, with many rooms surrounding a vacant court, as a means of affording cheap construction and yet compactness and individual privacy with community relationship, he accepted the buildings as they stood at New Harmony. Owen not only gave his money to promote the enterprise without hope of reward, but also spent much of his time at New Harmony. The experiment attracted men of science and letters. The community was visited by notables from all over the world. Lectures of a high order were delivered, and there was a marked development of musical talent. In the very midst of this activity, Owen had the courage, if lack of discretion, to announce his conversion from belief in religion to materialism. This turned a large element against him.

Because of Owen's materialistic belief many preachers visited the colony for the purpose of promulgating their dogmas. Owen met the invasion in a characteristic manner. He insisted on entertaining the ministers and giving them free use of the hall, the only stipulation being that at the conclusion of their talks they must submit to questioning. While this free forum almost stopped the propaganda of religion in New Harmony, it increased rather than diminished dissension.

The community provided free education and free medical service. The New Harmony experiment failed after about three years. There were efforts to establish other communities under modified plans and with selected membership. In one, composed of literary men and men of sedentary habits, all worked, and service was the passion of life. But finally life to the intellectuals appeared too tame and the members went

back to the world, where they could make their living by easier methods.

\* \* \*

The Owenite idea was taken up by others. One experiment sought to free slaves and develop them under co-operative conditions; but six months were sufficient to discourage the promoters and the freed slaves were removed to Hayti and the community was abandoned. Another community was established by learned rationalists with a "church of Reason." Another, composed of farmers, took up manufacture on a co-operative basis and prospered, but was broken up because titles to real estate held did not stand the test in the courts.

\* \* \*

Owen lived until 87 years old, and devoted his life to the workers, dying comparatively poor. He organized in England an "Association of All Classes and Nations," which afterward assumed the name of Socialists. He left four sons, all of whom remained in America, and all of whom attained reputation, each in the line of work he pursued.

Most famous of his sons was Robert Dale Owen, who continued the work begun in the New Harmony community. He published three papers in succession, setting forth the hopes of the workers, the last, "Young America," attaining a wide circulation and carrying at the head two demands that are very striking: "Equal rights for women with men in all respects," and "Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery." Twice he was elected to congress, and drafted the act under which the Smithsonian Institute was established in Washington. He was perhaps the chief figure in the fight for the establishment of public schools on a national basis. In his old age he wrote President Lincoln suggesting how the slaves might be emancipated; and the very plan he suggested was followed. It is a singular thing that both he and his father, though both had boldly proclaimed their materialism, before their death declared their belief in spiritualism. The first intellectual expression for emancipation of the working class had, apparently, completed the circle and returned to the earliest inspirational expression.

## Chapter IV

### I. THE COLONIZING PERIOD

#### THE FOURIER COLONIES

ABOUT 1835, Charles Fourier, who had been a soldier in the French revolution, brought out a book that outlined his scheme for the regeneration of human society. It was an elaborate system, beginning with the community, which he hoped to organize as the unit, called a phalanx, and leading up to the nation and finally the world. The book did not attract wide attention until Arthur Brisbane, a brilliant American editor, visited Europe, read Fourier's book, and on his return presented the plan to the American people in a volume which he called, the "Social Destiny of Man." This book attracted the favorable attention of many literary men. A column was engaged in the New York Tribune for agitating the plan. Later, a paper, known first as the "Phalanx" and afterward as the "Harbinger," was started to forward the movement. The Brook Farm community, the first of the phalanxes, was formed in Massachusetts, with membership that included such famous people as Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, William

Henry Channing, Charles A. Dana, George W. Curtis, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller. Louise M. Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson gave their sanction to the new work. Their rallying cry was:

"Our white flag is given to the breeze. Our three-fold motto—unity of man with man in true society, unity of man with God in true religion, unity of man with nature in creative art and industry—is blazoned on its folds. Let hearts, strong in the might of faith and hope and charity, rally to bear it on in triumph. We are sure to conquer. God will work with us; humanity will welcome our word of glad tidings. The future is ours. On, in God's name!"

Horace Greeley declared: "I shall do whatever I can for the promotion of our common cause. To it whatever I have or may hereafter acquire of pecuniary ability is devoted." Some of the finest characters America ever produced, men and women that the country still honors, wrote and spoke freely for the cause. As a result phalanxes were organized in many states: six in Ohio, seven in New York, six in Pennsylvania, two in Massachusetts, two in Indiana. Some of these phalanxes attracted more than local attention. Brook Farm community has already been mentioned, composed largely of literary people, who were too much given to contemplation to make practical success of agriculture. Next to it in fame was the North American phalanx, only forty miles from New York city. Fruitlands also attracted much attention. Some of the colonies started under very unfavorable conditions, enduring hardships of pioneering with the utmost cheerfulness.

The total membership in the various phalanxes at one time exceeded 25,000. They held state and even national conventions, and were in a measure affiliated, dreaming of a time when they should be able to dominate the social activities of the nation.

It is a rather remarkable fact that the same thing that had given strength to the colonizing movements up to this time—that is, the abundance of cheap land in America—was the prime cause of the sudden collapse of the phalanxes; for when hardships became too great and dissensions arose, the members could always go further west and get individual foothold. Many of the phalanxes had started without adequate means of protecting themselves until they could get established. This was expressly against the advice of Fourier and Brisbane, both. But enthusiasm got away with their judgment. These were the first to go. When they failed, the American people, who had hailed the new movement with great favor, suddenly lost interest in it and declared the whole thing a failure. They would no longer listen to agitation or argument in its favor. The result was that even the stronger communities went down in rapid succession. Within a few years from the first collapse, all was gone, and the most evanescent and picturesque of the American colony movements had become a thing of the past.

## Chapter V.

### THE ICARIANS

**E**TIENNE CABOT was a Frenchman whose radicalism procured his banishment to England. In this country he became a student and writer of histories. His researches led him to the conclusion that history was a story of needless calamity; and he evolved a scheme which he believed, if adopted, would end the miseries of which he had read and written so much. He presented his ideas in the story of an imaginary, ideal society, which he described in a book entitled "A Voyage to Icaria." This was published in France in 1840. The old communards rallied to him, and he speedily gained a large

following. Persecution followed. But persecution increased interest in his proposals. In 1847 it was estimated that there were hundreds of thousands who believed in his ideas, in France, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, England and other countries. Challenged to prove his theories by experiments, and urged by his followers to do so, he called for volunteers for a colonizing movement. The response was astounding. He himself declared that he believed a million might be rallied to the movement. He went to England to consult the aged Robert Owen, and was told that he (Owen) had, after his experience in Indiana, planned a big colony in Texas. Cabot determined to found his colony in Texas. Thousands offered to join the first colony. From among these Cabot selected 69 and started them to America to prepare for a larger company that was to follow.

On arriving in America the Icarians fell into the hands of land sharks. They purchased what they supposed to be a million acres of land in Texas, only to discover that the deeds were so worded that they really obtained only 10,240 acres, and this land was in western Louisiana rather than Texas. They supposed the land could be reached by boat, but found that they had to travel overland, over a swamp country without roads for 150 miles from New Orleans. The trip exhausted many. Many contracted fevers, and deaths became frequent. Finally their one physician became insane.

In the meantime a republic had been proclaimed in France, and the Icarians there were split with dissensions. Instead of 1500 coming to America in the second contingent, only 19 came across. When they arrived at the huts that had been built on the colony property, and saw how gloomy the prospect looked, they advised an abandonment of the project. Dividing into three companies and taking different routes in order to make surer of finding game sufficient to sustain all while returning to New Orleans, the Icarians made a slow and painful march, many being sick and four dying on the journey.

Arrived at New Orleans, they met a third contingent of colonists and waited there for a fourth, which contained Cabot himself. Explorers were sent out to discover a new and better location. It was at this time Cabot heard that the land and buildings which the Mormons owned at Nauvoo, Ill., were for sale cheap, on account of the opposition to the Mormons having led to the killing of their leader, Joseph Smith, at that place, and the Mormons, under Brigham Young, being determined to strike out to the great west. The Icarians went to Nauvoo by boat and purchased the Mormon property.

At Nauvoo the Icarians prospered. A thousand acres of rented land were cultivated. Mills and shops were started and schools established. They published a newspaper. They had agents in Paris and other parts of Europe. They owned their own theatre and had a stock company of Icarians; they had an orchestra of fifty pieces.

While things looked bright Cabot returned to France and paid, as a debt of honor, the losses some who had joined the colony and then abandoned it had sustained. While abroad, he was entertained by the aged Robert Owen. On returning to America he was welcomed by statesmen and scholars throughout the East as a philanthropist, and in speaking of his colony and its hopes he said: "The earth will be a fairy land; the habitations palaces; the labors of the people mere pastimes; and their whole lives pleasant dreams."

On returning to Nauvoo, in a spirit of generosity, he, who until this time had exercised dictatorial powers over the community, reorganized it as a pure democracy. It was not long however, before difficulties arose. Cabot then desired to re-assume dictatorial powers that he might restore it to prosperity. He was resisted. The colony became bitterly divided.

(Continued on Page 34)

# Saying What We Think

By Walter Pritchard Eaton

WE have never had free speech in America, and, in some respects, less with each decade. I mean by that, there have always been restraints, either by law or opinion, on a man's utterances. Some of these restraints are those of politeness or decency, and they grow more strict all the time:

In the eighteenth century you could say many things before women, for which you would get your head punched today. In the early nineteenth century literary critics could kill Keats with unkindness and sling venom and spite which today no decent periodical would consent to print. On the other hand, a century ago, it was far less safe to say what you thought about the code of orthodox Christianity. Even today, however, in most communities, public opinion makes it uncomfortable for a man to express religious views that go beyond Unitarianism, and there is a kind of hushed and fearsome taboo against any outspoken criticism of the Roman Catholic church.

The result of this is, of course, ignorance and superstition about the Roman church, underground and ridiculous attacks upon it, and, in the Church itself, the kind of reaction such attacks inevitably breed. The taboo against a fair, free, open discussion of the Roman church in America is one of the dangerous things in our country; and it is a product not of respect for Catholic feelings, but a product of cowardly fear on both sides.

Politically, we have always had a supposed right of free speech, though such speech is, after all, but a small part of man's expression. What the general sentiments of the community will not let him say is, normally, far more than what the government would try to stop his saying in war time. For instance, Scott Nearing probably found less real chance for expression when he was a professor at Pennsylvania in peace times than since he became the persecuted head of the People's Council in war times. The so-called legal right to free speech, that is, to free and full criticism and discussion of governmental problems, does not begin to cover the ground, and a nation may conceivably give the fullest liberty of speech in its constitution and yet, practically, through public sentiment, greatly restrict its radicals, its thinkers, as well as its loose-mouthed pests. There was never less free speech, probably, in many lines, than in the New England of the Puritans.

Now, what I am trying to get at is this: Free speech, broadly considered, really has very little to do with laws and constitutions, and a great deal to do with the temper, the spirit of the people. If a people love truth for its own sake, have the intellectual balance and sanity to listen to both sides of any question, no matter how exciting the question may be, real free speech will exist among them.

That is why, in a nation as intellectually childish as America, free speech in war time is really impossible, and would be if Solomon were Postmaster General instead of the present incumbent. Free Speech depends on a national state of mind, not on a set of officials. Burleson could today be replaced, Congress could repeal all the powers of restriction given him, but still, though a relatively few radical organs WOULD break forth, the average man would be little more outspoken than he is now. The great mass of the American people believe in the justice of this war and they do not see the other side of it. (I do not mean the German side by that, for I, myself, can see no German side. I mean the side which discloses the inconsistencies of all nations at war and the true import of war to the toiling masses.)

Above all, the great bulk of the American people accept childishly the creed "My Country, Right or Wrong," and believe that any discussion that takes an impersonal or international squint and looks deeper or more searchingly, is delaying action and an aid to the enemy. In other words, the mass of people, under the aroused passions of battling nationalism, are practically incapable of real, intellectual discussion, and hence are intolerant of real free speech. Such laws as we have enforced against free speech in the past year or more could not have been enforced without a great majority sanction behind them. That sanction would have operated without the laws to repress speech, even if it did not impose such material punishment on the speakers.

The editor of THE INTERNATIONALIST tells me that he wonders how long the American people must wait to regain their pre-war rights to "unmolested expression." Not a day after the American people WANT unmolested expression, and not a day before! In the present state of civilization, they will not want it, in all probability, while the war lasts, unless the war should bring great suffering. They may not want it after the war, even, should the mad whirligig of events now

## MAY DAY

Holy Day of human Brotherhood—

That now seems like a tragic mockery

Because, alas, we have not understood

The forces that are yet to make us free!

Like Springtime breaking through the vernal bond,

When nature fills the world with new-born pow'r,

You urge us to the hope that lies Beyond,

In keeping with the spirit of the hour.

Your inspiration fans the passion flame

That burns so deep within the rebel soul,

And strengthens us to press the common aim

Which leads along the way to Freedom's goal.

We consecrate again your sacred ties

That bind us to a dream sometime must be

A crowning triumph from which shall arise

The coming world of true Fraternity.

—WILLIAM J. FIELDING.

going on bring about the class struggle as the great issue. Then the ruling class and its vast supporting army of the middle class will still prefer privilege to discussion.

Free speech is the ideal right of every man. It is the actual right only so far as he can maintain it and so far as the passions of the community support him. Free speech implies, usually, something potentially uncomfortable. Somebody may always be about to emit a new truth or attack an old one, which compels thought and readjustment. Your average man hates thought and loathes readjustment. So if your free speech makes him so uncomfortable, he will always do his best to make YOU UNCOMFORTABLE until you shut up.

But, on the other hand, the average man does have a sense of fair play, and so long as he is not too stirred by war passions, he hesitates to resort to force in suppression. Just

# China And The Social Revolution

By Kiang Kang Hu, National Secretary, Socialist Party of China.

THE idea of Collectivism or Socialism is very old in China. It can be traced back to the very beginning of Chinese civilization, over four thousand years ago.

When about a decade ago, modern Socialist thought began to be propagated in China, it met with two sets of critics, each holding opposite views, yet each equally severe in their criticism of the new doctrine. One set said, "Socialism, why that is nothing new; we have had that for ages." The other set said, "Socialism is an importation. It is foreign to our soil. It may fit European conditions but it certainly does not fit Chinese conditions."

Both of these critics were partially correct and yet, because of their narrow view, both were wrong. True, the traces of communistic thought are to be found in Chinese life and history for centuries. But their ideas are distinctly Utopian in their character and cannot be identified with modern scientific Socialism. True, likewise, was it at that time (a decade ago) that scientific or Marxian Socialism was an imported plant which could not flourish in Chinese soil. But China is changing. Machine production is rapidly displacing handicraft. Where yesterday stood the little cobbler shop, today, the great shoe factory rears its ugly form. Where yesterday the coolie porter trotted with his burden, the automobile truck rushes on its way. Railroads have come, and power looms. This is the soil in which scientific Socialism will grow. Nothing can stop it.

The Chinese, like the whole human race, have natural collectivist leanings. If we mine into the mountain of Chinese philosophy, we will soon find a rich vein of collectivism running throughout, persisting throughout its entire length and breadth. Material enough is at hand to fill a bulky volume.

Greatest of all Chinese philosophers is Confucius. Says this sage: "All mankind is a brotherhood. More than that, they are even as the parts of one body, of which you cannot injure the slightest without giving pain to the whole." Again, he says: "Equality is the ideal of society." And again: "The well-being and stability of a nation lies not in its wealth, but in the equal distribution of that wealth among its people."

In the last decade, here and there, were to be found individuals and small groups scattered throughout the Empire of China who studied and advocated Humanitarianism, Communism and Socialism. But these groups had no connection with one another, and their ideas, for the most part, were vague and misty.

Kiang Kang Hu, a professor at the University of Peking, was publishing a radical newspaper which had for its aim the

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now he is using force. That, as I see it, is a practically inevitable result of war, against which the real weapon is the slow, persistent spread of international thinking. Already, it may be, international thinking in America is breaking down a little the restrictions of force. It seems to me there is a perceptible increase of UNPUNISHED radicalism in press and platform talk. But to expect our pre-war rights to be fully restored while the war is in progress is to expect a whole nation; made unreasonable by ancient passions, to become suddenly reasonable with calm, intellectual detachment and to put mind over matter, logic over purse and patriotism.

Such things simply don't happen. To make them happen is one of the great, shining, distant goals towards which the dreamers of the world are striving.

introduction of new ideas into China. This paper translated and published portions of the works of Balzac, of Victor Hugo, Byron and Shelley, Goethe and Heine, and towards the end of its career, some of the works of Peter Kropotkin, Karl Marx and August Bebel.

Kiang Kang Hu, thus coming into contact with Socialism, became interested and finally was converted to the new doctrine. He began an agitation for the freedom of woman immediately and went on many lecture tours in the interest of Socialism.

In Shanghai, on July 10, 1911, at the Chang Shu Ho Gardens, Kiang Kang Hu organized a Socialist Club, and on the same day the first Socialist paper in China, "The Socialist Star," made its first appearance.

The Shih Hui Tong, or Socialist party, was the first political party as such in China. The Socialist party, although not being composed of clear-cut Marxians, was nevertheless earnest and enthusiastic in its desire for the establishment of a Socialist Republic. On November 5, 1911, the Socialist party of China met in its first annual Convention at Shanghai and adopted a preamble and a platform.

In considering the platform of the Socialist party of China, we must remember the particular historic and economic conditions of that country. China is still partly submerged in the handicraft stage of economic development. Only portions of China have emerged into the machine process of production, or Capitalism. And this further fact must be borne in mind: China has an immense agricultural population, among whom there are a great many tenants and absentee landlords. Historically, China had just awakened from an age-long lethargic sleep and it was more or less bewildered by the white light of dawning day.

The eight planks of the platform were as follows:

1. The establishment of a Republican form of government.
2. The wiping out of all racial differences.
3. The abolition of all the remaining forms of feudal slavery and the establishment of the principle of equality before the law.
4. The abolition of all hereditary estates.
5. Free and universal school system, on co-educational lines, together with free text-books and the feeding of school children.
6. The abolition of all titles and castes.
7. To levy taxes in the main upon land and to do away with all personal taxes.
8. The abolition of the army and navy.

The subsequent revolutions in China played havoc with the Socialists. The secretary of the party, Chen Ye Long, was beheaded on August 8. The party headquarters at Peking were raided by the government authorities and a decree of dissolution was issued against the Socialist party. A similar decree was issued later.

After these decrees had been issued, the Socialist party branches everywhere were forcibly dissolved. Many of the comrades were thrown in jail and a number were executed. The party, as a unit, ceased to exist, although individuals secretly kept up a sporadic agitation.

But the Socialist movement in China will reassemble its forces, and will fall in step with the great Red International and march with it to victory.

## Highlands For Health

"I'D LIKE to come to Louisiana, but, oh, the malaria! I just couldn't risk my health there."

Every mail brings a wail of this kind in at least one letter. Louisiana has been adversely advertised. Its climate is described by one ex-California enthusiast as being equal to California, Southern California, too! Its healthfulness is second to no part of the country. Not even the high, dry air of the desert can claim advantage over the Highlands of Louisiana.

This is an extreme statement. But it has a firm foundation in truth. Every "oldest inhabitant" of this district is rugged and strong. All agree that the place is a healthful one in which to live. Even persons who have been troubled with lung weaknesses and bronchial weaknesses have found the climate here beneficial.

Louisiana is a state of varied conditions. It has its swampy district, and it is these districts that have been told of in song and story, in descriptive accounts, and in narrative. They lend themselves naturally to such accounts. Therefore, they have figured largely in them. Longfellow takes Evangeline through the swamps of Louisiana and in the endless inter-connected bayous (say it by-o) she passes Basil without knowing it. Every child reads the wonderful story of "Evangeline," and the description of the bayous and swamps and the lowlands of Louisiana remain firmly in mind. Hence Louisiana became a land of dismal swamps and is remembered as such. Its Highlands are unadvertised. No Evangeline has yet brought them to the notice of the world.

The Highlands of Louisiana are well drained. There is no standing water. There are no alligators. Few indeed, are the mosquitoes. Malaria is unknown, almost. Yellow fever never gets closer than several hundred miles. The Highland district of Louisiana will compare favorably for health conditions with any part of the United States. This statement can stand unqualified. It is a pleasant and a healthful place to live, a land where opportunity is just beginning to show herself, where she is now timidly knocking, and where doors are still shut to her. But the tapping is arousing a few. The day of the Highlands is just dawning.

There is the scent of the pines in the Highlands, the balm of health in the breeze that blows from them. Came to the Highlands not long ago, several persons who had been ordered by physicians to live in the high, dry atmosphere of California. They had been told that continued health depended upon it. Yet these persons are better here than there.

Hundreds of miles of the Highlands have been covered with timber, the famous long leaf pine, oak, gum, beech, and many other kinds of timber, many of them valuable. Now the timber is fast disappearing. High prices have placed a premium on it and the great mills are taking the trees as fast as labor can cut them down. This is the lumberman's harvest, and he is not blind to the opportunity. Rapidly the parishes of Western Louisiana are being denuded. The era of the real builder of wealth is just setting in. The land smiles beneath the warm Southern sun and lies waste, waiting for the coming of the plow. The eyes of the North, stimulated by the memory of one of the bitterest winters that history records, are turning to the South where land is cheap, where fuel is plentiful, where Nature rewards instead of hinders.

Few can believe what a hospitable land it is. Slightly rolling, with rich bottoms between the low, undulating hills, it offers months of good grazing to the livestock man. Instead of the one crop a season, the southern farmer plans on two. His protection against the elements are slight. His equipment is

ridiculously small. His methods are, in the eyes of the thoroughgoing northern farmer, slipshod to a degree. Yet the farmers of the South fare exceedingly well, do not work hard, and the bank reports show splendid average balances, well distributed. It is a land so rich in opportunity that failure is almost impossible.

Though there are comparatively few farms here, for this has been the lumberman's paradise instead of the farmers, yet agriculture has been carried on here for many years, and within a few miles of the colony may be found men who have lived here all their lives, who have tilled the soil for forty years or more, and who boast of the big families they have raised here. It is safe to say that a farm that will raise a family of a dozen children is a good farm, or at least that is the firm belief of the South, and it seems sound enough. There are many northern farms that fail to do this.

The Highlands are beautiful. This does not tell the story. Perhaps words will always fail to do so. The vegetation is largely the source of this beauty. Against the straight, slim pines with their dark green, are massed the lighter blended greens of the oak, beech, gum, hickory, and other trees. The ground beneath is a carpet of grass where the sun can get through the leaves of the trees above. Springs and creeks abound. Flowers are seen everywhere and the air is filled with the hum of bees. Those who appreciate natural beauty find themselves without words to express their emotions. Those of more practical turn of mind see in the flowers more than beauty, for they picture the development of the bee industry. Those who see beyond the mere greenery of the grass imagine in their minds fields of clover and alfalfa, with sleek dairy cows and sheep and hogs in the fields. Those whose minds combine the practical with the beautiful see in the trees straight logs that will make building material, or furnish the legs and arms and backs of chairs, or which may be converted into a myriad of uses.

There's something in the Highlands of Louisiana for all. There is health for the sick, there is wealth for the industrious, there is beauty for those of artistic perceptions. California's climate without irrigation, California's beauty made accessible to more people, California's hospitality enhanced—these are the inducements that the heretofore little-known Highlands of Western Louisiana hold out to those who seek homes.

The Highlands for Health, the Highlands for Wealth, the Highlands for Opportunity! Bees, trees, flowers, arable lands, long seasons, abundant fuel, diversity of crops—a mere description of the great Highlands reads like an advertisement. But the proofs are ample, are to be found everywhere, and it is only because these proofs have never been presented to land seekers that the opportunity has so long gone undiscovered. This, and the additional fact that the land has been and still is held in great tracts that would not be broken up, has kept settlers out. The wealth has either been held in timber or has remained as mere potentiality and not as a real asset. Only now is the entering wedge being driven into what will in a few years be one of the richest agricultural districts of the South, if not of the United States.

Farmers from well-tilled districts in the North and West are astonished at what they see here. Instead of broad highways they find winding roads through the woods. Pole barns, and in many cases, pole houses are living quarters and protection for livestock and implements, such protection as is given. The universal implement is an eight-inch plow drawn by one mule. This is so that it may be easily guided about the stumps. Land is tilled year after year with the stumps left in the

ground. Small horses, small mules, small wagons, small equipment, small farms, and large families—these are the accepted thing throughout much of the cotton belt. The southern farmer does not strive for wealth. He is content with a living, and it must be admitted that he gets it and it is a good and plentiful one, notwithstanding the apparent primitiveness of his equipment and methods. It is the bounteousness of Nature that does it, and no premium is set on an undue expenditure of energy.

The Llano Colony has probably the largest tilled field in Vernon Parish, notwithstanding that this is the first year, and there were many things to be done, such as clearing and fencing that required a big initial outlay in labor. The several hundred acres that will be under fence and cultivation within a few weeks, are the source of much interest. The value of the land has been much enhanced by reason of this labor. Corn, peanuts, and garden are planted. Garden stuff is now being served on the table twice a day. Cane is sprouting and the assurance of plenty of good cane syrup for the hotcakes next fall is a pleasing prospect. The South is expected to feed itself this year, and the colony is making preparations to do its part in this program. No cotton is to be planted. The original intention was to put out a good acreage to cotton, but it was decided to concentrate on food production this season.

A large acreage of corn, peanuts, and velvet beans, will give food and feed. This with the cane and garden stuff should make it possible for the colony to set a good table largely from its own products. Gardening, both private and collective, is very popular and heavy yields are promised.

Only those who come here and see for themselves can realize the wonderful prospects and the splendid opportunities. Either as a colonist or as an individual landowner, this region invites the investigator. Industrially, too, there are promises of profit, promises of development along lines that have never been attempted heretofore. It requires only a little time to make the colony the center of an activity that shall turn waste lands and waste products into wealth to be shared by those who produce it in the proportion into which they enter into this production.

Louisiana, the wonderful, rich in her opportunities, lavish in her promises, generous in her invitation, Louisiana, Queen of the South, has been misunderstood, unappreciated, overlooked in the search for homes. Just now her resources are beginning to have its effect. Louisiana, the satisfied, is beginning to awake into Louisiana, the aggressive, ready and anxious to prove her superiority as a home place, and to display her many luxurious charms.

Louisiana invites. She also provides!

## Impressions of the Colony

By A Northerner

**I** CAME, I saw, and—I was convinced! I was convinced by what I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and otherwise learned through the undeniable testimony of my several senses.

I was already satisfied that co-operation, either in small communities or on a larger scale, is thoroughly practicable. But to believe this is one thing. To see the principle actually in successful operation is quite another. And now, having seen, heard and felt, all the sophistry in the world cannot shake the stability of my conviction.

I found in the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony at Stables, Louisiana, a well-systematized, sanely-managed community of people of all sorts, classes, ages, and conditions who are really proving that a co-operative colony is a more desirable place in which to live, than is the ordinary town or city in which John Smith and Bill Brown are both scrambling for the same dollar, and in which, if Smith gets the dollar, Brown is likely to go hungry. There was no long-haired fanaticism, no endless oratory by perpetual speech-makers, no outlandish outbursts by unbalanced theorists—nothing of the kind. There was, however, the evidence everywhere of serious, earnest purpose on the part of every man and woman in the colony. All were plainly devoted to the ideal of socialism. All were doing their share to translate that ideal into a tangible thing. All were working industriously, quietly, unostentatiously, but with a joy and an enthusiasm that are quite different from the weary resignation of the wage slave who toils for another's profit.

Kickers may kick, knockers may knock, slanderers spurred on by plutocratic pay may spill their venom, but all the kicking and knocking and lying in the world won't make the slightest impression on the man who has visited the colony and found for himself that it is a genuine success. Personal observation affords the only kind of information that is worth a tinker's whistle. That is the kind of information that I determined to get. And having gotten it, my mind is about as firmly settled on this point as it is on the spheroid shape

of the earth or any other fact which no sensible person presumes to dispute.

The colony IS a success. Six months from now it will be a still bigger success. A year from now it will be developed to a point which is difficult to imagine. But, waiving consideration of the future, THE COLONY IS A SUCCESS RIGHT NOW AND IS RIGHT NOW AN IDEAL PLACE IN WHICH TO LOCATE.

The climate is as near perfect as this old planet affords, if my travels have taught me anything. The air is uniformly balmy and fragrant. Gentle breezes from early spring until late autumn stir the leaves of the trees, but never chill those who live in this delightful region of eternal summer. In the mid-winter, so inhabitants tell me, occasional frost and a few snappy mornings are the nearest approach of bitter blasts of the frozen and snowy north.

The colony is located on an average altitude of 300 feet above sea level. The place seems one of the healthiest I ever stopped in. It is as free from pests, plagues and insects as the most highly recommended town in the north. Nature's endless youth seemed to have left its impress on all living there, for I did not see a sickly or feeble person in the colony. If the fountain which El Dorado vainly sought, is a material reality, it must be hidden somewhere in the verdant luxury of Llano shrubbery or shrouded by some of the clustering vines and stately trees that give beauty and majesty to the place. For the colonists are uniformly healthy, active and well preserved.

On the magnificent tract of 20,000 acres which the colony occupies in part, are already a machine shop, printshop, hotel, store, school, and public hall, cottages, and numerous other buildings either partly or wholly completed. A bakery is being constructed of brick, one of the buildings is soon to be made into a hospital, and an office building is already in use. Free medical attendance, free dances, free musical and elocutionary entertainments and free instruction in languages, economics, and other subjects are provided members of the colony. Ev-

ery member is guaranteed employment, and furnished free a cottage in which to live, unless he prefers to live at the hotel where meals are served for 12½ cents each.

The warmth of the climate, the excellent health conditions, and the remarkable productivity of the soil on which huge crops of vegetables, fruits and peanuts are being raised this season, impressed me particularly. Here one can live—not exist, but LIVE the free, joyous, normal life Nature intended—without fear of lockouts, strikes, rent bills, and all the other calamities of the capitalistic system. All a man needs to do is to join the colony and to work at his chosen or allotted work eight hours a day in a delightful climate under health-giving conditions and with the friendliest, most neighborly lot of fellow-workers I ever saw. Persons so doing, are assured a livelihood amid the most congenial surroundings that right-minded, human people can desire.

The exemplification of the principle of brotherhood, however, impressed me more than anything else. Climate conditions and physical characteristics of different places naturally vary. But human nature is about the same the world over. So if co-operation can succeed in Louisiana, it can succeed in Klondike or Siberia or anywhere else, for that matter.

THEREIN LIES THE IMPORTANT FACT CONCERNING THE LLANO COLONY. It proves that Socialism and co-operation, instead of being golden dreams of an impossible ideal, are facts of evolution that are slowly—slowly, because of human ignorance and selfishness—transforming industrial and political conditions all about us.

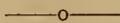
This transformation is already in process. It is paving the way for the Great Change, here, there and everywhere. In most places its effects, so far, are scarcely noticeable. But in the Llano colony at Stables, the transformation is a present, living fact that has changed the lives of several hundred men, women and children, is influencing thousands of others in all parts of the world, and will, if I mistake not, provide the foundation on which the Super-Civilization of Co-operation and Brotherhood will securely rest.

I visited Llano Colony. I am satisfied. And I am going there to live as soon as I can make arrangements for moving.

In going, I am actuated, naturally, by several motives, among which are the desires to live in so beautiful a land, under summer skies and near to Nature's heart; to have the comforts of life without engaging in ceaseless strife and selfish struggle for them; and to find freedom and fellowship with kindred souls who ask no more for themselves than they are willing to grant all the rest of mankind. But greater even than these incentives is the hope that in joining this band of pioneers in the cause of Universal Liberty, I am helping make the community which shall prove to be the mother colony of the millions of similar colonies that will some day cover the earth.

Not only will my family and I have food and shelter and clothing and protection and the opportunity to work for the joy of working instead of for greedy gain, but we shall be privileged to do a perhaps important part in building for that Better Day whose Glorious Dawn is even now brightening the tired, toiling millions of a work-worn world.

That is why I am going to Llano Colony. Could I have better reason?



—The United States of America is on the verge of revolution—political social and industrial.—Linn A. E. Gale, "Gale's Magazine."

—Milk suitable for domestic purposes should not exceed 1,000,000 bacteria per c. c.—D. Houston, "Better Business," Ireland.

—The great difficulty in the ordinary family is that we have too many kinds of food for one meal, and that there is neither the time nor the skill to prepare so many things in the best manner.—Maria Parloa, "Centurion."

## Are We Consistent?

Sailendra Nath Ghose, a Hindu revolutionist, has been arrested in the United States for organizing an army of Hindus to rebel against British rule in India. It is said that Ghose violated a provision of the Espionage act by representing himself as a diplomatic commissioner of the India Nationalist party.

Notwithstanding the alleged illegality of Ghose's procedure, it cannot be gainsaid that his propaganda is one that should be heartily approved by every true revolutionist. Nowhere has there been such a well-organized attempt to hold in servile subjection millions of people in order to fill the coffers of the ruling classes. The sickening stench of corrupt British rule in India is one of the foulest blots on the pages of history.

If the United States is not hypocritical in its advocacy of world democracy, it will cease punishing such men as Ghose, and even lend them moral and financial assistance in effecting their plans of emancipating the submerged workers of India.

—A. S.

## How Not To Abolish Prostitution

Oklahoma City is driving out its prostitutes. Every rooming house and hotel in the city is being purged of women of the underworld. Virtue is to be preserved by additions to the police force.

This is another illustration of the absurd direct actionist methods of our pseudo-reformers. They strike savagely at the outward manifestations of the evil, but are oblivious to the basic causes. They fail to see that for every prostitute they suppress, the capitalist system of poverty and exploitation is creating another. Even if these gentlemen could kill every prostitute that now lives, a few years hence there would be the same army of unfortunates.

And have these lickspoons of the outside of the platter realized that when they drive the women out of their cities, they are not solving the problem to the slightest extent, but are merely passing an additional burden to neighboring cities?

Remake the social system under which we live. Make poverty impossible. Guarantee every girl a good education. With this done, the problem of the prostitute will rapidly disappear.—A. S.

## Liars Do Figure

The "Kansas City Star," on its editorial page, quotes with approval the sentiment contained in Genesis ix, 6, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man."

We believe that we have heard of a well-known character going under the name of Jesus Christ, who made the remark that "if thy neighbor smite thee upon one cheek, turn to him the other." And, "if a man take thy cloak, give him thy coat also." Again, "if a man compel thee to go with him a mile, go with him twain."

It seems to us that our kept press will have to re-write the New Testament if it wishes to prove Christ to have been an exponent of war and militarism.—A. S.



—The greatest labor crisis in our history will be upon us at the termination of the war.—"Better Business," Ireland.

—The Bolsheviks may be insane, but they are incapable of the nauseating treason to liberty and fraternity which lies at the door of the American government.—William Thurston Brown, "Modern School Magazine."

## Modern Religious Movements: No. 3

## The Spirit Teaching of India

By Swami Paramananda

IF God is the common origin of all living beings, what causes the differences we see among nations and races and creeds? Does God create them? No. He is never partial; He does not bestow more on one than another. He loves all His children equally. It is we ourselves who create them. As a worldly father offers various gifts to his children and lets each child choose according to his inclination, so the Supreme Father lays the whole world before us—both the world of thought and the world of physical attractions—and we, His children, are allowed to choose whatever we want. But we must naturally reap the result of our choice. It is this difference in the choice of gifts from God which distinguishes the Orient from the Occident. From time immemorial the East has chosen the spiritual life, while the West has always striven for material power. As a result of her choice the East has always exercised a strong religious influence on the world. This is especially true of India, who gave to China and Japan their dominant form of religion; and through the Essene even layed her hand on Christianity. It will be remembered that John the Baptist was an Essene, and more and more are scholars coming to recognize that the Order of the Essenes sprang up through the influence of Buddhist monks, who were sent out over the known world in the Third century B. C. by the great Indian Emperor Asoka.

But although India has been "the cradle of the human race and the native land of the highest philosophy," to use the words of the eminent French writer, Victor Cousin, yet she has never claimed a monopoly of Truth. On the contrary, she has insistently declared that "Truth is one, though men call it by various names" (Rig-Veda). It is self-existent and not limited by or dependent on country, nation or individual authority. Neither can it be the exclusive property of any one people or period. If it was true even in the most remote past, it must be equally true today and through the ages to come.

The root religion of India is known as Vedanta, coming from the Sanskrit words "Veda" (wisdom) and "anta" (end) and means "supreme wisdom." It is not based on any personality, but on the fundamental principles of life; therefore it is the common property of the whole human race. It represents no special book or set of doctrines, but explains the eternal facts of Nature. As the source of all things it recognizes one Supreme Being, one Law, one Essence, called by the Sages "Existence-Absolute, Knowledge-Absolute, Bliss-Absolute." Out of that One has come the whole manifested universe. He dwells in the heart of every being as consciousness; from the minutest atom to the highest mortal, He is present everywhere. Without Him there cannot be anything. He is one without a second; there cannot be more than one Infinite, since infinity means boundless, secondless. Such is the Vedic conception of God; and the realization of this God is the ultimate goal of its teaching.

Although One, this Supreme Being appears before us in many forms. An Infinite Being must have infinite paths leading to Him. Hence He is sometimes personal and sometimes impersonal. Those who seek Him as impersonal realize Him as the Higher Self or Soul in all beings; but to those who cannot follow so abstract an Ideal, He appears as a Personal God, a God of infinite love, infinite beauty, the source of all blessed qualities. With these He establishes the personal relationship of loving Mother, loving Father or Friend; He

takes whatever form we desire. But under whatever form we worship Him, we shall all reach the same God. "All men are struggling along paths that ultimately lead to Me," the Lord declares in the Bhagavad-Gita.

According to Vedanta, the attainment of union with God is the aim of human life. Forgetfulness of our true nature or Godhead is the source of all misery. Yet we can never be robbed of this Divine birthright. No amount of wrong-doing can destroy it. Our misdeeds may blind our inner sight and make us suffer, but we are sure at last to realize our Divinity and be freed from all bondage. If, however, we all possess the same germ of Divinity within us, what is the cause of all the inequality we see? Why is one born happy and another miserable, one intelligent and another dull? The difference lies in the degree of manifestation or unfoldment of the same Divine power, which makes one great in wisdom and enables him to go through the varying conditions of life with courage and serenity; while another, whose mind is veiled, constantly makes mistakes and suffers. God does not send happiness to one soul, and grief to another arbitrarily. The Hindus do not blame an invisible Providence for all the suffering in the world; but they explain it through the natural law of cause and effect.

If a man is born fortunate or wretched, there must be some reason for it; if therefore we cannot find the cause for it in this life, it must have occurred in some previous existence, since no effect is possible without a cause. Whatever good comes to us we must have earned, and whatever evil there is must be the result of our own past mistakes. But as our present has been shaped by our past; so our future will be molded by our present; and if we direct our present energies with whole-hearted earnestness towards counteracting the results of past actions, we can make our future better and brighter. This is the Law of Karma, whatever we sow we must reap. An apple tree cannot be produced from a mango seed, nor a mango tree from an appleseed. If a person spends his life in evil thinking and wrong-doing, then it is useless for him to look for happiness; similarly, a man who thinks and acts wisely cannot help but reap happiness, which none can take away from him. The nature of sin or wrong-living is to make the veil which separates us from God thicker; the nature of right-living is to make the veil thinner and thinner.

The theory of evolution is entirely based on the Law of Karma and leads by a logical necessity to the theory of Reincarnation. Vedanta recognizes that the idea of evolution is not complete, if confined only to material phenomena. It must also extend through the higher realms of man's spiritual consciousness. It is necessary for every living being to continue to evolve until the germ of perfection latent in him had reached its full expression; and this requires many lives and many forms of experience. The Soul of man, however, is not subject to change. It is birthless, deathless, and immortal. "The Soul is not born, neither does it die," the Bhagavad-Gita tells us. The body decays but not the dweller in the body. Death is nothing but going from one house to another. Karma has no power over the real Self of man; it binds only the apparent man. Immortality again inevitably pre-supposes pre-existence, since eternity cannot extend in one direction only. It is evident that that which has no end can

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# Do You Need An Adjustment?

By Robert K. Williams

ONE day a stiff-necked, erect and very thin man walked into my Chiropractic office and in a voice indicative of a month's debauch, wheezed out: "Are you the bone-cracking doctor?"

Looking him over a few moments for visible signs of prosperity and satisfying myself that it was asthma and not whiskey that was talking, I replied in the affirmative.

Leading him into my adjustment room, I bade him sit down and tell me his interesting story.

He interrupted himself about every ten words with a lung-scraping cough that sounded like sand-paper being rubbed over a rusty hoop. After he had exhausted himself and gasped frantically for air for a minute or two, he sat up and looked sympathetically at me, and whispered, between gasps, that he would pay good money if I could cure him.

Sympathy and cupidity struggled within me for an instant but sympathy won.

I assured him that he had an aggravated case of bronchitis and that I could cure him almost at once.

He was cheered and left the office breathing quite freely and promised to return next day for a first treatment.

This was during my early chiropractic days. I was cocksure and pitied all doctors not of my radical type and took every occasion to belittle the old-line doctors, and especially despised the osteopaths who at this time were swinging somewhat over to the chiropractic and stealing some of the movements held sacred by the newer school.

The new chiropractor is a queer bird. With little experience and lots of theory, he's about as intolerant as a new convert to socialism. He reads with disdain records of cures by the knife, derides Christian Science, hypnotism and drug medication as mere bunk, and makes himself about as desirable and tolerable as a Holly Roller in a convention of Methodist divines.

Whenever he hears of a friend taking medicine he boils, and bids him throw away the cursed stuff and to take an adjustment and get well. If the friend refuses to follow the advice and continues to gurgle down medicines, he becomes suspicious of him and almost hopes that he will get hold of the wrong bottle.

In the early days chiropractic would cure anything, Kiphosis, lordosis and scoliosis—that is, humpback, inward curve and lateral curvature of the spine—are perfectly easy to correct. All one needs to do is to adjust above or below the affected vertebra and within a few days the backbone will be as of old.

The young chiropractor doesn't see the need of people going about with deformed bodies. He watches ill-shapen, half-useless people struggling along and wonders if general intelligence, and, especially knowledge of chiropractic, will ever obtain. Pityingly he passes the days. But experience comes, a more dubious turn of mind settles down, and when he finally finds that many of these deformities do not yield, he grows more patient, less intolerant and becomes philosophical.

But to return to our patient. In the meantime I learned that he was a chronic; had ankylosis of the spine—that is growing together of the joints—was asthmatic, had indigestion, suffered from vertigo, regurgitation of the heart, pyloric weakness, stiff-neck, enjoyed enteroptosis and wore false teeth.

He had been ill thirty years, had been a patient of every

doctor in the city, all of whom pronounced him incurable, yet—I guaranteed to cure him. He had not tried chiropractic.

When he stretched out on the table he was a funny-looking thing. In addition to the troubles mentioned, he had a pigeon breast, one hip was higher than the other, he had been operated on for appendicitis, both tonsils had been removed and turbinates sawed out, and his eyes were not mates.

I lifted him up easily and gently fixed his pigeon breast on the softest part of a sawdust pillow and proceeded to pick out the most likely spot to affect an immediate cure. As all the bones were wrong, some grown together, and all making a fine zig-zag paling fence, it was hard to select the proper one.

I picked one I thought least likely to kill him, gave a downward thrust and succeeded in making him groan and cough. He coughed considerably and grew too weak to resist, so I thought it would be a capital idea to break up the stiffness in his neck at this time. I twisted his neck but it was as rigid as a chair leg. I was able to produce intense pain. Before he could defend himself I tried the other side, with worse results. The pain, if anything was added to. He almost rolled off the adjusting table. He grabbed his neck as a fellow grabs his jaw, when he is suffering from the toothache. He sat up and wheezed heavily. I then tried the vibrator and the gentle massage soothed him and he left feeling well.

He kept coming back, gaining confidence each time till I finally tried adjustments again. I only succeeded in making him swear. However, he had faith.

After a month of trying to loosen his bones, I came to the conclusion that I wasn't experienced enough and sought my friend across the hall. This chiro. had a hand as big as a ham, and great, bony fingers capable of lifting vertebrae out by the roots.

For a week I prevailed on my patient to let my friend adjust his neck. Finally he consented after my repeated assurance that it wouldn't hurt.

Telling the doctor with the capable hands how stiff my patient's neck was, he grinned and said: "Bring him on. I've never seen a neck that I couldn't adjust."

Leading my patient over as if to slaughter, he trustingly laid his head in my friend's big palm and closed his eyes. I placed my knee against his body and closed my eyes also. Dr. K's larger and more powerful right hand was firmly placed on the jaw, which practically covered the patient's face. He gave the peculiar twist and a shudder went through me. A grating of dry bones was heard, accompanied by moans of anguish, and before my suffering client could kick himself off the table, Dr. K. gave the other side a twist . . . thoroughly removing all ankylosis.

My patient rolled to the floor despite my efforts and groaned and writhed in torment. When the pain subsided he got up and, strange to say, he could freely move his neck. He wouldn't speak to me for a week. But, up to the time he died, a few weeks afterward from strangulation, he could move his neck.

Chiropractic is a wonderful thing. A lady was directed to me. She had been suffering from Angina Pectoris for fifteen years. She had been to Europe and had consulted eminent neurologists in America as well. She had spent \$16,000 in quest of surcease from pain. In ten seconds I had the fourth dorsal adjusted and she hasn't had a heart pain since. She

still owes me \$2.

After adjustments, I induced sixty school teachers to lay aside glasses. I've always thought they didn't need them.

A chiropractor is a handy thing to have around the house. A friend of mine, who hardly knows anything, learned to adjust. He visited a town for the purpose of starting a lodge. The man he wanted to see was crippled with lumbago. He couldn't stand. He realized unless this man got well he would have to walk back home. So, taking his information in his hands, he adjusted his client, using two chairs as a table. Immediately the man arose, and among other things said, "I am well." My friend made over \$80 in commissions that night.

The spine is the central axis of the skeleton. It is composed of 26 superimposed bones, called vertebra, meaning "capable of turning." It encloses and protects the spinal cord in the bony canal, which is provided with a series of thirty intervertebral foramina on each side for the exit of the spinal nerves. The average length, from Atlas to tip of Coccyx is 28 inches in man and 27 inches in woman. About one-quarter of its length is made up of intervertebral discs. There are two primary and two secondary curves in the spine, which adds greatly to the elasticity and strength of the column and thus breaks shocks and increases resistance to injury. about the California colony. In the light of the above facts. Of the 26 vertebra, 24 are movable and are divided from above downward as follows: 7 cervical; 12 thoracic; 5 lumbar. The two immovable bones are the sacrum and coccyx which are cemented together. In early life the sacrum is composed of five vertebra and the coccyx four. As life advances these nine vertebra fuse and form the sacrum and coccyx.

The spinal cord rises from the brain. From between each vertebra a pair of sensory and motor nerves are sent to the various organs and tissues of the body.

It is with correct alignment of the spine that the chiropractor has to do. If from any cause the spinal bones move out of alignment a pressure upon the emerging nerves will follow. The organ to which that particular nerve runs will suffer. Adjustment of the bones to a normal position, the chiropractor claims, will eliminate pain and disease. The growing favor of chiropractic and the increasing number of practitioners would seem to indicate a basis in fact for the newest of the healing branches.

Chiropractic was discovered and developed, it is claimed, by D. D. Palmer of Davenport, Iowa, along about the year 1896. There has been some controversy over the point of discovery. Missionary reports from the Sandwich Islands tell of a peculiar religious custom, as they thought, when they observed a naked native prostrate himself upon two mounds of sand, one under his chest, the other upon which his thighs rested, and a native walk up and down his spine with his bare feet. This would show that exercise of the spinal muscles and movements of the vertebra were early resorted to. At any rate, Dr. Palmer gave to the world one of the first books dealing with the subject. He discovered the fact that displaced vertebra cause disease quite by accident. He was formerly a magnetic healer and in this capacity treated a janitor who was very deaf. One day, the story goes, he noticed the third dorsal vertebra was considerably higher than the other bones of this man's spine. He thought there might be some connection between this displacement and the janitor's deafness. He prevailed upon his patient to allow him to attempt to put it back even with the rest. The patient feared that he might be killed in the process, but being reassured, Dr. Palmer thrust it back and instantly the man's hearing returned.

This remarkable occurrence started a chain of reasoning

and he deduced that if a certain dislocated vertebra caused deafness why was it not a logical consequence to have stomach, liver, bowel, heart troubles, and even paralysis from the same cause? He began the study of the spinal nerves and learned their ramifications. He experimented on many subjects and got marvelous results. He performed remarkable cures and then postulated that 95 per cent of all diseases came from what is known as sub-luxated vertebrae, that is, a lesion less than a luxation, and the other 5 percent was due to traumatism or accident.

Of course, this was and is today, disputed, but the fact remains that many marvelous cures are accompanied by skillful adjustments.

Toothache, earache, neuritis, rheumatism, indigestion, bowel and liver trouble, frequently disappear, as if by magic, under proper adjustment.

Many forms of paralysis, such as hemiplegia, paraplegia, paralysis agitans, chorea and tortocollis have yielded to chiropractic ministrations, it is said.

One of the theories advanced by some thinkers along chiropractic lines is that health is dependent upon temperature. The nerves having motor, sensory and trophic attributes, a pressure, causing a disturbance of these functions would cause one of two things to happen—a super-normal or sub-normal temperature. If above normal, a fever ensues; if below normal, one of the various forms of paralysis, each manifesting itself differently in proportion to the amount of pressure. In other words, there are but two diseases, fevers and paralysis. Fevers then, according to this theory, can be reduced quickly by adjustment of one or two vertebra definitely known to control the heat supply and that paralysis may be cured by adjusting at the point of lesion.

Chiropractic diagnosis and symptomatology differ widely from the orthodox schools. The method of diagnosis differs and the symptoms are the result of certain defined and mathematical points of sub-luxations.

There has been stubborn opposition to the growth of chiropractic on the part of the older established schools, which had the laws stringently made to exclude practically all practice of any new healing cult. Chiropractors have been jailed and persecuted in nearly every state. On the whole, through a well-knit organization of defense, headed by an able lawyer, Sol Long, members of the national association fare less severely and in many instances are discharged, than in the earlier days of the budding craft.

Formerly a few weeks was sufficient for the well-informed on anatomy to qualify for chiropractic service, but today the big schools require a three to four years course of study. Many states now license chiropractors the same as allopaths, homeopaths, and the osteopaths.

A persevering fight is being made for medical freedom and the test of time will determine whether chiropractic will continue to live and flourish or decline and die.

From a health point of view more should be known of chiropractic. Knowledge of the human body is essential and when once the nervous organism is better understood by the laymen fewer aches and pains will be suffered by a fearful and ignorant people, and the less overworked and underpaid doctors would be called upon to render doubtful services.

Chiro should be known by members of the family, not alone because of a fear-removing power, but for the ability to remove small pains and the necessity of knowing how to live correctly. Horse doctors should know something of spinal adjustments. Perhaps if veterinaries became proficient, they would displace all other kinds of doctors. They go at things in the right way. When they are called to minister to

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# The Value of Sabotage

By C. E. Payne

**T**HE acts of workers who are employed for wages, and which go by the general name of "Sabotage," have two aspects. The aspect that presents itself to employers is one of destruction of property and violation of contracts, while the other aspect presents itself to the workers as so fundamentally necessary that it is accepted and practiced by them without question.

It is not to be expected that an employer can see an act of sabotage in any other light than as an act of pure viciousness. To interfere in any way with the profit an employer hoped to make out of a venture can not be considered kindly by that employer. And so long as the net returns to be derived from an enterprise are the only considerations, this view is correct.

But there is another consideration than that of net returns. There are the workers themselves. If the wage workers are to be at all considered by any standard permissible in civilization, sabotage takes on an entirely different aspect. It then becomes a means to an end, and that end is the physical and mental preservation of the worker.

If (an unsurmountable "if") all employers were absolutely just, there would be no need for sabotage. In that event there would be no employers, and all workers would exchange their products on an equal basis according to the necessary labor time involved in their production. But some employers are not absolutely just. Some are so manifestly unfair that it is necessary for those who work for them to use some form of self-protection.

It is this self-protection, in whatever form, that is known by the general name of sabotage. Many times the sabotage is so crude that it results in the wanton destruction of property, while at other times it is unwisely used and but reacts on the one who practiced it. A shift boss in a mine may order a timber set in a careless manner because it will take too much time to set it properly, but though it is set in an unsafe manner it will result for a time in an additional production of ore.

For the miner to reduce the production of ore by taking the necessary time to set the timber properly is an act of sabotage, and one that is necessary for the physical well-being of the miner by avoiding broken bones.

In one respect, the formation of a labor union and making it function on the job, at the point of production, is an act of sabotage. Any act that is consciously done by the workers for their own self-protection, but contrary to the wishes of the employer, is an act of sabotage. Many unions have taken the eight hour work day when their employers wished them to work ten or twelve hours per day, and the mere taking of this two hours or more for themselves was an act of sabotage. It interfered with the wishes and profits of the employer, but was a necessity for the physical and mental well-being of the workers.

Whether the time was taken from the work day desired by the employer with or without his knowledge is immaterial; the mere fact that the workers take it against the will of the employer is an act of sabotage, because it interferes with the profits of the employer.

So long as there are employer and employee, wage labor and capitalistic production, the employers will in the very nature of things demand a constantly accelerating production per man for the purpose of increasing profits.

At the same time, the workers will resist this tendency of capitalism with every means at their command, and so long as they are given wages instead of the ownership of the pro-

duct, they will go to the other extreme of reducing production as far as they can and still retain their jobs. Having no material interest in the product, the question of right or wrong will appeal to them only in the abstract, and not in concrete form as it would if the workers owned the product itself.

Having no material interest in the things produced under the capitalistic system, but only in themselves and the wages they may receive, it naturally follows that the workers will use such means as are at their command to maintain their wages at the highest point and themselves in the best condition. It is a matter of self-preservation, and is too vital a matter to be left to the tender mercy of a profit-seeking employer.

Sabotage is a fact in modern production for profit, and philosophizing and law making will not abolish or alter it. The only workers who will not practice it are those who are in such a "dim-eyed, narrow-chested state of being" that they are no longer able to protect themselves, and have even lost their desire to do so.

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## Victor Hugo on the Mob

"Foex urbis" Cicero exclaimed; mob, Burke adds indignantly; a crowd, a multitude, a population, these words are quickly uttered; but no matter! What do I care that they go barefoot? They cannot read; all the worse. Will you abandon them on that account? Will you convert their distress into a curse? Cannot light penetrate these masses? Let us revert to that cry of light and insist upon it. Light, light! Who knows whether this opaqueness may not become transparent? for are not revolutions themselves transfigurations? Come, philosophers,—teach, enlighten, illumine, think aloud, speak loudly, run joyfully into the sunshine, fraternize with the public places, announce the glad tidings, spread pamphlets around, proclaim the right, sing the Marseillaise, sow enthusiasm, and pluck green branches from the oaks! Make a whirlwind of the idea! This crowd may be sublimated, so let us learn how to make use of that vast conflagration of principles and virtues which crackles and bursts into flame at certain hours. These bare feet, these naked arms, these rags, this ignorance, this abjectness, this darkness may be employed for the conquest of the ideal. Look through the people and you will perceive the truth; the vile sand which you trample underfoot, when cast into the furnace and melted, will become splendid crystal, and, by its aid, Galileo and Newton discover planets.

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## Attacked by Pygmies

Scott Nearing has been indicted on the charge of violating certain provisions of the Espionage act, and is now under bail. The specific charge is that of distributing a pamphlet written by Nearing entitled "The Great Madness," in which he advances the theory that the United States was shoved into the war by Big Business.

Irrespective of whether this particular theory of Nearing's is right or wrong, we wish to say that Nearing is ten times as big a man as any of his persecutors, and when his cowardly detractors have been forgotten, he will long be remembered as one of the great emancipators of the race. —A. S.

# The World Federation After the War

By Walter Thomas Mills Author of "Democracy and Despotism."

THE World War must result in some one of three things, a world federation, a world conquest, or universal chaos and disorder. A world federation would make the world safe for democracy and provide a democracy that would be safe for the world. A world conquest would deprive the world of all safeguards, and make all lands subject to the unhindered mastery of the war lords. Universal chaos and disorder would mean the collapse of civilization and long centuries of slow and painful work in the rebuilding of a ruined world.

What are the chances for a world federation, and a real world-wide democracy? This question is three-fold. What changes must take place as a result of the war (1) within the nations (2) between the nations if a democratic federation is to result, and (3) what is the war likely to accomplish in these particulars?

The great collective interests among men are found in their educational activities, in the land, the labor, the credits, the transportation, the manufacturers, and the markets, which are of such a nature that they must be collectively carried on and hence ought to be collectively managed in behalf of the common good. The manner of the organization and management of these great social interests in any country, determines the democratic or despotic nature of its institutions. This is true because the powers which prevail in the control of these great social services always prevail in the control of the political machinery.

It is absurd to suppose that the people in any country who tamely submit to the despotic organization and control of these great social activities at home, would ever contend with any great degree of sincerity or efficiency for democracy in international relations.

## I

IN view of these considerations, what are the things which are essential to the creation and support of a real democracy within any country?

(1) The schools must be made free from the control of great private interests. As long as these interests control the great instruments of social service in industry and commerce; they will control the schools, and use them to provide effective servants in their own undertakings, and to defend the wrongs of their own monopolies, and this means the end of sincerity in instruction and freedom in investigation.

The liberation of the schools from the dictation of the great private interests will come unsought when all great private monopolies, with private interests directly opposed to the common good, shall have been converted into democratic rather than despotic forms of organization and management.

(2) Land values are the creation of society. Land values are created year by year by those who make the lands, location and natural resources more or less available for the use of men. As all create these values, all should share in their benefits. This can be accomplished only by a tax for social purposes on these unimproved land values, and at the same time exempting from social claims in the form of taxes of any sort, all stock, tools, improvements, personal property—in fact, all values created by any individual.

This would make an end of land monopoly, and an end of the despotic relations between the landlord and the tenant at once and for all time.

(3) Labor has everywhere ceased to be simply a matter of

private concern. Every government on earth is fixing the hours and remuneration of workers in some one or more of the great industries. In all countries receiverships take possession of "unemployed estates"—that is, bankrupt enterprises, in order so to administer these properties as to avoid the "wasting of estates."

Every day it is made clearer that the unemployment of labor also involves the "wasting of estates"—and of life more precious than the estates. If the state can attach and hold property in defiance both of the owner and of his creditors, in order to "protect estates," it can attach and provide jobs for the protection both of estates and of life more precious than the estates.

The organization of industry for the express purpose of employing all labor on just terms, and without interference with the conviction, associations, or personal affairs of the workers, is essential to the common good. This can never be accomplished under private monopoly control of the great social services. Public enterprise in the place of every unavoidable private monopoly is the only way of escape.

(4) Credit is the essential in the exchange of goods, in the enlargement and improvement in the machinery of production as is land itself. Credit is nothing other than a responsible system of accounting under which producers can expend their products in advance of returns to be obtained from the final delivery of some sort of goods or services. It is necessary, in order to complete the processes of production and exchange.

The creation of wealth is the foundation of all credits. The "delivery of the goods" is the only method by which credits can be finally cancelled and "satisfied." All credits that are honest and justifiable are based on goods ready to deliver, on goods in process of production, or on an enlargement of the means of production, and hence on more goods to be produced. The credit of a country or a community is the creation of all those who create wealth or render service of all sort in return for which others will surrender any share of their income.

All useful people together create the credit of the world. All gamblers, speculators, and swindlers, destroy, absorb, or render hazardous this credit created by the useful workers. As long as credit can be withheld from those who have goods or are ready to produce goods, or can be withheld from one and extended to another on easier terms, or can be used as an instrument of extortion or oppression, so long the private masters of the public credit will hold in their hands the weal or woe of all useful people, and they will do that in the behalf of those who are themselves worse than useless.

Credits withheld from gamblers and extended to all others at the cost of the service rendered, is of fundamental importance to real democracy.

(5) Transportation is as fundamental to the existence of the state as is the circulation of the blood to the existence of the man. Whoever is able to control the transportation of goods is able to control the nation. All countries except the United States have adopted the public ownership of the railroads. This country, one of the greatest laggards among all the countries, in the democratic management of its great social services, stands alone in this respect among all the nations of the earth.

Under a real democracy the whole transportation service

including telephones, telegraphs, express packages, goods and passengers, by truck, railway or steamship line,—all the way from producer to consumer, must be freed from private management in the interest of private graft, and provided at cost and on equal terms to all.

(6) There are a few great manufacturing undertakings like steel, oil, sugar, and the like, which are as complete monopolies in their nature as any of the others. These, too, must be publicly owned and administered in the behalf of all if real democracy is to escape the corruption and extortion of private interests.

(7) The same may be said of the markets. There is no place where wasteful methods on the one hand and monopoly extortion on the other, places a heavier burden on real industry and honest trade, than in the privately owned and monopolized markets. Here, again, public enterprise in the place of private monopoly has been found the world over to be the only relief from extortion, and the only pathway to democracy.

**These changes must be wrought within the various nations before the world can have the national material out of which to construct an international democracy.**

## II

**T**HESSE changes taken for granted, what will still remain as necessary changes between the nations if the world democracy is to prevail?

(1) International boundary lines must be made secure, not by fortifications, or vast armies, organized and controlled by the separate nations interested in extending boundaries, or in controlling territories, either by force or by intrigue, beyond their own boundary lines.

Instead of this, international boundary lines must be made secure by the joint action, not of any league of any share of the nations, but by the joint action of all the nations, this action to be supported by an international army and navy able to make good its protection as against all other interests whatsoever.

(2) International trade relations including the freedom of the seas, of all waterways connecting the seas, as the Kiel, the Suez and the Panama, must be made answerable only to an international authority composed of all nations.

(3) The old diplomacy must be abolished. Bargains between any of the nations as affecting any other nations, whether secret or open, must be made impossible. A United States of the World must succeed the quarreling nations, and tariffs, special treaties, or any advantages or concessions from any one country in behalf of any other, must be made as impossible as our national constitution has made them impossible between our several states.

(4) Every one of these international necessities, if international democracy is to prevail, requires the creation of a world government, or a world federation, or a league of nations or whatever one may choose to call it, just so it is democratic in its character, and is composed of representatives who are themselves made directly responsible to the public will within the nations which they represent.

(5) Any settlement of this war which does not involve these provisions or a substantial advance towards them, will result only in a temporary postponement of the work of international slaughter, until at last the world shall learn that woe only can await international alliances, nations, states or cities "founded in blood."

## III

**F**INALLY, what effect will the war have on hastening the conditions within the nations essential to the creation of

these relations between the nations and so hastening the coming of a world federation, democratic in its character and built by negotiation and not by conquest?

It is probably true that no great war in history has been accompanied by a more marked series of surprises and disappointments on the part of the nations most directly involved in it, than has been true of this war.

All of the expectations and all of the military programs at first planned by all of the European nations, have met with disappointment and defeat.

Now this is historically true: Military undertakings, just because of the nature of warfare, must necessarily be despotic in organization and in direction. Victorious countries have always tended to become more despotic as the result of victories. Countries "defeated in war almost always reconstruct their internal affairs with the result that the more democratic forces displace the despotic powers discredited because defeated in a foreign war. For instance, in the last war between Germany and France, victorious Germany became more despotic, while defeated France repudiated her monarchy and advanced to a republic.

In all of the European countries now at war, there have been frequent reorganizations of cabinets, and further reorganizations seem near at hand, and so far, in every shifting of the authorities, the more democratic forces have everywhere been given a stronger position within the several countries.

It is impossible to conceive of a final settlement of the world war except upon the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities." If this shall actually occur, both the central powers and the allies, will face defeat of their determination to make anew the map of the world.

The battle fronts of all Europe have been drawn along the iron mines of France and the forests, oil fields, grain fields, manganese mines, and other natural resources of other countries, clamored for by the industrial masters within one country and demanded by them at the expense of the industrial masters of the other countries. Each day that passes adds to the determination of the warring parties and makes better the chances that neither party in the end will be able to make good its purpose to profit through international plunder.

If the war terminates by conquest, international plunder and a world despotism cannot help but follow. If it terminates in any other way it will be to the advantage of democracy between the nations because it will enormously advance the power of democratic forces within the nations, and this must make for a world federation on a democratic basis.

Once this federation is seriously undertaken, its work will be effective in reconstructing international relations on a democratic basis, just in the proportion that democratic forces shall be able to make an end of industrial and commercial despotism within their own countries.

World conquest as the result of the war would mean international plunder between the nations, and monopoly robbery within the nations on a larger scale than the world has ever known.

World peace without conquest, but effected by negotiation as the result of the final collapse of the military programs within the nations, would make an end of further wars, because the only way world peace by negotiation could be effected would be on the basis of some kind of an international agreement creating some kind of an international authority which hereafter would protect alike all international boundaries and provide for international trade between all states and direct access to all natural resources on a basis of

# How Can We Make The World Safe For Democracy?

By Dr. A. E. Briggs

**T**HERE is no more commendable ambition than to "make the world safe for democracy." With democracy comes all the liberties for which our forefathers were supposed to have fought.

What is the object of democracy and what the object of tyranny?

The ultimate object of democracy is that the workers shall enjoy the product of their toil. The object of a tyranny is that those who do not toil may enjoy the product of the toil of others.

A free press and free speech are essentials of democracy. Without these a democracy is unthinkable. The only object of denying or abridging these rights is to more firmly establish a plutocracy that one class shall work and that another class may shirk.

The only good in the world is to establish a brotherhood; "to make the world safe for democracy." The only good is to destroy every tyranny that democracy may arise in its stead. The only good in the world is to break the fetters riveted upon us by political and industrial slave-masters and return to the people a free and unincumbered earth, including the air and sunshine.

To deny these liberties is to make the world safe for plutocracy. The only object of any government, except a democracy, is to appropriate to shirkers the wealth created by workers.

There is no democracy without industrial democracy. Political democracy is but half of democracy. There is no democracy, but Socialism. There can be no real freedom in the world without industrial democracy which assures to the workers their social product. Every other form of government is a system of slavery. The purpose of every other form of government is to plunder those who toil. Call it what you may. Call it chattel slavery; call it serfdom; call it feudalism; or call it wage slavery. Every other form is to appropriate the product of labor without producing it. Every other form is to promote parasitism.

"To make the world safe for democracy" we must first give the people a vision. We must make them appreciate justice, freedom, and make them despise autocracy, tyranny, plutocracy. In old Russia, when the monster denied free speech and a free press it aroused a burning passion for these rights and in the conflict the monster went down. To drive liberty underground is to make it a passion and to make it grow. It engenders a contempt for such a government and a desire for a decent world.

These two passions make Russia today, the most promising land of the earth.

Will America, in the face of history, follow the crooked path of old Russia? If she does, then a new America will arise to greet the new Russia and the "world will be safe for democracy."

With the workers sent to the dungeon or to the gallows on paid testimony and human beings burned at the stake while a supine and bankrupt government is pleading its helplessness, a people purified in the burning caldron of autocracy are not likely to worship.

With free speech and a free press a people may slowly, very slowly, be educated in economic justice. With men drawn and quartered at the behest of the men who own, with a constitution decreed to be "but a scrap of paper," with

"courts of justice" that are but such in name, with every man's life or job in jeopardy at the will of the men who own, will liberty come from a spark? Tyranny combined with an empty stomach (and it is never over-full) is a combination that will sooner or later educate the people and make them know that they need not compromise with tyrants, but vote for and construct a decent system.

Some ardent patriot may take offense at my reflection on the system under which we live, a system that begins by making every individual and every nation under it industrial enemies of every other, and ends in wholesale murder. Such a system is certainly not a practical system, for society is not organized with the purpose to destroy itself. There are but two systems, individualism and collectivism, under which society can exist or a combination of these two. Evolution has slowly carried us toward collectivism until the war gave it a great impetus and today we are face to face with state socialism. The whole world is.

The brilliant John Spargo, ex-socialist, afflicted with that most infectious malady, pseudoblepsia, is widely quoted in the kept press to the effect that Great Briatrain, France and the United States are not afflicted with militarism, but are fighting for a real democracy.

If they are, let them say so. If they will say so, without any strings on their words, every socialist in the land, and in all lands, will join in the last great fight.

To the wars of the world, socialists are conscientious objectors, that is, they object to fight over and over the old fight for "victory," for territory, for indemnities, and for the trade supremacy; but they would all join in the last fight for the brotherhood that has for ages been the vision of philosophers and is, today, becoming the vision of those who toil. The workers see that "to make the world safe for autocracy or for plutocracy" the world must repeatedly become a slaughter pen. This is no sleeping vision of the workers but a real ocular vision with no illusions.

Then, what shall we do to make the world safe for democracy? First, when we declare for a democracy, let us sprinkle over the earth a little democracy, and then fight for a democracy. Then conscription will not be needed, because every man with red blood will be on hand to fight the last fight for a real civilization.

The socialists of the world deplore the fact that this world tragedy is necessary to permit us to break the shackles of capitalism. In season and out, we preached the brotherhood of man, and, in scorn, those who hurled back at us the term "idealist."

Our President has now accepted the socialist solution of the problem of universal peace and has proclaimed it to the world. The socialists of the world stand with him and with the Russian and German socialists against a separate peace, for the death of kaiserism, not only in Germany, but in America as well.

Let our allies get together, emphasize President Wilson's words, and no doubt we shall have the socialists of Germany with us in the last great fight. What the German socialists want is what our President wants and what I want.

If President Wilson puts over the peace program of the socialists, compelling not only the Central Powers, but our allies to accept it, it will make him the greatest man in the world's history up to this time.

# What Is the Outlook For A United States of the World?

**T**WO years ago the outlook for a realization of the Social Revolution was dark and despairing. In March 1917, it broke upon the world in Russia. The definite idea of working class emancipation that had been germinating in the womb of society for nearly seventy years at last burst forth into actuality—with the groping insecurity of new birth. In the labor pains of a world-wide cataclysm, the first proletarian government was born—**THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD WAS LAID.**

Despite the gloom and uncertainty which temporarily hover above the great people's movement of Russia, the Revolution cannot be crushed—cannot be checked. The idea of Socialism could not be killed in nearly three-quarters of a century of oppression, persecution and terrorism by the despots of Europe in their ascendancy; much less can the vitalized fact of a rising proletarian power be broken by the frenzied defenders of a dying system.

The long suffering masses of Russia have tasted the elixir of freedom. They have experienced an awakening, and can never again be forced back into the bursting chains of bondage.

But more than this, the Revolution they started will grow. It IS growing. It spreads throughout Europe—and, more slowly, throughout the world. The desperate arrogance of decadent masters cannot conceal the threatening, inevitable upheaval that impends. The spark will soon be furnished to loose the general uprising. Then will commence the great emancipation—the socializing of society, the democratizing of industry, the humanizing of man.

The ultimate United States of the World will be the work of tomorrow, as it was the dream of yesterday. The beginning has been made. The job is big. But remember what two short years have brought, and who will dare deny the workers of their rightful heritage?

—WILLIAM J. FIELDING.

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**I** DO not oppose the creation of the United States of the World. Because this seems to be in evolutionary order, as a means of defence against a breaking up, it may come. But what I say is, that it will not work. The reason this will fail, the reason all other efforts of a mass nature have failed is that dependence is placed on organization rather than organism. Organisms function; organizations administer. The one is natural, the other artificial. Because the one is natural, it operates smoothly. Because the other is artificial, it is a matter of force, of compulsion. Its inevitable end is failure.

At the end of every great historical cycle—and we are now at that point in history—the existing form of government seeks to strengthen itself by doubling up. Therefore, there comes a period of conquest: the world empire is involved. The dream of the United States of the World is one with the Roman empire of a former world, and one with the idea of German dominance and Anglo-Saxon dominance now. Even when the world empire comes, it suddenly disappears, much as Alexander's and Napoleon's empires went to pieces in other days. The fact is, the closing of a historical age is a period of involution rather than of evolution, just as it is at the end of the annual year, when leaves fall. We are, therefore, to have a "rolling together like a scroll"; and "they shall be changed."

Yet through all the change that is now in progress and

changes that are yet to come, there is running a social consciousness that, unperceived, is developing, not so much an organization, as a social organism. That is the finality. It will be union, without the state. It will embrace the world without conquering or compelling it. It is one with the dream of the carpenter of Gallilee—a kingdom of Heaven, recognized, just as we now have and recognize the kingdom of vegetation, of animal, and of mineral; only, this will embrace all, with place for each. The United States of the World thinks only of man.

—LINCOLN PHIFER, Editor "New World."

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**T**HE outlook for a United States of the World depends much upon how far such a state is going to be democratic; that is, how far the peoples of the earth of all races and colors are to have representation and voice. At present most advocates of a world state are thinking only of white nations or possibly they are willing to admit a colored nation like Japan or even China, because they fear their power; but there has been almost no suggestion that the thousands of millions of India, of Africa, and the islands of the sea have any voice or vote.

If an attempt should be made to make simply a white World State this state would economically and politically prey upon the black world. The result would be the same jealousy and ownership and exploitation that have done so much to make the present war. Eventually, such jealousy would disrupt the State. On the other hand, if all nations and races were admitted and if strenuous effort was made to prevent exploitation within the state of the weak and backward we could easily look forward to a Federation of the World.

—W. E. B. DU BOIS.

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**I**T would have been a hardy optimist who would have predicted in 1913 that the United States of the World could be organized successfully in the twentieth century. It would be a hardened pessimist who would claim that no one now living would witness its realization. Such is the new faith born of the world war.

If the world does not seem very safe yet for democracy it is getting daily more unsafe for aristocrats, autocrats, junkers and plutocrats. The war should not be allowed to end until a tentative federal organization of the world is effected. The war will be the greatest crime in history if the unparalleled bloodshed does not wash away every barrier that keeps not only individual nations but individual people from complete self-realization.

That does not justify a Lansdowne peace or a hand-me-down peace from Germany. It does not mean an Irish Republic or a Finnish Republic. These are reactionary proposals as belated as the secession of South Carolina from the United States of America. Self-realization does not mean that Germany may retain a military organization to terrorize the world or Britain a Suez Canal, or Turkey a Dardanelles, or America a Panama Canal, to throttle the world. Nothing can be counted necessary for self-realization which hinders the life of others. Federalism guarantees home rule, which is local self-government within the larger organization.

The International Postal Union is the most perfect world federalism; it only needs to be extended to all foreign commerce, leaving to each group the local government it chooses.

That is the way the postal service of the world is organized today. It is not imposing government from the outside to demand the abolition of autocracy in Germany or freedom of the seas, or the federal, democratic organization of Central Europe. There is no longer an outside and inside; the world at peace was one in markets; the world at war is one in bloodshed; it will be one in government as soon as radicals get the world vision.

The Russians do not speak of the Russian revolution, says Lincoln Steffens, but of The Revolution. Yet they sold out the Ukrainians, the Esthonians, the Letts and the Finns. The world does not need revolutionists now; it needs organizers; the revolution is already on. An inconclusive peace is a counter-revolution. The United States of the World is at hand. Shall we be quitters or federalists?

—CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

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**A**LL the Socialist factions, especially the verbal revolutionists, are aiding nationalism against internationalism—from the British Laborites to the Russian Bolsheviks, and German minority. On the other hand, President Wilson is moving in the direction of internationalism, though he has not got very far yet.

The future of internationalism is, therefore, bright. The future of the traitors to internationalism is, I hope and believe, dark—though they still have a vast power for evil, which may become greater before some stupendous historic overturn—a genuine revolution—has swallowed them up.

—WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

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**S**OME kind of world organization seems to me inevitable after this war. The only question is, shall it be a capitalist organization or a Socialist? And I should say a great part of this depends upon the amount of political judgment which the Socialists display in the present crisis.

The word "practical" is one which has been poisoned through the misuse of capitalist politicians. Nevertheless it is necessary to be practical just now, for we are confronted by a desperate emergency, and we cannot change the facts by continual repetition of words, however blessed.

It is an old saying that the Devil can quote Scripture for his own purposes. It is only quite recently that the horrible possibility has dawned upon the Socialist movement that the

Devil can quote Karl Marx for his own purposes. What I have reference to is the success of the Kaiser in betraying the Russian Revolution by the use of our best proletarian formulas. If the same plan succeeds to any extent in America, the Socialists of this country will not play as large a part in the International settlement as I should like to see them play.

—UPTON SINCLAIR.

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**P**ARDON a preacher for intruding upon so brief an argument as this, a story. But it is a preacher's story, and needs not to be told at length, so many know it.

The boy was digging furiously in the fence corner for the wood-chuck. "Think you'll get it?" asked an observing neighbor, a cynical negative in his tone. But the boy without stopping to so much as look up replied conclusively, "Got to! Preacher's comin' to dinner, and we haint got nothin' to eat!"

The United States of America came to pass, not as the dream of idealists, but as a matter of plain necessity. Our stupid school histories still tell us almost nothing of the seven years following the Revolutionary War. It is so much easier to exploit the heroics of that war. But John Fiske in his memorable monograph, "The Critical Period in American History," has shown that it was not our "successful" war with Great Britain that made us a nation, but it was the economic demoralization of the years that followed the war, and the fact that there was no other way out.

There isn't any other way out of the mess of modern capitalism than the way of some sort of world federation. We may blunder around for years before we find that way, without even a United States of Europe. We may get two or three great "confederated" groups, instead of one federated family. And we may get a United States of the World which will be so far political rather than industrial as to prove a dubious benefit to the working masses of mankind. But we're bound to get federation on a world scale or the devil himself, who has already come to dinner and seems inclined to prolong his stay, will eat every nation out of house and home.

And eventually, let us hope after no very long delay, we shall have something more than "United States;" we shall have a real co-operation of the workers of the world.

—ROBERT WHITAKER.

## The Deadly Parallel

"Those who oppose me, I will crush." (The Kaiser, in speech at Brandenburg, 1890).

"My grandfather, by his own right, set the Prussian crown upon his head, once more distinctly emphasizing the fact that it was accorded him by the WILL OF GOD ALONE, and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven and, as such, performed his duties as regent and sovereign." (The Kaiser, in speech at Koenigsburg, August 25, 1910).

"All written constitutions are scraps of paper." (Frederick William IV in speech from throne, April 11, 1847).

"It is said that there are leaders of the working classes in our empire who would trample on the privileges of those who were appointed by God on high to govern people. Such men are Germany's worst enemies."—Bernhardi.

"Habeas Corpus be damned! We'll give them post mortems instead!" (Adjutant General Sherman Bell of the Colorado Militia, defying the orders of the civil courts.)

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, NOT BY LABOR AGITATORS, BUT BY THE CHRISTIAN MEN TO WHOM GOD, IN HIS INFINITE WISDOM, HAS GIVEN CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY." (George M. Baer, mine-owner, during the coal strike of 1912.)

"TO HELL WITH THE CONSTITUTION!" Major McClelland of Colorado Militia, in coal strike of 1904.)

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and civic morality."—Theodore Roosevelt.

# National Non-Resistance?

A Reply To Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN'S article entitled "National Non-Resistance," which was published in the December-January "Western Comrade," ended with this contention: "Can a nation afford to be non-resistant? If we face the facts coolly, studying each possible disaster without panic and without sentimentality, the answer is YES!"

Miss Hughan does not face the facts. The non-resistance of Christ achieved crucifixion; Nero's lions ate Christians for breakfast; millions of non-resistant Armenians have been murdered, ravished, starved, beaten, plundered and imprisoned by the Turks during years past down to the present when they operate under German officers; Holland and Switzerland, if non-resistant, would be German states today, forced at the point of the bayonet to fight for Prussianism. There are ten thousand examples in the world's history of the falsity of her conclusion.

There are many times, to be sure, when resistance has proved to be martyrdom, more expensive than non-resistance, but those instances only establish the necessity of EFFECTIVE resistance rather than ill-advised and futile resistance. All of which serves to emphasize the horrible possibilities of the oppression of the mighty over the weak, the dominating over the oppressed of human kind. It is with a delicious ingenuousness the essayist denies the Socialist contention that railroad labor is underpaid and capitalism is exploiting the rest of the earth: "Our laborers are habituated to the highest of wages—our railroads complaining of minus net incomes." Again: "Our natural resources have long been in the hands of private exploiters." And the naive conclusion of this, her only pretense at argument, is the following: "THE POSSESSION OF OUR COUNTRY BY ANOTHER WOULD BE LITTLE MORE VALUABLE THAN THE POSSESSION OF A BANKBOOK BY AN AFRICAN HEAD HUNTER!"

With the examples of Prussian Kultur and "Schrecklichkeit" before your eyes, in Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia and Roumania, with the threats of Prussian leaders to make America pay for the whole war of conquest of the rest of the world, can one not conceive how Prussianism is prepared to profit from possession of America? They levied a contribution of \$100,000,000 upon a little city of Belgium, threatening destruction and wholesale slaughter of inhabitants if not obeyed. They could levy and they would levy, ten billions of dollars against New York City, and a hundred billions against this country. What would prevent? Why could they not take over the coal mines, the iron mines, the farms, the cities—as they do in Belgium and France today, massacre indiscriminately the women and the babies and the men who refuse to labor for a pittance or who refuse to obey their laws? Where is the consistency in claiming possession of property to be of no advantage, and in the same breath proclaiming the crimes of capitalism and the advantage to it of the ownership of property?

At the beginning of this world war, we who held some of the old-fashioned ideals of innate decency and justice and honor, asked ourselves that question, "Why does Prussianism want to rule—what can it gain?" And we found the answer in the conquered countries. We have found the answer in the baby impaled on a German bayonet because the mother hesitated a minute about bringing out all the food in the house at the demand of a Hun. The answer is found in the murder of a Belgian mayor for lack of funds; in the wholesale murder of the Lusitania incident. We find the answer in the government exposures of Prussian purposes in this war; in Gerard's

writings; in the statements of a thousand reliable witnesses who KNOW.

The waste, the suffering, the grief, the horror of war are repulsive to the normal human being; and yet, so far as we can see, the greatest strides in civilization have come through the adherence of peoples to their conceptions of right, resistance to wrong and oppression—war, the result of upholding in unity their conception of justice.

The average pacifist proclaims to the world his absolute trust in the justice and humanity of the Prussian war lords after three years of treason to Christ and humanity, but has no belief in the honesty and ordinary decency of a member of Congress or any officer of the government of the United States. The Russian Bolshevik who leaves the front and goes home and shoots the owner of the land he lives on, is a good pacifist, while the French socialist who defends his country against the Hun is a traitor to the cause of Democracy, because he is supporting Militarism.

Pacifism is individualism—anarchy. Personally, I like the idea of pacifism, but it is indefensible until the world is made over. The man who defends it invariably contradicts himself and exposes his lack of reason.

Nothing better illustrates the inconsistency of this view than is contained in the editorial column of this same number of the "Western Comrade." Job Harriman first advocates and predicts a great civil war of the classes in Europe, and concludes that the pacifists may be right. Thus, according to this gentleman, the "pacifism" in which the laborer takes up arms against capitalism is perfectly justifiable, while the pacifism in which the laborer takes up arms to defend his country is unjustifiable! That sort of pacifism savors too strongly of anarchy to convince me that it can be right; its logic is of the calibre of the Hun "Kultur."

Pacifism and its attendant isms are mere scholastic hallucination. American citizenship does not desire to be a door-mat for either the Prussian or the slant-eyed celestial, and it will not consent to do so, whether it be ideal or no.

—ALFRED A. SESSIONS.

## Miss Hughan's Rebuttal

THE answer by Alfred A. Sessions to my article "Can a Nation Afford to Be Non-Resistant?" demands a reply, even from the pen of "childish innocence." If Mr. Sessions had planned his topics a little more carefully, my reply also might have boasted greater coherence. As it is, however, I will make a feeble attempt to follow his excursions, however far from the issue they may lead.

First, for example, my opponent dodges the case altogether by introducing the instances of Christ and his followers. These noble martyrs were not "nations" at all, least of all "modern industrial nations," and accordingly have nothing to do with the purely economic arguments of my article. Aside from the irrelevancy, however, the examples are indeed unfortunate for the advocate of violence. Physical death was, of course, accepted by these fighters for truth, as it is by the soldier. The question is, which cause won the victory? After two thousand years is Christianity or the Roman Empire the survivor?

As to the next example, Armenia, what "childish innocent" has told you that this nation is non-resistant? Ask any Armenian, and he will tell you with martial fervor that the chief reason the Turks have persecuted them is because of fear, lest

the subject race may fight for the enemies of their masters. The newly formed Armenian army furnishes an interesting commentary on this fear.

No other examples of non-resistance are furnished by Mr. Sessions, but their place is taken by an interesting "might have been."

"Holland and Switzerland, if non-resistant . . . would have been forced at the point of the bayonet to fight for Prussianism." Unproved Mr. Sessions, and by the way, genuine non-resistants cannot be forced to fight for anyone, as is witnessed by the 4000 Englishmen jailed as conscientious objectors.

There are ten thousand other examples, my opponent goes on to say, but fails to mention the other 9,997.

On the next point, we thoroughly agree: "The necessity of effective resistance rather than ill-advised and futile resistance." If one is going in for militarism, he might as well do it thoroughly, and not renounce the ideals of brotherhood for nothing. Germany may be brutal, but is at least consistent. I take the liberty, however, of preferring the resistance of intelligent beings rather than of brutes, that of free Russia to that of Belgium.

It is unfortunate that the "answerer" is not more familiar with general economics. If so, he would realize that labor in the United States may be miserably underpaid while yet receiving the highest of wages as compared with the rest of the world, and that the high cost of living which forces these wages upon the capitalist renders it far more profitable for him to invest his accumulations in undeveloped lands. The fact that "capitalism is exploiting the rest of the earth," moreover, does not at all prevent the existence of various degrees of profit in exploitation. If Mr. Sessions doubts that railroads are "complaining" of minus profits it is probably because that esteemed sheet, the "New York Times" may not circulate on the Pacific Coast. Possibly the circumstances that the aforesaid railroads are just now consenting to government control may enable him to see that the palmy days of exploitation by railroads in the United States, as compared with other forms of exploitation, are drawing to a close.

The discussion of fines and indemnities by my opponent suggests regret that he has not given more study to the theories of Norman Angell upon this subject. In "The Great Illusion" and in the multitude of controversial articles growing from it, Mr. Angell has substantiated, so well that it is needless for me to repeat it, his contention that a levy of money and property upon a conquered nation has but slight probability of either harming the paying country or benefiting the one which receives. The stock example of this argument is, of course, the Franco-Prussian indemnity, which left France after ten years industrially better off than Germany.

With regard to the whole matter of property, it is necessary to call attention once more to two considerations: first, that the modern nation, e. g., Germany after the Franco-Prussian war in Alsace, and Great Britain after the Boer war, is not in the habit of destroying the titles to private property, no matter to what extent the process of war has temporarily nullified them; second, that what the modern predatory nation desires is not property, for property in itself is now possessed to a surfeit, but concessions in undeveloped countries in order that its property may be put to profitable use.

Does Mr. Sessions really believe that the answer to the question, "Why does Prussianism want to rule?" is found in the additional facilities for murder so furnished? In a world organized for profits does a nation deliberately sacrifice millions of its wealth for the privilege of impaling babies? Where is your hard common sense, may I ask?

I must touch quickly upon the remaining arguments. This

paper is growing long. Progress comes through struggle. Yes, but struggle is not synonymous with war. The achievements of the labor unions, of British parliamentary government, of socialism, of Christianity, of science, of exploration, have all come through struggle, but where war has occurred, it has as often impeded as helped. Was France advanced by the Napoleonic wars, England by the Boer war, America by the Spanish-American, or Germany by the Franco-Prussian? We radicals believe that in all these cases freedom received serious checks, from which it may take generations to recover.

Finally, let us joyfully express our complete agreement upon an important point. Mr. Sessions has my hearty assent to his statement that the pacifism which refuses to bear arms against the kaiser but will engage in civil war to fight capitalism till death savors too strongly of anarchy and of the Hun. Though I realize that in this position I am expressing only myself and not the stand of the socialist party, I am such a genuine pacifist that I refuse to take part in violence for any cause, and believe that wherever the working class has departed from the method of peaceful political and industrial struggle it has retarded the day of emancipation.

Pacifism is not a simple subject and can no more be dismissed with phrases than can socialism. Both are phases of revolution, and our first duty is to disabuse our minds of sentimentality and face the facts.

—JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, Ph. D.

## Liberty Raped

THE CONGRESS of the United States is on the eve of passing one of the most infamous laws that ever befouled a statute book. In all the history of the American nation there never has been a more dastardly hypocritical or a more stupidly dangerous act than the one now pending, making it a felony punishable by twenty years' imprisonment and a fine of \$10,000 to "by word or act support or favor the cause of the German empire or its allies in the present war, or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein."

This law, if passed, will be one of the handiest tools ever devised for the subjection of labor.

And this is what we predict will happen:

A periodical which justly and fairly criticizes a government official will be suppressed on the ground that it is hampering the freedom of work in arranging war preparations.

A speaker will be imprisoned twenty years for pointing out the fact that a certain gang of profiteers has been assisted in its plunder by a certain gang of Washington politicians.

And there will be a hundred more cases something similar.

The founders of the American government contemptuously repudiated the theory of the divine right of kings, but a few asinine congressmen seem never to have heard of it. They make it a felony for one man to criticize the actions of another—no matter whether those actions may be highly detrimental to the social welfare, or even to the successful prosecution of the war.

And worse than that—such a law makes it a crime for an employer to kick against a misdemeanor of his employee! For that is exactly the relation that exists between members of Congress and the American people.

The stupidity of such a law is superseded only by its gross insolence. The nauseating nerve of its sponsors is enough to suffuse every liberty-loving American citizen with righteous indignation.

It is high time that a microscopic portion of the salve of democracy that we are endeavoring to rub into the wounds of the world be applied to a few of our own festering social sores.—A. S.

# What Esperanto Means to the World

By Creston Clark Coigne

IT frequently happens that a story can be told better by beginning in the middle and working outwards, than by following the custom of starting off with a sketch of the hero's childhood and youth. And when a subject as broad as a movement of world-wide extent is to be confined to a brief article, the smallest attempt to introduce it conventionally might easily use up all the available space and leave the reader wondering what was coming next.

So let us pause a moment in whatever we are doing and run our eyes over the pages of history—to see if perchance they contain any suggestions that we might utilize to the advantage of our many attempts to solve the eternal question of how the people of all nations may be brought to understand that the progress and happiness of one race depends more and more upon the progress and happiness of all races. For almost innumerable have been the deductions drawn by thinking men from the difficult lessons of mankind's incompletely recorded experiences; and there is no doubt that some of the schemes and plans that have thus been evolved for world-betterment will ultimately be of great benefit to our race.

But if we eliminate from our present consideration most of the intricate problems connected with economics or religion, we shall find it greatly to our profit to digress somewhat from the ordinary paths of research and compare the size, number and character of the wars that have been fought between people speaking the same language and the wars that have been waged between people of dissimilar tongues. This much may be learned from the comparison: that while it is undeniably true that civil wars and revolutions have from time to time carried desolation into many lands, yet when their aggregate is contrasted to the international strife that has intermittently continued from thousands of years before the Christian era to the present day, it seems in spite of its actual vastness to dwindle into insignificance. And it is not until we thoroughly appreciate the tremendous and far-reaching meaning of this fact that we begin to realize how true was the utterance of De Tocqueville when, nearly three-quarters of a century ago, he said that "the tie of language is perhaps the strongest and most durable that can unite mankind."

The question of a common language is by no means a new one. During the last two hundred years it has commanded the attention of many of the best minds in Europe, from Leibnitz to Herbert Spencer, and some of the projects to which it has given rise would indeed constitute an interesting study for the psychologist. But of all the plans for an international language that have occupied the thoughts of the "dreamers and doers" of recent generations there is only one that has survived the acid test of time and claims the sole right to the serious consideration of all men and women—it is the invention of Dr. Zamenhof and is known to the world as Esperanto.

As a language, Esperanto came into being under the most favorable auspices—its creator was an adept in at least a score of languages and was fairly conversant with a dozen more. And Dr. Zamenhof was the first man who understood that the more closely a system of speech corresponds to the recognized means of expressing thought, the more readily it may be acquired by the largest number of people. We may call it artificial if we please; but it has been so carefully and nicely adjusted that its use in writing or speaking conveys not the slightest impression of mechanism: it flows softly on, as scholars have said, sounding very much like Spanish or Italian. soft and rich—*simpla, fleksebla, vere internacia!* And yet

science has not given way to beauty, for rigorously logical is the grammar and vocabulary of the international language, and therein lies its chief virtue—its simplicity. At least seventy-five percent of its root words are already known to most European languages, and the few comprehensive rules of grammar that are without any exceptions, make its study a genuine pleasure for most people. This does not mean, of course, that the study of Esperanto is so easy as scarcely to require an effort (the mastery of anything as complex as a human language necessarily takes time and patience), but it is no exaggeration to say that a good knowledge of Esperanto may be obtained by any normal person in less time than it would be possible to gain an insight into the fundamentals of national language. That is one reason why Esperanto is alive and growing today and why it was enabled to survive even the world cataclysm.

The other reason is that the "interna ideo"—the internal idea—of the movement is constructive. World amity as opposed to world enmity; a deeper and more perfect understanding between the various races that is not based on any incoherent pacifist protest that war is "wrong" (as though any sane person doubted it!) but rather upon the firm conviction that the highest interests of the human race are its collective concerns; a conviction that can only come from the intimate, personal knowledge of its truth, gained by the association and co-operation of intelligent men and women the world over through the medium of a common, neutral language that all may learn in addition to their native tongue and that all may speak as equals, knowing that in doing so they are neither foisting their own language and "kultur" upon other races. Nor are they placing themselves at a disadvantage by allowing the nationalists of another race, through its language, to obtain the moral, intellectual and commercial hegemony of the world—a condition that would certainly result from the widespread adoption of any of the great national languages.

In a word, the Esperantists state that a neutral, international language is the fundamental basis upon which the peoples of the world can equally and directly co-operate with one another: **IT IS AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP IN SECURING A PERMANENT PEACE, FOUNDED UPON THE SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING THAT IS BORN OF THE KINSHIP OF A COMMON SPEECH.** They do not claim that the general acceptance of the international language will cure the ills of the world, for it is simply an instrument to be used by the far-sighted men and women of all nations, and its services are freely at the disposal of all—Socialists, Single Taxers, Bahaists—everyone who recognizes in it a means of strengthening the bonds between nations. As has been said, it is an important first step, and without which the progress of humanity must continue along the narrow nationalistic trail in which it has been moving (and with such disastrous results!) consequently foregoing the benefits to be derived from that broader co-operation which transcends the limitations of nationality and makes us indeed citizens of the world.

With no misgivings the Esperantist looks at the future; for great as are the problems that will arise with the restoration or peace, he knows that as time goes on the demand for an international language will constantly increase, and that the movement of which he is a part alone can supply it. With an efficient world organization under the *Universala Esperanto*

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# Co-operation vs. Competition

By Clinton Bancroft

PHILOSOPHERS and romancers from Plato to Bellamy have devised ideal systems and ideal republics, which they believed would bring the greatest happiness to the human race and make of the earth a social and industrial paradise. But I am neither an ideal philosopher nor an ideal romancist; only a practical, prosaic American, with no intention of proposing an ideal system until we have an ideal people to practise it. As long as human nature is the unregenerate compound that it is, there must necessarily be evil in the world. Under any industrial or commercial system there must always be avarice, and greed, and selfishness, and dishonesty, and fraud, all the human weaknesses under whatever guise appearing, and every industrial plan must take these incidents to humanity into consideration or fail. The weaknesses of humanity referred to are the "little rifts within the lute" that must be mended or the music be discord. These evils we will always have with us. I mention this, so that I may not be classed with the philosophic dreamers of the land.

But there is a difference between following a system that legalizes and encourages the vicious qualities of human nature, and following one that condemns and places checks upon them. There is a difference between cropping the crest of overshadowing injustice, and encouraging it to grow. There is a difference between extending a firm, strong grasp to the despairing hand of the submerged unfortunate, and in opening new floodgates upon his. And therein lies the difference between the industrial disease and the industrial remedy. The disease that has fastened itself upon the industrial life of the world is competition, and competition is war, and war results in the defeat and slavery of some, and in the triumph and masterhood of others. And this war is perpetual. It fills the streets with unemployed, the asylums with paupers, and prisons with criminals. The struggle never ceases. The doors of the Industrial Temple of Janus are never closed. And as in the age of force physical wars resulted in the mastering and ruling of the multitude by the few, so in this age of cunning, our industrial, competitive war results in the triumph of the few and the subservience of the many. And in that time, did the best men, the good men, become the masters? Do they now? Does it tend to develop the intellectual and moral best? It does not. It tends to develop those faculties that are required in the struggle—treachery, cunning, scheming, selfishness, avarice, greed. Each in this competitive war dreads poverty, for poverty means defeat, captivity, slavery, and each, therefore, becomes grasping, grinding, over-reaching. He excuses himself by pleading, "one has to live," "business is business," or "if I do not, another will." Yes! the competitive system is indeed, a state of war. And it is because this is true that we have trusts, and combinations, and cabals, and monopoly. And under the competitive wage system it is natural friends who are warring with each other; toiler with toiler; producer with producer. Is that the system for an enlightened community to tolerate in its very midst? Competition means working against each other, and no other construction can be truthfully put upon it. That is the disease. The cure is to work with each other, to co-operate, and that is the remedy. The idea is not new, nor is it claimed that any new fundamental industrial principle has been discovered. But a somewhat more extensive, radical and scientific application of the principles will be proposed. The principle itself is as old as Justice, for it is a part of justice.

Co-operation can not be called an experiment. It has al-

ready passed the experimental stage. Numerous successful co-operative enterprises of large scope and capital have educated the people up to an understanding that it is both practicable and desirable. Grange stores, profit-sharing establishments, creamery companies, building and loan associations, colonies and labor exchanges—all these have contributed to the educative process that has established the practicability and desirability of co-operation in the public mind.

But a great objection to many co-operative associations is, that they do not establish a distinct and understandable, but not too radical minimum of co-operation required, and allow as much in excess of that as the particular individuals concerned think they are able to operate. They frequently require only a pledge to the co-operative idea, leaving to each individual to interpret for himself what that idea is and shall be. Now when it comes to establishing business enterprises on that basis it is very unsatisfactory. Most people want to know at once the most that will be demanded of them in the way of co-operation. And as there are many kinds and degrees of co-operation, an organization that aspires to be national in extent and influence can only require that degree to which the average of the progressive people have been educated.

The essential factor of success in co-operative industries is the good faith and persevering spirit of its members. Confidence more than all else is imperatively required. This, so far as it is personal, our old industrial system has nearly destroyed. Today the normal attitude of men in business towards each other is that of suspicion and distrust. The habit of requiring legal and substantial security has become a social instinct of self defense that is almost functional. It is the greatest barrier to industrial co-operation with which the organizer has to contend. Men will not believe that there are any considerable numbers of their fellow men who will not, directly or indirectly, stoop to some form of exploitation. They require some substantial security against it. They have been educated to this feeling by generations of experience under a system that is especially designed to develop it. Generations of education will be necessary to eliminate it to the degree necessary to insure the confidence required in the purer forms of co-operation. No business involving any considerable numbers of individuals can succeed for any length of time, if based alone on the present confidence of men in each other. Legal and material guarantees of good faith can not be dispensed with under the present state of popular character, conscience and habits. The greater length of time designed for the continuance of such business, the greater the security required that the concern can and will do what it was designed to do.

This is a machine age; and from the standpoint of both law and economic industry, corporations are the most perfect co-operative machines that have ever been constructed. The greatest jurists of the age have been engaged in perfecting and simplifying them; and the best paid legal talent of the times has been employed in constructing them—for capital.

But capital, with characteristic cunning, suppressed the word co-operation, and substituted the word corporation, thereby keeping the people for a long time in ignorance of the fact that through its corporations it was practicing co-operation and communism, even while all the time denouncing the former as impracticable, and the latter an enemy to society. All the time that capital has been constructing and exclusive-

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# The Rise of Frank Dunne

By Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

IF the editor were to tell Frank Dunne to write a story about the moon being made of green cheese, he wouldn't ask any silly questions—he'd do it. He would get facts and statistics, interviews and pictures to prove that the moon is made of green cheese. And here's the funny thing about it all; he would believe his own story. He believed every fake he wrote; he believed every lie he told. Yes, Frank Dunne was an ideal newspaperman. Temperamentally, he fit in with the order of things.

A newspaper's policy was Frank Dunne's religion. The editorials were as gospel. He swore by their viewpoint—everything that the paper stood for was right, was just, was as it should be. If he had been told to cover the crucifixion he would have written a story of "a long-haired agitator paying the penalty of his criminal views"; he would have told how "a certain Jesus Christ had incited the people to riot," had said things "against the government," had criticized established institutions and customs"; he would have given the impression that Jesus deserved His fate.

When Dunne covered a strike, the office was always satisfied. There wasn't a man on "The Morning Times" who could write a meaner story than this Frank Dunne. He could sneer at a mass of starving strikers, accuse them of "squandering their salaries on drink," charge them with all manner of crime and violence—yes, he was a favorite in "The Times" office. Even the big chief—one couldn't conceive of a more unpleasant person—always smiled at Frank Dunne and bade him the time of day.

A rare specimen, his 135 pounds throbbed with energy, his sharp eyes were ever on the watch for stuff the office wanted, his ears heard everything; and if they didn't, his imagination would come to the rescue.

This Frank Dunne was the star policy man; whenever anything particularly dirty was wanted, the office could always rely on Dunne, who would write the stuff—and, above all, swear by it. He was extraordinarily able at stories that meant systematic campaigns of publicity, for he could write on the same subject for weeks and weeks at a stretch, and never be at a loss for something to say. A word would often give him enough material for two columns of matter. If there were some sort of a franchise the office was anxious to get for some local kings of finance, Dunne would be set to work on the publicity. He had genius for making the wrong appear right.

Considering that he was a newspaperman, Dunne was fairly well paid. He said he was getting \$40 a week. Of course, he lied, for I knew it for a fact that he was getting \$35. He was always broke because he was always mingling with men of wealth and means and didn't fancy being considered one not of their class. He would just as soon pay for a ten-dollar dinner as not; he wouldn't hesitate to invite some wealthy friends to a champagne supper that would keep him in debt for weeks to come. Dunne loved the brothers of Have; he worshipped them, and nothing pleased him better than to be with them. He was always at some sort of an affair; and he always gave the impression that he belonged there.

Just before Dunne became the star policy man, he fell in love with a girl who worked in a local department store. She was a pretty—no, she was a beautiful girl, just passing nineteen. He took her to the theater a number of times, always treating her as best he knew how; and she, sweet Laura

Knight, appreciated him immensely. She was a poor girl and, I repeat, she worked in a big store—and that means she worked at starvation wages. I believe she got \$6 a week. I'm sure it wasn't more.

Dunne told her many pretty things; he told her he loved her; yes, he even said she was "the best girl in the world." But, he didn't say anything about marriage, though, let it be said in fairness, he thought of it. He really thought it would be a splendid thing to have her as his wife. Yes, she would be the ideal companion for life, he concluded. But, somehow, he felt that Laura Knight was a girl he could always get, so there need be no hurry about marriage. He was convinced that if he didn't marry her she would be a spinster for the rest of her days—there are lots of men who believe that. So, he concluded it would be best for him to wait—maybe a year, possibly two or three, but not longer. So he didn't say anything about marriage. Laura Knight loved him, but she was a retiring sort of girl who didn't know how to use her wonderful charms. Not knowing how to influence him, she let him have his way about things, and as he didn't say anything about marriage, she simply played a waiting game.

Six months later, Dunne married; but he didn't marry Laura Knight. He marry an inspired female, a parasite to the core, but everybody thought Dunne was a lucky fellow. Not every reporter has luck enough to marry a rich man's daughter. It happened this way: While at an affair, he was introduced to a young lady who was the daughter of the unpleasant owner of "The Morning Times." This owner—Bennington Fraser—liked Dunne, as I've already mentioned, and when he learned that his daughter and Dunne were friendly he smiled. When he learned, some weeks later, that his daughter would like to become the wife of Dunne, he didn't object.

"Of course," said Mr. Bennington Fraser, "that young fellow hasn't any money, but I tell you he has a future. He knows what's what. He hasn't any money, but he has the push and go that will bring him money. That young fellow is all right."

And he blessed them. And they married. And Dunne forgot about Laura Knight. And Laura Knight cried a little and sobbed a little more, and philosophically decided to make the most of it all.

Dunne became one of the most important men on "The Morning Times"; he became dictator of the policy; he outlined campaigns; he ruled politics; he said what shall be—and usually he had his way. The big chief trusted Dunne's judgment.

The paper was a gold mine. Dunne was on the inside. So Dunne became wealthy. He got mixed up in a number of questionable deals but he wasn't afraid, for he held a mighty club over the enemies—the club of publicity. He could drive any man out of the country, he once boasted.

He got interested in a number of propositions; he invested money in street railway stock; he bought shares in a great manufacturing concern; he even bought a quarter interest in a great department store.

Dunne found that "The Morning Times" was of great help in his business ventures, enabling him to get almost anything he wanted. Of course, when it came to the law-making bodies, he was a terror. All feared him.

But, some people WILL persist in being reformers, Dunne or no Dunne. And it came to pass that a number of reform-

ers got together and formed an organization, with the purpose of going into politics. An opposition paper decided to take up the cudgels for this reform element, and as a result circulation grew for the opposition paper.

This was a distressing state of affairs, though it didn't harm the finances of "The Morning Times"; this paper could always depend on the big advertisers—what more could one wish for? When campaign time came again, Dunne saw that the reformers were getting too strong. They were actually threatening to capture political power; yes, it appeared as though they would capture the powers of government. Dunne's paper fought tirelessly, Dunne himself writing many editorials.

The reform governor was elected, and then, Dunne realized that many amazing things were about to happen. The reformers, in their platform, distinctly said that if elected they would fight for the passage of a minimum wage bill. Dunne, interested in a department store, didn't fancy the idea of a minimum wage bill passing the legislature, so he fought it, but somehow, his paper didn't carry the kind of stuff he wanted.

"I tell you, Dunne" said Mr. Fraser, "we haven't got the man who has the right angle on this minimum wage business." Dunne agreed with him.

"And what's more," Fraser added; "it looks to me as though more than half the men of our staff are for that bill and are hoping to see it pass."

Dunne had suspected this for weeks.

"We aren't getting the right kind of stuff," Fraser repeated.

"I don't know of a better man to put on this story," said Dunne with a growl.

"Oh, that's easy enough, Dunne," said Fraser, with a wink "we've got the right man——"

"Who?"

"You!"

This was a neat compliment, Dunne thought, and it pleased him immensely. Dunne put fire and vigor into the fight. The men behind the paper chuckled, for they saw that they were getting what they needed—"the right angle."

Dunne fought like a tiger—he threatened, he bullied, he lied, he screamed, he moaned—he used dozens of cartoons. He did everything in his power to work up sentiment against the bill. He roared at the reformers, accusing them of all sorts of crimes. He made life uncomfortable for them. The headlines, day after day, week after week, counted. Dunne brought up a number of side issues to cloud the real issue. "We sort of muddied the water," said Fraser.

"Your'e doing fine," said Fraser, "keep it up!"

And Dunne obeyed. "The trouble," said Dunne, "is that we are on the defensive. Even though we are pouring the hot shot into them, they are still on the offensive." With a thump on the table, he added, "I want THEM to be on the defensive! Not me!"

Mr. Fraser liked the idea, but he didn't know just what to do. Dunne solved this problem. Attack them—simple enough. He made a number of sensational charges against the floor leaders and the Governor. He made serious charges the kind that make people talk, and, it wasn't many days before the Governor and his fighting lieutenants were on the defensive; they literally had to fight to save their reputations—and the result was—well, that doesn't matter; the point is that the bill was forgotten; the point of attack was shifted; the issues were muddled and the girls were left where they always were, with starvation wages. This, it was generally agreed, was a master stroke on Dunne's part.

He had his way about things. He had argued that girls would "never go wrong on account of low wages if they weren't bad by nature." He had argued that "low wages do not drive girls into the street." His department store was saved many thousands of dollars.

Oh, by the way, Laura Knight was one of the employees in Dunne's store. That is to say, she was there until some weeks ago. Dunne met her one night and was astonished to learn that she had become a prostitute. Strange things happen, Dunne thought. "She never was any good or she wouldn't have become THAT." And Dunne might have married her!

What a narrow escape!

## Our Salacious Public

PEOPLE who attend theatre very little, and who, therefore, are the loudest in demanding censorship, contend that the pornographic theatre is one of the chief factors in the demoralization of the public.

These people naïvely assume that producers are forcing licentious productions on a virtuous and frowning public. They forget that the production of films and legitimates is a business, and, as such, is managed strictly on business principles. No producer is foolhardy enough—unless he is a millionaire who wishes to amuse himself, or, being of an idealistic temperament, wishes to convert a recalcitrant public to some radicalism—to offer a distasteful play to theatre-goers. Unpopular vehicles are rarely financially successful.

The fact of the matter is that the risqué play is shown purely because people crave it.

I have carefully studied the attitude of the average audience toward the indecencies of the screen and stage, and almost invariably I have found audiences greeting them with peals of rapturous laughter. The subtly-suggestive seldom fails to evoke merriment.

Whenever "Fatty" of Keystone fame, begins to remove his trousers, and then, after some reflection, decides to extinguish the light before completing the operation, what does the audience do but emit echoing guffaws?

When Charlie Chaplin brandishes his cane so that he catches and raises the skirt of his leading lady perilously above her knees, the audience is convulsed.

If a comedian emerges from some ball-room brawl, clad only in his B. V. D.'s the average church-going citizen not only tolerates it, but considers it rollicking good fun.

At a Western theatre last winter two packed houses saw and hugely enjoyed "So Long Letty," a musical comedy replete with the coarsest vulgarity and buffoonery. The delighted audiences, unquestionably composed of the city's "best people," repeatedly applauded revolting jests in which a pregnant woman was made the butt of ridicule.

At a local musical-comedy playhouse recently, the leading comedian, seeing a minister flirting with a damsel, said, with a sly wink at his audience: "Go to it! Slaughter, old boy!" This witticism received prolonged and tumultuous applause. (For the benefit of those who have heard nothing of the above-named Mr. Slaughter, I will say that it is the name of a minister who was convicted for raping a 16-year-old girl who attended his church).

I cite these concrete cases merely to show that the fault lies not so much with the film or play producer as it does with the appallingly low morale of the public itself.

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# The Man Behind the Bars

By Alanson Sessions

ARE prisoners people? Thomas Mott Osborne\* says that they are. He very flippantly asserts that prisoners are human beings, with many of the impulses, instincts, proclivities and desires that characterize the remainder of us. Frequently he is very revolutionary on this subject. He even says that convicts have brains and stomachs and spinal columns—just like real people!

Thomas Mott Osborne is a vicious heretic. He should be socially excommunicated for disseminating such vile and pernicious doctrines. He has the ineffable audacity to say that Jesse James looks something like me—that the most hardened criminals in the world like to eat appetizing food, like to wear good clothing, like to jingle money in their pockets, enjoy the society of men and women—just like the rest of us!

No. This is not a nonsensical introduction, but a plain truthful statement of the reason why Thomas Mott Osborne is not a popular penologist and why he is cordially hated by almost every politician in the State of New York.

Osborne, being a very human being himself, once conceived the idea that if ordinary people developed most satisfactorily under an environment conducive to health and happiness, then extraordinary people would thrive best under those conditions. He pointed out that sunlight and fresh air are necessary for health, that social intercourse is needed to develop the faculties of give and take and fair play; that prisoners need a certain amount of independence and responsibility to make strong, thinking citizens of them.

Moreover, he proved the correctness of his theory. At both Auburn and Sing Sing he demonstrated the beneficial effects of self-government, of freedom, of ample recreation.

But Thomas Mott Osborne is a man ahead of his time. As Frederick Harrison once said, "Society can overlook murder, swindling or adultery; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel." Osborne preached a new gospel, and he is not yet forgiven. But he has fully proved his contentions, and before another decade has passed every penal institution in the United States will be forced by an awakened social conscience to adopt his suggestions.

"Society and Prisons" is the most readable and sensible work on the subject of criminology that has appeared since the classic work of Enrico Ferri entitled, "The Positive School of Criminology." It is not more scientific than Ferri's book, but Osborne is so thoroly human and evinces such a thro and sympathetic understanding of the mental processes of the underdog that one is completely carried away by the broad-mindedness and kindly feeling that permeate every page.

Socialists will find nothing in "Society and Prisons" with which they will radically disagree. Fundamentally, Osborne shares the views of the positive school that criminals are the product of a combination of bad heredity and environment, and that society alone is responsible for the appalling number of infractions of the law. He says:

"It must be evident upon very slight acquaintance with the operations of the law that a very large number of those who get entangled in its net are not morally guilty; they are simply irresponsible, thru an ignorance that is no fault of their own. The number of men who have a deliberate intention to commit wickedness is relatively very small indeed."

Osborne defines a criminal as "a person who has com-

mitted a punishable offense against public law; more particularly a person convicted of a punishable public offense on proof or confession." However, despite the irresponsibility of most criminals, he takes the position that society has the right of self-preservation.

Osborne denies that there is a "criminal type." He makes light of many of the theories of the old school of criminology, and pokes fun at Havelock Ellis who writes that "family affection is by no means rare among criminals." "One is almost tempted to add," says Osborne, "as a no less important contribution to penology, that criminals as a rule have two legs and are sometimes partial to chops and tomato sauce." Osborne scoffs at Lombroso's theories concerning the "criminal type," and quotes Dr. Charles Goring, an English physician connected with the Parkhurst Prison in England, to the effect that "No evidence has emerged confirming the existence of a physical type, such as Lombroso and his disciples have described."

Osborne goes on to say: "I have yet to meet one prisoner whom I regard as anything but a perfectly natural human being—a natural human being often rendered abnormal thru inherited weaknesses, more often thru the evil influences of unhealthy environment, must often thru the stupidity of older people to whose care a precious human life was early entrusted. I believe that the institutions, devised by man for the training of youth, to be most responsible for the inmates in our state prisons. And when we talk about 'confirmed criminals' and a 'criminal type' and a 'criminal class' we are trying to lay upon God the blame which belongs to ourselves."

In other words, he throws the blame up squarely to the door of the present social order. No wonder he is universally hated by prison officials, who, as a rule, are the staunchest defenders of our archaic competitive system! When society begins to discard the absurd belief that the criminal is the victim of disease, and to adopt the belief that he is usually the direct product of abnormal social and industrial conditions, there will then be such a thing as a science of criminality—and not before.

Osborne states that law, as at present administered, proceeds upon the theory of revenge—of punishment, for crime—that the criminal is supposed to be meted out so much punishment for so much crime. He says that this is an utter impossibility. "Who can determine the exact responsibility which each one of us carries? Who can estimate the due weight to be allotted to each element—the inheritance, the early training or lack of training, the effect of environment, the influence of others, the results of unforeseen circumstances; in order to determine the exact degree of real blame deserved by the perpetrators of each and every crime, and the relative amount of punishment it would be fair to give to each?"

Osborne maintains that prisons do not reform, but on the contrary have the most perfect system patented to harden criminals. "In New York over two-thirds of the men in its four state prisons are recidivists; is that not good proof of the failure of our prisons to send out, at the end of their terms, men fitted to meet the world? Does it not point to the failure of the system under which our courts are acting?"

The objects of imprisonment are three-fold. They are: First, retaliatory; second, deterrent; and third, reformatory. The first is supposed to make the offender, by way of expiation, suffer in his turn. The second is to frighten both the offender himself and others in the outside world who intend

\*SOCIETY AND PRISONS, by Thomas Mott Osborne, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. Price \$1.35, Postpaid.

to commit crime. The third is to work a moral change for righteousness in the heart of the criminal.

Osborne contends that the first two objects are futile—that neither of them are practical. Not only that, but that the results are indubitably harmful. "As for the deterrent effect upon prisoners themselves; my own conclusion, formed after close acquaintance with many convicts, from the statements they have made to me, and from my own reading of human nature, is that the prison punishment of the past as a deterrent has been a sham and a failure."

Osborne is scathing in his denunciation of the custom of solitary confinement. He denounces it as the most barbarous institution in so-called civilized society. And when he took charge of the Welfare League among the prisoners of Auburn and Sing Sing, he showed that some of the most brutal and vicious criminals that were ever confined in a penitentiary could be made into decent citizens merely by giving them freedom in the yards, and by placing a certain amount of confidence in them. Osborne believes that solitary confinement should never be used, as its only result is to make the brutal more brutal and the vicious more vicious.

In the summer of 1913, Osborne, who was then on the New York Board of Commission Reform, appointed by the Governor, decided to enter the penitentiary as a voluntary convict and to live the life of a prisoner for a week, in order to learn by actual experience the conditions that existed. He was given permission to do so, and his description of the revolting conditions which surrounded him are graphic and highly interesting. He describes his feelings when he was first incarcerated:

"I am a prisoner, locked, double-locked. By no human possibility, by no act of my own, can I throw open the iron grating which shuts me from the world into this small stone vault. I am a voluntary prisoner, it is true; nevertheless, even a voluntary prisoner can't unlock the door of his cell—that must be done by some one from outside. I am perfectly conscious of a horrible feeling of constraint—of confinement. It recalls an agonized moment of my childhood when I accidentally locked myself into a closet.

"My cell is exactly four feet wide by seven and a half feet long, measuring by my own feet, and about seven feet high. The iron bed is hooked to the wall and folds up against it; the mattress and blankets hang over it. The entire furniture consists of one stool, a shelf or table which drops down against the wall when not held up by hooks, an iron basin filled with water for washing purposes, a covered iron bucket for other purposes, a tin cup for drinking water, . . . and an old broom which stands in the corner. A small wooden locker with three shelves is fastened up in the farther left-hand corner. The pillow hangs in the opposite right-hand corner over the edge of the bed.

"This is a cell in one of the oldest parts of the prison. It has a concrete floor and plastered walls and ceiling, and looks clean. . . . The electric bulb hangs from a hook in the center of the arched ceiling and my head nearly touches it."

After describing the horror of the darkness in the cells, he continues:

"It is of no use to shut your eyes, for you know they are still there; you can feel the blackness of those iron bars across your closed eyelids; they seem to sear themselves into your very soul. It is the most terrible sensation I ever experienced. I understand now the prison pallor; I understand the sensitiveness of this prison audience; I understand the high nervous tension which makes anything possible. HOW DOES ANY MAN REMAIN SANE, I WONDER, CAGED IN THIS STONE GRAVE, DAY AFTER DAY, NIGHT AFTER NIGHT?"

Nine evils of the old prison system were abolished by Warden Osborne, when he secured that position in Sing Sing. They were:

1. Constant confinement.
2. The vice naturally resulting from such confinement.
3. Ill-organized and inefficient system of labor.
4. Enforcement of silence.
5. The terrible monotony.
6. Constant espionage.
7. The system of "stool pigeons."
8. The horrible brutality of officers to prisoners.
9. The removal of all confidence and responsibility in the prisoner.

By instituting a general assembly of the prisoners, by dealing with them in a kindly manner, by allowing them to manage collectively many of their own affairs, by giving them sports and recreation in healthful quantity, Warden Osborne produced the following result:

In the seven years previous to the time he took charge of the prison, there had never been less than four escapes and as high as nineteen. IN 1915, DURING WHICH TIME OSBORNE INSTITUTED HIS NEW SYSTEM, THERE WERE ONLY THREE ESCAPES.

The results are eloquent proof of the efficiency of humane treatment of criminals. Osborne has conclusively proved his theory, and he deserves the thanks of mankind.

It is true that kindly treatment will not solve the problems of crime. Before we can materially decrease the amount of crime, we must establish equality of opportunity, we must spread broadcast the knowledge of contraception—and we must do a great many other revolutionary things. But we also have to deal with conditions as they exist. And in that respect, no man deserves higher honors than Thomas Mott Osborne.

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## On A Stack of old "Popular" Magazines

A jaded reader, finding magazines  
Undusted, cover-torn, behind old screens,  
Recalling hours he wasted on their show  
Of mawkish puppets, may choleric grow;  
May wonder who adjudged such travesties  
The counterparts of men; and then may seize  
The lot and throw them out, his anger gone  
When he sees bare the shelf they rested on.

For me they call up more than wasted hours.  
They cry a tragedy of wasted powers:  
They cry of men who pot-boiled frenziedly—  
This one because of sheer necessity,  
That one because he was a Sybarite—  
And while they pot-boiled stifled all the light  
Of truth and beauty shining in their hearts;  
And killed their courage—courage, toreh of arts.

They boast, those magazines, of bargains made.  
"A half-truth for the flesh-pots," was the trade.  
"A half-truth's better far than any lie.  
"Truth kills a lie, but half-truths hardly die!"  
They jeer, "No song of all they might have sung  
"Shall win the laurel when their day is done.  
"On us they charred their flames; we're their full share.  
"The shelf we're thrown from ever will be bare!"

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

## Peace Terms

IN England, the censor's power has waned; in France he is practically dead. Political discussion in Europe is freer today than at any time since the war began. Even in America, the people may discuss their own important business concerning the terms of peace with less danger of being tyrannized over by their own public servants than heretofore.

One may, perhaps, be permitted to hope that peace may come soon. Upon what terms should we be willing to lay down our arms? It seems to me that we are in grave danger of ever-estimating the relative importance of the Terms of Peace.

If we can wrest anything of value from a perplexing situation of course we should do so. If we can write anything into the final settlement that might indicate an advance towards democracy anywhere, it is our duty to write it. But we should not lose sight of the fact that a real advance towards real democracy involves action more drastic and more far-reaching than the mere signing of an agreement.

Norman Angell showed us quite conclusively that commercial prosperity does not depend upon military strength. He completely smashed the old illusion that military victory carries with it a victory for the well-being of the people. The same principle is true of moral values. We may go to war sincerely motivated by a devotion to an ideal, but a victory at arms does not ensure the actual preservation of that ideal; something more vital is necessary.

Democracy is worth fighting for. And a people may be compelled to fight for it against those who threaten to take it from them, or who may be preventing them from getting it. But establishing democracy is not alone a matter of blood; it is a matter of sweat; it is a matter of thought; it is a matter of education. Democracy involves a constant adjustment of power to suit conditions in order that ultimate control may rest always with the people. It is as easy to build factories with cannon as to establish democracy by violence.

We profess to be fighting for peace, and to believe in the efficacy of forces outside of physical might; but to be too insistent that our demands be met without any sort of compromise would be to confess a faith in violence as a factor in progress that would ill become our peaceful pretensions. We say also that we believe in democracy; we should therefore be willing to trust the workers of the world to work out the problems that concern them, in an orderly fashion in the long time that is to come after the war.

—ALEC WATKINS.

## Which Road?

WHEN the war to make the world safe for democracy is over, the war to get it in America will be resumed.

We may reach it by either of two roads: The first road is the road of revolution, violent and painful; the second road is the road of more or less orderly change. The second road is the least wasteful, the least disastrous to ourselves, and if we take it we are not likely to have to retrace our steps.

But there are three things in America that are unconsciously but surely forcing our feet along the red road of revolution.

The first factor is the government's policy of suppression and persecution in dealing with certain organizations of labor and with certain types of opinion. If history discredits any political principle at all, it discredits this principle of suppression. Suppression is the tyrant's favorite weapon. But, particularly where the people have had a taste of democracy, it is a stupid weapon. The effect of its use is to produce an

attitude of uncompromising hostility in those whose activities are being suppressed, to drive them to greater extremes in the pursuit of their purposes, and to swell their ranks with many who would otherwise hold themselves aloof.

The second factor is the perversity, the stupid torism, the almost unbelievable blindness of the present leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Samuel Gompers may be thoroughly honest. But it is nevertheless true that the policies to which he so stubbornly adheres increases his own personal power both inside and outside his organization at the expense of the men from whom he draws his pay. One of the first articles of the creed of Gompersism is that the unions should stay out of politics. But Gompers himself does not stay out of politics. And Gompers enjoys his influence in political affairs not because he is Samuel Gompers but because he is the president of the A. F. of L. Why the unions should not wield directly the influence that Gompers is enabled to wield through his connection with them is not easy to understand—unless it is because the entrance of the unions into politics would mean the exit of Gompers. Labor has been fighting with one hand. And if she is compelled to keep the other hand behind her back she will have to fight all the harder with the hand that is free; if she does not fight politically she must needs do all her fighting in a more drastic fashion with other weapons.

The third factor is the Socialist party. The present program of the party is quite inadequate. We socialists confine ourselves largely to pamphleteering and electioneering. Up to the present time, perhaps from necessity, we have been a party of opinion instead of action. We have failed to break into the actual game. It is far better to agitate than to do nothing, but agitation that is unaccompanied by any sort of constructive action will land us nowhere.

What we need most is not a Socialist party but a labor party. The function of the socialist should be not to talk for labor but to get labor to talk for herself; not to fight for labor, but to get labor to do her own fighting; not to theorize about co-operation but to become a co-operator. If the American socialist can do these things he will have done his share towards ensuring the safe conduct of the worker in the direction of the Co-operative Commonwealth along the road that holds the minimum of surety that he will arrive at the desired goal.

—ALEC WATKINS.

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## Russia Undermining Prussianism

Events are confirming the contentions of the non-resistant, and showing the futility of brute force as an educative factor in civilization.

Prince Maxmilian of Baden, in an interview with the Wolff bureau of Berlin, said:

"Germany is threatened from Russia by a 'moral infection.' . . . German world order must undertake defensive measures against Russian world disorder."

"The Internationalist" has long argued that the most efficacious way to inculcate the ideals of democracy in the minds of the German people is to encourage revolution in surrounding countries. This will tend to convince the German people that their enemies are not without but within their gates, and induce them to concentrate their attention and energy on the abolition of autocracy at home.

It seems to us that our present policy of maintaining a luke-warm attitude toward the Bolsheviki is about the height of stupid diplomacy.—A. S.

# What Thinkers Think

Gems of Comment From Current Periodicals

—The most damnable low-down, lascivious and licentious thing to produce prostitutes is the dance, and I will rip it from hell to breakfast.—Rev. W. A. Sunday, quoted in "Brann's Iconoclast."

—Fully 5,000,000 people of the United States read Socialistic, I. W. W., or other literature of a destructive character; 5,000,000 more read Rationalistic, anti-Christian, anti-Catholic literature.—L. K. Washburn, "Truth-seeker."

—This, our nation, is a Christian nation. We, the people, are a Christian people . . . The depths of our national life are Christian.—Harold Bell Wright, "The American."

—China, the home of the bubonic and pneumonic plagues, smallpox, and leprosy, has always been the great plague spot of the world.—French Strother, "The World's Work."

—About 5000 persons die in New York City each year as a result of syphilis and its complications.—New York Department of Health, "The World's Work."

—We should like to be beyond war. But we cannot be so long as Germany is not and looks on our aspiration as a weakness to be taken advantage of.—Vernon Kellogg, "North American Review."

—If England, in the first year of war, had had as many strikes as the United States, she would have had to conclude separate peace with Germany.—Sir Stephenson Kent, "World's Work."

—Fundamentally, Socialism is an appeal to egotism, to envy, hatred and greed; an appeal which, Russia's experience shows, sows and quickly reaps a crop of spoilation, outrage and murder.—Charles Johnston, "North American Review."

—There can be no question about the complete failure of Allied diplomacy in dealing with the Russians.—Arno Dosch-Fleuret, "New York World."

—So long as people continue to fix their attention on heavenly things, they will remain quiet under the pressure of the social problem.—Louis Wallis, "The Public."

—Efficiency has not been popular among the proletariat because as now applied it chiefly swells the profits of the capitalists with little benefit to the working man or the consuming public. When all the economy of effort it achieves accrues to society as a whole, it will be cheerfully and generally adopted.—Leon Trotzky, "The Independent."

—The workers themselves will, in most of the countries, be in a stronger political position, than before the war. Having risked their lives "to make the world safe for democracy" they will be likely to demand an even greater degree of democracy at home.—Harry Laidler, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—The American republic is headed straight for socialism.—Senator Harding, "The Independent."

—If France and Britain renounce annexations and Germany insists on them, we shall have a revolution in the land.—Herr Schiedmann, in Reichstag.

—Secret diplomacy, compulsory military service, profit from the manufacture of the instruments of destruction, should be rendered unnecessary in a society of free nations.—Arthur Henderson, "The Call Magazine."

—The November elections, 1918, will be the first big opportunity of the Socialists.—Scott Nearing, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—Russia is where she is today because she has been driven there by the Allies, including the United States. It seems that Germany has a vested interest in the stupidity of allied diplomats.—Louis B. Boudin, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—The policy of Great Britain is tacitly to encourage Germany in her annexationist policy.—Leon Trotzky in "London News."

—To find the climax of sin we must put our hands on social groups who have turned the patrimony of a nation into the private property of a small class, or have left the peasant laborers cowed, degraded, demoralized, and without rights in the land.—Walter Raschenbusch, in "Current Opinion."

—In the art of Arthur B. Davies, we feel the nostalgia of the infinite, the sorcery of dolls, the salt of sex, the vertigo of them who skirt the edge of perilous ravines, or straddle the rim of finer issues. He dwells

in equivocal twilights; and he can stare the sun out of countenance.—James Huneker, "New York Tribune."

—A motor car will soon be developed that will steer itself almost automatically, will be weather-tight and entirely glass-enclosed, will have no clutch or gears and will carry no spare tires, because the day of punctureless or airless tires is at hand.—"Scientific American."

—Leon Trotzky, now so prominent in Russian politics, was at one time a moving picture actor in this country. He appeared in "My Official Wife" with Clara Kimball Young, and his salary was five dollars a day—the days he worked.—"The Independent."

—The Russian revolution is having its effect in Germany. The ground is being undermined beneath the feet of the Fatherland party and the Pan-Germans.—Frank Symonds, "Review of Reviews."

—The Department of Agriculture is campaigning for a billion bushels of wheat this year. This means that it will be necessary for our farmers to raise 35,000,000 more bushels than in 1917 when the winter and spring crops totaled 650,828,000 bushels.—Congressman John D. Baer, "Review of Reviews."

—The anarchists who have seized possession of power in Russia are devoid of patriotism.—M. Finot, Paris "La Revue."

—Germany has the lowest prices for cereals in the world.—"Review of Reviews."

—With the war costing from seventeen to twenty billions the first fiscal year, Big Business is wallowing in profits. And out of this enormous war cost, the profiteers and fat incomes will page a meager two or three billions.—Robert La Follette, "La Follette's Magazine."

—We have got a lot of brave fellows in America with their arms in the treasury clear up to the elbows—fellows who call everybody a traitor who catches them stealing. Their mouths are thoroughly patriotic, but their legs are all pacifist.—Congressman Wm. E. Mason, in "La Follette's Magazine."

—We have only to imagine what would have happened to a group of men who had chosen to air a grievance by picketing the White House—the speed with which they would have been arrested, fined, dispersed and forgotten—to realize the nature of the tolerance granted to women.—Agnes Repplier, "Atlantic Monthly."

—The decision to throw the world into the war was partly made by the hope of the ruling classes that by such a catastrophe they might drown the storm of the coming revolution in their own countries.—Morris Hillquit, "People's Council Bulletin."

—This war shows us that in a crisis the constitution can be swept entirely aside, and that we cannot depend on this document to guarantee our civil liberties.—Scott Nearing, "People's Council Bulletin."

—Patients afflicted with a common cold should be cautious in the handling of their handkerchiefs, and should hold a handkerchief or gauze over the nose and mouth when sneezing, and should keep as far away from healthy persons as the exigencies of life permit.—"Therapeutic Gazette."

—The celebrated Cornaro, who brought himself to subsist on a daily diet of no more than twelve ounces of solid food, and fourteen ounces of wine, lived in spite of his weak constitution for about a century, and retained his intelligence until his death.—"Critic and Guide."

The supply of wheat in this nation and in the world is inadequate. Owing to short crops in preceding years, the reserves of a number of important commodities have been greatly reduced.—Secretary Houston, in Weekly News Letter, Department of Agriculture.

—The United Kingdom has lost by the fall in births during the war more than 500,000 potential lives.—Sir Bernard Mallet, "Scientific American."

—The Catholics claim an increase of membership in 1916 of 390,000, but dropped to a falling off in 1917 of 241,000.—Dr. H. K. Carroll, "Christian Herald."

—Cowardly masked upper-class mobs, calling themselves "Knights of Liberty" and mumbling hypocritical words about the "women and children of Belgium," will not succeed in terrorizing the labor movement of America, nor will they tend to make it more patriotic.—Max Eastman, "The Liberator."

—What are we to say when we see asceticism preached to the poor by fat and comfortable retainers of the rich?—Upton Sinclair, "Upton Sinclair's Magazine."

# BOOKS and READING

By David Bospa

## STATISTICS FOR SOCIALISTS.

For as many years as I can remember, The World Almanac has been an essential feature of my desk equipment, and, capitalistic though it is, I would not want to do without it until Socialists patronize their own publishing houses to the extent that they may become as all-inclusive. This period is close at hand if we may judge from the excellence of "The American Labor Year Book," issued in its second annual edition by the Rand School of Social Science. The 1917-18 edition is not a rehash of the original edition, but a new book that should find its way into every socialist and labor library.

Alexander Trachtenberg, director of the department of labor research of the Rand School, has had the co-operation of a wide range of radical publicists in editing the Year Book. It is divided into six main sections. labor and war; the labor movement in the United States; labor and the law; social and economic conditions; the international Socialist, labor and Co-operative movements; the Socialist movement in the United States.

Statistics and general information of co-operative and general labor problems of the entire world are included, though the facts center principally in the affairs of the Socialists of this country. The latest information concerning party activities are given. There are about fifty contributors, including Lajpat Rai, Scott Nearing, Anna Maley, James Oneal, I. M. Rubinow, Morris Hillquit, Adolph Germer, and Basil M. Manley.

Rand School of Social Science, New York, 60c.

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It always gives one a sense of sorrow when he looks at some wreck of a man who in his youth has been a pillar of strength and importance. So I feel when I think of the "New Appeal." One standard of Warren and Wayland, however, has not been weakened. This is "The New Appeal Almanac." The 1918 edition is like its predecessors in power, though widened in scope. It covers a field no other book on earth fills and is a companion volume in importance with the "American Labor Year Book."

No one wanting to be informed, or to look up problems of importance that come up continually can afford to be without the yearly "Appeal Almanac." How such an encyclopediac mine of information can be included in such compass has for years been a source of mystery to me. But there it is—year after year, always brought down to date, reliable and thorough, a veritable school of general information in itself. In addition to the regular features we have all learned to look for in the Almanac, there are condensations of the famous Public Health Bulletin No. 76, and the Illinois Vice Report. Important statistics of the war, labor legislation, labor politics and sociology, banks and trusts—in short, the entire range of the economic and political field—keep the Almanac in its established character as a Socialist institution.

"The New Appeal," Girard, Kansas. Given only as subscription premium.

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A modern "background" is covered by Mrs. Alce-Tweedie in her book on Mexico as a factor in the war—"Mexico: from Diaz to the Kaiser."

I think Mrs. Alce-Tweedie has been somewhat stamped by the general currents of opinion, but she has presented a mass of interesting details worthy of consideration. Her book is "the story of the depth and breadth of German intrigue in Mexico, with a sweeping array of facts. A searching study of the underlying causes of unrest and tragically unsettled conditions in Mexico, written by a woman whose acquaintance with Diaz and other Mexican officials afford her excellent material. A picture of the historical development in that revolution-ridden country. A narrative told with exceptional skill and a striking eye for dramatic effects which go to make it far more thrilling than most novels." (Publishers' generous estimate.)

The artistic photos from which the book is illustrated were taken by the author during her visits to Mexico. The message will bear the sanction of the American Wall Street Kaisers who are more responsible for conditions in Mexico than Kaiser Wilhelm. If the Germans have not been mixed in the international scramble to exploit Mexico, they must have been slow indeed, for that would have put them outside the class of all other nations in this respect. What happened between the native exploiters of Mexico and their foreign partners-in-crime, Mrs. Alce-Tweedie may know, as she claims in her book. In this, she has performed a service she did not intend—added to the proof that the workers have no friends except themselves, at home or abroad in any land under the sun.

George H. Doran Co., New York. \$3.50.

## INTERNATIONALISM IN THE MAGAZINES

Literature is one of the universal bonds. As all blood runs red and there is salt in tears of all races, so all types and families of the world have found expression through literature. The poet is the leader, prophet, interpreter and historian of every age; he it is who grasps the universal basis of truth. There is a tendency in some of the magazines of the dawn to bring into common possession the thoughts and expressions of all nations.

Prominent among these worthy magazines is "The Stratford Journal" issued monthly. This is an international magazine in the broadest sense of the word. The February issue contains Russian stories, a garland of Armenian verse, American prose and poetry, and Italian drama. Dr. Henry T. Schnittkind, editor, translates two humorous tales from Anton Chekhov, "Carelessness" and "Overspiced." They are a trifle less morbid than the usual run of Chekhov's morgue. As would be expected, the tragedy of Armenian national life is reflected from the seven poems representing the work of as many poets. Dr. Isaac Goldberg presents an American rendering of Giuseppe Giacossa's play, "The Rights of the Soul."

Among the older journals of a truly international character, none ranks above "The Open Court." The current issue takes us into philosophic excursions through Chinese, Korean, Jewish, European and American thought preserves. Dr. Paul Carus by his world-wide touch with men of science and philosophy maintains a mountain-top standard of excellence that is welding the philosophical world into an international unit of fellowship.

"The Intercollegiate Socialist" includes Scott Nearing, Louis B. Boudin, Algernon Lee, Frederic C. Howe, Frank Bohn and many others in the February-March list of contributors. Among the topics dealt with are "Democracy at the Peace Settlement," "National Control of Railroads," "The Future of the City," "Excess Profits Confiscation," and "State Socialism in War Time."

## KERR'S SOCIALIST CLASSICS

Capital has become international. War is world-wide as well as pandemonium. Let's have an international working class by emphasizing this year as never before the gladsome May Day of Internationalism and the memory of Karl Marx. There is no need to say anything about the contents of Marx's monumental three volumes of "Capital," except that when you get them you will want Ernest Untermann's translation as published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. This big co-operative house has printed a new edition of the third volume, of which Mary Marcy wrote me in a recent letter "it is better to refer to it on specific points than to try to wade through it alone."

To those who have made comparatively little study of Marx, I would recommend Comrade Louis B. Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism." You will grasp the purpose of the book best from a part of the author's preface:

"I, therefore, concluded to present to the English reader, instead of an account of the movement to revise Marxism, an exposition of the teachings of Marx, and to draw upon the literature of Revisionism only in so far as it may become necessary or expedient in the course of such exposition in order to accentuate some of its points or differentiate them from others with which they are likely to be confused. I have therefore refrained from entering here into any controversy with any revisionist Marx critic except in so far as it was necessary for my purpose.

"In the arrangement of the matter I have followed the suggestion of the great master; I have treated the Materialistic Conception of History as merely introductory to the study of the actual workings of the capitalist system. . . . There is one respect, however, in which the Materialistic Conception of History has a harder road to travel than any other system of thought that I know of: the persistent misrepresentations of friend and foe. I have, therefore, deemed it advisable to attach two appendices, wherein are treated two points with respect to which these perversions and misrepresentations are most frequent and at the same time most glaring.

"I hope that the volume herewith presented will give the reader, if not an adequate presentation of the Marxian doctrines, at least an adequate beginning for such presentation, and that it will serve as a stimulant towards an adequate discussion among English-speaking people of the great theoretical problems embraced within the realm of Marxism."

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. \$1.00 net.

# Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

## A TICKET TO HEAVEN

Perhaps the question that probes closest to the heart of the theory of consumers' co-operation is, What is Dividend?

Dividend-giving is the device of charging current retail prices and returning the margin cost to those who had paid it in purchasing the goods. Dividend is profit given to the purchaser. It is the middleman's rake-off returned to its rightful owner. It is the poor man's "Automatic savings bank." It is the house-keeper's nest egg. It is a way of acquiring capital without saving it or stealing it. But it is even more than the most effective way of keeping the wolf from the door. It is the provider of a "unique democratic basis to an industrial organization." It is a card of membership to a great democratic society. It is the citizen's papers of a "state within a state"—a state in which the women are enfranchised and no one considered an unwelcome alien. But it is still more than the furthest out-post of democracy. It is the guide to the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which there will be no coercion and no exploitation, and none of the evils which result from exploitation, in which no one will go hungry or thirsty or ill-clothed, but in which there will be the final "Conquest of Bread" by those who made it and those who need it.

The amount of the "dividend" is not nearly as significant as many suppose it. To judge from a number of recent inquiries, the average dividend in the United States appears to be 5.6 percent to members. However, the margin upon cost is always very variable. It can be arbitrarily affected in many different ways. Skillful or unskillful purchasing, wise or unwise management, economy or extravagance, and the conditions of the market itself, all necessarily determined the profit, and hence the amount of dividend. The dividend may be unduly diminished by cutting prices, careless handling of articles, waste in cutting or weighing out articles dishonesty of employees, sudden rises in wholesale prices, the ordinary hazards of life such as fire, burglary, etc., and the most damaging of all dangers, disloyalty in purchasing. It may be unduly increased by demanding too high prices, by dealing in poor shoddy goods, by neglecting depreciation, education funds, and the union label.—By RALPH E. CHEYNEY, Publicity Director, Co-operative League of America.

## THE PEACE OF INDUSTRY

"Co-operation was born of the feeling that unmitigated competition is at best social war, and though war has its conquests, its poms, its bards, its proud associations and heroic memories, there is murder in its march, and humanity and genius were things to blush for if progress cannot be accomplished by some other means. What an enduring truce is to war. Co-operation is to the never-ceasing conflict between capital and labor. It is the peace of industry."—G. J. HOLYOAKE.

## THE UNION CO-OPERATIVE STORE

The Union Co-operative Store owes its great success to the loyalty and conscientious work of its members. Organized in 1914 for the benefit of a few co-operators, it has grown gradually until today the store carries everything that a family might need, and is conducting its business with excellent results.

To give a detailed account of the hard struggle which this co-operative institution has had with rival, privately-conducted stores, and to describe the unscrupulous methods which the latter have used in the attempt to crush us, would require too much space in your estimable magazine.

Our co-operative store propaganda found favor originally with workers who were all socialists and members of the Socialist party. We opened our own store and refused to buy from other stores, no matter if prices were lower for the time being in competing concerns, knowing well that his latter attraction was but bait thrown out to dissolve our institution.

The war has created an opportunity for merchants to make enormous profits from the sale of commodities. Without the least exaggeration, one can say that many of these merchants are making 1000 percent profit on various staples. In privately-conducted merchant enterprises, selfishness and exploitation rule supreme.

In our co-operative store, we have a plentiful stock on hand and the shareholders of this enterprise are purchasing goods at prices very much lower than those in other stores. These far-sighted people who organized the co-operative years ago are now reaping the benefit of their wisdom and sacrifice. Many who are no shareholders are clamoring for permission to become a part of the organization, but the privilege must necessarily be denied them for good reasons. How they regret their sneering attitude when we started the institution!

I have often wondered why the workers should be so indifferent to the idea of co-operation, when it alone is capable of solving their problem of living. It seems to me that we enjoy being exploited in every possible manner. Yours fraternally, V. LETTINI, Union Co-operative Store, Barre, Vt.

## CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK

Figures published in the official organ of co-operation in Denmark show the position of the entire movement last year as compared with the year previous. Thus the Distributive Wholesale's sales figures have increased from 84,500,000 kroner to 87,800,000 kroner (or from £4,695,000 to £4,878,000), while the collective sales of the distributive societies have risen from 125 million to 150 million kroner, i.e., from £6,944,000 to £8,333,000, an increase in which one has no difficulty in seeing the factor of abnormal prices.

The factor of abnormal prices is also visible in the turnover of close on 744 million kroner, or £40,767,000, pertaining to the Agricultural production and Sales societies collectively (i. e., the Co-operative Dairy societies and butter exporting organizations), the year's increase amounting practically to 92 million kroner, or about £5,110,000. On the other hand the Agricultural Purchasing societies through the hampering conditions of the period, figure in the record with a decrease of business to the amount of 47,200,000 kroner, or £2,622,000. Meanwhile the Co-operative Bank has made unabated progress; its turnover during the twelve months having grown from 3½ to 5½ milliards. The organization now embraces 1,132 co-operative societies, and the bank's operations are conducted through fifty branches.—"The Producer."

## CO-OPERATION A SOCIAL NECESSITY

"The co-operative society is of importance because it develops in the individual those characteristics and capacities which are necessary for social progress. The present individualist system which takes care of the business interests of the farmers is a dividing and disintegrating force. It tends to destroy the natural associative character and to set each man against his neighbor. The conflict of interest engendered by the competitive regime has been wasted not only economically, but also from the more important point of view of individual character. The wastes of competitive industry are not confined to advertising costs, lack of understanding between purchaser and buyer, and the necessary protecting devices against monopoly. That system creates fraud and dishonesty, indifference and suspicion. It conceals the fact that the interests of each individual are best served in his associated capacity as a member of a social community. But, as a member of a society with interests in common, the individual, consciously and unconsciously, develops the social virtues. Honesty becomes imperative and is enforced by the whole group on the individual; loyalty to the community is made an essential for the better development of individual powers. To cheat the society is to injure a neighbor; to sell milk outside is to endanger the success of a venture in which friends and relatives are interested. These virtues have not been developed immediately or rapidly. Changes in character are even more difficult than changes in an economic system."—H. F. NORMAN, in "Better Business."

## Two Books—

that every Socialist and Non-Socialist Should Read.

1. AMERICAN SOCIALISM OF THE PRESENT DAY (Revised)
2. THE FACTS OF SOCIALISM (cloth or paper, the latter at 25c)

Jessie Wallace Hughan

Address:

Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 5th ave., New York

# The Pursuit of Happiness

THE editorials of the Hearst newspapers and Billy Sunday to the contrary, Happiness is the most nearly unattainable thing in the world.

It is elusiveness personified.

There is a popular illusion that permanent peace, homely matinee idols, undogmatic Germans and Socialism are competitors for the title of THE UNATTAINABLE. But for persistent evasiveness, those items aren't in it with the patron saint of the Garden of Eden. Running down any one of them is like running down a snail in comparison with the pursuit of the only genuine and untiring will-of-the-wisp, Happiness. The man has yet to live who has grasped the slippery thing and prevented it from gliding through his fingers.

One man is unhappy because his sweetheart loves him too little, another because she loves him too much; the dyspeptic because his appetite is consistently absent, the small boy because it is consistently with him.

The suffragist falls short of Happiness because there are so many unconverted; the anti-suffragist because there are so many converted; the militarist because he thinks men don't enjoy killing as they ought, the anti-militarist because he is afraid they enjoy it too well; the vivisectionist because there is always some other nerve he has not yet tampered with, the anti-vivisectionist because there is always some fresh barbarity he has not yet censured.

The drunkard in vain pursues Happiness because after being drunk he becomes sober, and the prohibitionist turns pessimist because after abstaining from beer water infects him with typhoid.

The wife of the poor man and the wife of the rich man alike develop wrinkles, the one because she has too many clothes to mend and the other because she has not enough clothes to wear.

Happiness escapes the humorist because he cannot laugh at his own joke and dodges the cynic because he is expected to live up to his own cynicism.

The inhabitants of the Earth cannot be happy because Mars is so far away from that they cannot chat over the back fences with the Martians. The Martians cannot be happy because the Earth is no near to them that the stench of the war carnage offends their too sensitive nostrils.

Perhaps after having mastered the weather, set aside the law of gravitation, established suburban aerial lines through interstellar space, buried the mother-in-law joke and discovered an antidote for the deadly virus of stupidity-humanus, we will stumble upon some law of psychology that will enable us to grasp Happiness and hold it permanently.

And if we do—perhaps we'll wish we hadn't.

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

## Need an Adjustment?

(Continued from page 15)

a sick horse, they don't waste time asking the horse what the trouble is as human doctors do. They KNOW.

One sunny afternoon my friend of the large hands induced me to risk my life on the rear seat of a motorcycle to see a very sick woman about ten miles from my office. Arriving at the farm-house, we found that the woman had fallen from a load of hay and struck her head on the wagon tongue. The horse had dinged her head some to complete the job. She had been unconscious but when we arrived she was loudly conscious. She suffered great agony in the neck and could not move it without great pain. Her neck, was twisted over her shoulder.

With one look at the suffering woman, my friend stepped forward and gently put his great fingers along the cervicals. He then placed his other heavy hand firmly over the face and moved every bone in her neck. The pain was furious. The neck straightened however, and within ten minutes the pain was gone, the woman got up and proceeded with her work. The bruised places, remained for some time.

Witnessing the marvelous recovery, the husband hatched an idea. "Say, Doc," he said, "You fixed my old woman fine; maybe you can fix my horse."

Going into the corral, we saw a beautiful horse, pathetically trying to rise. His hind quarters refused to budge. The chiropractor smiled again, asked for a hammer. Going to his bag, he picked out a solid piece of gum about four inches long and about two inches thick. With great effort the three of us lifted the horse to his feet, and leaned him against a post. Standing on a box about two feet high the doctor, with forceful hands, placed the rubber on the four-inch lumbar, and swung a mighty blow on the rubber. The horse kicked both feet skyward and started around the corral on a run.

## American Socialism

(Continued from page 7)

Some say that agitators of the new Marxian theories, hoping to win for their ideas alone, helped to sow dissensions. Cabot was turned, with all his supporters, from the colony which he had founded. He at once departed with his adherents to found another community. Four weeks from the time of his expulsion he died.

The Cabot faction bought a tract of land near Cheltenham, Mo., now within the limits of St. Louis. But they experienced the same difficulties that had beset the original colonists in Louisiana—they were swindled by land sharks. Living in community houses, the mechanics of the community worked in St. Louis factories, and ere long they were fairly prosperous, publishing a paper and having many enterprises of their own. But the community divided over autocratic versus democratic management, and the members withdrew in small bodies, until finally it was dissolved as the remainder of the colonists enlisted for service in the union army.

The Nauvoo community was disrupted by numerous dissensions, and lost much of its prosperity. Finally, its affairs were closed out and a new community was established in Icaria, Iowa. For a time they prospered. But new dissensions arose, and later the property of the community was divided among the membership by arbitration, the community dissolving.

(To be continued Next Month).

Coming back, he tried to kick us out of the corral. Vaulting the fence, we watched him cavort around.

We visited that horse several times, and he always tried to kick our heads off before we even got within consulting distance. He was a cured horse, through the gentle administration of a chiropractic adjustment.

## Co-operation vs. Competition

(Continued from page 25)

ly using these legal co-operative machines; it has been declaring co-operation to be a very bad thing—for labor.

And by using these powerful economic engines in an evil way to exploit the people for their own selfish purposes, capitalists succeeded in creating quite a popular prejudice against corporations of every kind, until the very word had come to be almost synonymous with monopoly, oppression, plutocracy, chicanery and fraud. Labor had come to be very shy of corporations, for corporations were its arch foes, and its experience with them had justified in a measure its prejudice against competitive labor, it was a bad thing—for labor.

Because government has permitted the monopolization of land and the right of the private owner to withhold it from use in whatever amount or degree, just in that degree must labor suffer and industrial progress be retarded. The co-operative ownership and cultivation of land as of all producing means, is today the most immediate remedy for the industrial evils that afflict the people and which find their expression in multitudes of unemployed and a general lowering of the moral tone of society; but it can only be effected little by little, by establishing and putting into operation a system that approximates such an effect and guarantees a continuing progress towards its complete realization. The evolutionary trend of the times is against irresponsible, private control of land holding and labor employing corporations of any kind. Industrial power, whether wielded by private capitalists or co-operative producing companies must be made responsible to some adequate and satisfactory authority, and be, at all times, subject to its supervision and inspection.

## World Federation

(Continued from page 18)

equality.

But such a settlement can never be brought about so long as either party to the struggle refuses to follow the program outlined by President Wilson in declaring that our country "seeks for no advantage, will ask for no indemnities, desires no annexations," as the result of any share that we may have in this world war.

That program will not be adopted except by the further reconstruction of the governing powers within the warring states. New elections are threatened, old cabinets are going to pieces, reorganizations of the war powers within the cabinets at home, are more frequent than re-alignments on the field of battle, and every shift carries the power in the direction of the more democratic forces at home.

As war measures, labor has been mobilized; railways, mines, factories, markets, put under government control, prices fixed, the character of the products determined, the feeding of the nations made a part of the military program, and in all these instances, while the reason may have been military, the effect has been in the direction of provision for the public good at the expense of the old time monopolies.

Just because the forces that started the war, and the forces which from time to time have controlled the war, will have small share in the ending of the war, there is at least good ground for hope that this war, the greatest disaster in history, may terminate in a world democracy. If so, it will be the greatest achievement of mankind.

## Cold Figures

In Russia, birth control information has not been available to the masses. The death rate per thousand population is 31.

In Germany, information is slightly available, although attended with considerable difficulty. The death rate per thousand population is 17.

In England, where such information is legally permitted to be given to married persons and those contemplating marriage, the death rate per thousand is 14.

In France, the information is easily had, no restrictive laws being in force. The death rate per thousand population is 19. (The birth rate per thousand in France is 10 less than in Germany, however.)

In Holland, there are no restrictive laws, there being government approval of birth control clinics. The death rate per thousand population is 12.

In Australia, there are no restrictive laws. The death rate per thousand population is 11.

In New Zealand, where there are no restrictive laws, the death rate per thousand population is 9.

In the United States, statistics show the birth rate to be much greater than that of Germany, France, England, Holland, Australia, or New Zealand, yet our death rate per thousand population is 17, and our infant death rate is in almost every instance twice as great as those countries in which information on birth control is easily secured.

The reader is left to draw his own conclusions.—A. S.

## What Esperanto Means

(Continued from page 24)

to-Asocio and its eighteen hundred representatives in all civilized countries, as well as the large national societies in the leading countries of Europe, the Esperanto movement is ready for any occasion. Even on this side of the Atlantic where, of course, the need for an auxiliary language has not been felt as keenly, the movement has made considerable headway. The national headquarters of the Esperanto Association of North America are located at West Newton, Boston, and today there is not one large city from New York to San Francisco without its Esperanto club. All of which merely goes to show that the day is not far distant when—

Sur neutrala lingva fundamento,  
Komprenante unu la alian,  
La popoloj faros en konsento  
Unu grandan rondon familian.

## Our Salacious Public

(Continued from page 27)

Censorship cannot remedy this evil. No amount of coercion can eradicate it. The solution of the problem lies solely in education. People of discernment, appreciative of the higher things of life, must be ever vigilant publicly to disapprove salacious, demoralizing productions, and enthusiastically to commend those worthy of attendance.

In this manner only can the standard of theatricals be elevated.—A. S.

—o—  
"The December-January number of the "Comrade" was a FINE number."—Clara Cushman, Santa Ana, California.

## The International Language

## Esperanto

simplifies the language problems, opens up a new world of literature, gives one a much better understanding of his mother-tongue, enables him to correspond with people all over the world, and all this at a comparatively small outlay of time or money.

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M

## Colony Representatives Wanted

Trustworthy, responsible, competent agents are desired in different communities to represent the colony and to interest desirable persons in this enterprise.

Only men and women of constructive minds, self-sacrificing disposition, and energy are wanted. If you are willing to work for the good of a great cause in a wholly constructive way, you are invited to correspond with the Membership Department and to get the Representatives Proposition. Persons actuated only by self-interest need not apply.

Membership Department

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PEARSON'S MAGAZINE, \$2 a Year.

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Subscription Cards must be purchased in advance for Cash. Agents can make good profits taking INTERNATIONALIST Subscriptions.

THE LLANO PUBLICATIONS

Stables, Louisiana

## The Spirit Teaching Of India

(Continued from Page 13)

have no beginning. As this present life will be a pre-existence to a future life; so the present must have been preceded by other lives; but the Soul is always the same in past, present and future.

The practical part of the teaching of Vedanta is called Yoga, which means literally "joining" or union, like the English word "yoke." It offers certain methods for the training of the mind and body, to make them fit instruments for the manifestation of the perfection already in us. There is no mystery in it, as many suppose. It is a science based on the direct observation and experience of perfected Yogis or illumined Sages, and is a clear, logical system for the unfolding of our spiritual nature. It teaches us how to stop frittering our energies and to unite all our mental and physical forces into one strong current, which will carry us to supreme realization.

Yoga is divided into four principal paths to suit different temperaments. Karma-Yoga is the path of work and shows us how to perform our duties without creating bondage; Raja-Yoga teaches us how to control both our internal and external nature; Bhakti-Yoga is the path of love and devotion, while Jnana-Yoga leads us by the path of intellectual discrimination. But although these seem like four distinct methods, we must try to combine all in our daily practice; for no character is perfect which is lacking in any of these qualifications. Yet as in every character one tendency invariably predominates, that determines the special path. All, however, lead to the same goal.

From the crudest form of symbol worship to the loftiest conception of abstract truth, every phase of religion has a place in Vedanta. It recognizes the necessity for innumerable forms of worship to suit the varying degrees of development among human beings. It does not interfere with any man's natural way of thinking, but furthers his growth by lending a sympathetic and helping hand wherever he stands. It accepts all the Sacred Scriptures of the world and bows down in reverence before all the Saviors and prophets. It believes that the same Gospel of Truth is preached by all; the only difference is in the language, not in the essential meaning. It teaches one how to attain the highest in this own religion, but tells him he must allow the same freedom to his brother. Thus it leaves no place for discussion; but seeing the One Divine Power behind all forms of worship, it proclaims universal tolerance and assimilation.

\* \* \*

### LLANO COLONIST READERS

Due to mechanical and other difficulties, the "Llano Colonist" will not be re-published for several months yet. It will be revived, however, and it will be bigger and better than ever. We have been waiting in order that when we did start, we could greatly improve it in size and quality.

Those who have subscribed for the Colonist will kindly be patient and they will be rewarded with the improved weekly which shall come later.

The new weekly will be called "The Co-operative Socialist." It will be a six-column paper, carrying the latest Socialist and labor news, feature articles, news of the Llano del Rio Colony, and a feature editorial page.

The Llano Publications

# Real Estate Bargains

The following properties are among those that have been listed for sale or trade with the LLANO LAND BUREAU. Many of these are exceptional BARGAINS. As more and more property is listed, it becomes possible to offer a variety in all portions of the country. Those who wish to sell or trade or by, or knowing of others who wish to buy, are invited to correspond with the LLANO LAND BUREAU. **NO COMMISSIONS ARE CHARGED** those expecting to come to the Llano Colony.

TEXAS.—Gregg County. 405 acres on Sabine river, five miles from Gladewater. 60 acres in cultivation; improvements; pine and oak timber. \$20 an acre. Terms to suit purchaser.—mbw.

LOUISIANA. Heflin. 100 acres in Bienville Parish. Rolling upland; all first class. Price \$15 an acre.—jb.

\$1350—House and lot; 6 rooms; lot 33½x150; barn 18x20; long time to pay; at Orbisiana, Pa.—gem.

\$1340 cash, Balance \$25 a month, for beautiful home in Liberal, Kansas; will rent for \$30 a month; modern in every way; 10 rooms; will pay out in rented rooms. A real bargain. Trade considered.—alk.

\$200—Business lot in Seadrift, Texas.—dc.

5 Acres; Truck land in oil belt; close to oyster fishing. Seadrift, Texas. This is a bargain at \$1200. Will consider trade.—dc.

4-Room House; large lot; Seadrift, Texas, for \$500.—dc.

2 Lots in Henrico, Virginia, for \$400. Terms.—em

40x80 Lot in New York City for \$800.—gfj.

\$1500 for 111 acres rich land in Washington. Fine fruit district.—gfj

15 acre Cherry Orchard, fenced; 8-room house, barn, running water; \$8000. A producing place; will soon pay itself out.—gfj.

Lot in healthful district of Washington; thriving small town; good investment. Owner must leave.—\$800.—pj

160 Acres in Washington; 1 million feet timber, 12 acres cultivated; house, barn, springs; fine climate; good farm land. \$1500. A bargain.—am.

160 Acres in coast mountains of California; timber. Splendid climate; timber will pay large portion. \$4000.—mep

1280 acres. Los Animas Co., Colo., small bldgs.; Fine bean land, ideal for stock. Sell or trade. \$400.—lmc

4 Acres in close to business district; Twin Falls, Idaho. Splendid opportunity in live town. \$4000.—gee

Business lot Twin Falls, Idaho. \$1700. A bargain.—gee

42 acres at Los Gatos, California. Income of \$4000 a year; health and pleasure resort. Going Business. Good reasons for selling. Price \$20,000. Consider terms.

7-Room Modern House; electricity, toilet bath, 10 minutes walk from business district of Eureka, one of the finest cities of California. Worth \$1350 and a bargain at this price. Will trade.—aej

Modern home at Atascadero, California. 20 fruit trees, splendid climate. \$2500, \$1500 cash, balance mortgage. Will consider trade.—rwv

160 Acres at LaGrande, Ore. 5-room house, 40x20 barn, log black-

smith shop and bunk house, springhouse; 300,000 feet saw timber; 60 acres good farm land; market for wood at \$6 a cord. This is a genuine bargain. Owner had to leave on account of wife's health. \$1800 takes it.—clg.

607 acres in Nebraska, mostly grazing; 40 acres broken; small house, and barn, all fenced and cross fenced, well, windmill and tank. \$6000, to be \$2500 cash, remainder long time.—mjf

\$600 for Six Acres; house; all fenced and all under cultivation. Close to coast. A bargain.—hat

\$3500 for 160 acres in New Mexico; will consider trade; also four lots in Hammond, Okla. for \$700.—pfs

40 acres; Heber Springs, Arkansas; will consider trade. \$1600.—jc.

3 parcels of Land at Chico, California. Trade considered.—jw

TEXAS, near Tomball; 150 acres; 40 acres under fence and cultivation; 5-room House; smoke house and barn; 30 acres more has been cultivated and can easily be put in cultivation; balance cut-over timber land; drainage perfect; has oil indications. Price \$2500. Will consider trade for part. balance five yearly payments of \$250 at 7 percent semi-annually. Immediate possession with crop. This is a splendid deal. Fine climate.—acc

\$450—two lots Stockton, California

\$3250—House and lot in San Francisco

\$3500—Thirty-acre farm, mountains of California; \$2000 for farm without stock. This is an excellent location and good property.

\$500 for ten acres in Florida, suitable for oranges and vegetables.

\$2217 for good business in Iowa town, plumbing and heating.

Florida land—10 acres, partly improved, house and buildings.

160 acres—Kansas, unimproved land, \$2000, sell or trade.

320 acres unimproved Kansas land, \$3200.

240 acres in Texas, 95 in cultivation, two houses, \$20 an acre.

\$2500 for good place in Mississippi.—vle

40 acres in Texas, good improvements, \$75 an acre. Sell or trade.

200 acres Arkansas land, improvements, orchard and house, stock, tools, implements included; all for \$6000. Sell or trade.

165 acres Texas for \$10,000. Terms.

160 acres Texas, unimproved good rice or fig land. \$25 an acre.—acc

20 acres Idaho, \$225 an acre. Liberal Terms.—jcc

\$300 for lot in thriving Alabama town. Sell or trade.

\$400 for 40 acres southern Alabama, unimproved.

\$1600 for 40 acres in Florida. Liberal terms.—alc

\$1500 for house and lot in Grand Rapids, Mich. Rents for \$17.50.

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Chicago	Toledo
1916—16,000	1915— 2,800
1917—27,000	1917—14,903
Cleveland	Rochester
1915— 6,000	1916—1,450
1917—27,000	1917—8,200

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T H E I N T E R N A T I O N A L I S T

S t a b l e s , L o u i s i a n a

# Own a Plantation Near the Colony

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Now the opportunity is opened for the first time that so many have written about to own land near the Colony, and to enjoy many of the advantages of co-operation.

Land is going up rapidly. It has gone up since the colony located here. In many instances it has doubled. Never again will land be low in price here. The advantages in the Highlands of Western Louisiana are too great to long be passed by.

The land we are offering for sale is productive. Prices range from \$15 to \$50, according to the quality and character of the land and other essential points. Most of it is for cash sales only, though there is some that will be sold on time. While we do not advocate purchasing as a speculation, yet no region in the country offers such promise to profit by the rise in prices. Values are bounding upward.

Those seeking homes will be interested. Building materials are low in price. Equipment is not costly. This land will be sold in tracts to suit. Those wishing it should write immediately, stating the sort of land desired, the price in cash they are able to pay, the number of acres, and such other information as will enable us to write you definitely in reply. The choicest of this land will go rapidly. Now is the time to plan for a home in the South. Address letters inquiring about land to the

## Llano Land Bureau

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