

THE INTERNATIONALIST

Formerly "THE WESTERN COMRADE"

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George Bernard Shaw
on The Internation

The Future of the Socialist Party

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Is Compulsory Military Service Desirable?

—A SYMPOSIUM

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Land Secured Memberships

From the very first the question has been asked regarding the security that would be given the investor. Heretofore, it has not been the custom to give such security. But now the arrangements have been completed which permit members to be LAND SECURED.

The Llano Co-operative Colony is the only one which has ever been organized to combine this security of ownership with the advantages of complete co-operation.

Under the new arrangement, every member is taken in on probation. This is protection to the colony, protection to the member himself, protection to every other member.

Under this system, each member may come to the colony on probation. They will not be accepted on any other grounds.

Experience has taught the colony that this is the only just and fair way.

The incoming member is sold a tract of 40 or more acres of land. He is given a deed to this land and it is his. Arrangements are made at the same time to come into the colony as a Probation Member. Probation members will have every right and privilege as regular colony members during the probation period except the right to vote.

At any time during the probation year, the member may make up his mind to take his tract of land instead of remaining in the colony. In this case his contract of employment is annulled, and he is free to do as he wishes regarding his land.

At any time that the Probation Member is found not to be true to the colony's best interests, that he is unfair to the other comrades, or that he fails to do his duty as a colonist or makes himself undesirable, he may have his contract of employment annulled, in which event he may go to his land. This is the colony's protection against the chronic trouble-maker, the person who comes to stir up dissension, the man or woman who is operating within the colony for purposes other than the colony's welfare. The colony has had such persons; it now has a convenient method of ridding itself of them.

At the end of the year, if the new member discovers that he likes the colony, and if in the meantime his records are clean and he is that to be wholly desirable as a colonist, he has the privilege of exchanging his deed to land for stock in the colony, thus becoming a full-fledged member.

WHAT LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIPS MEAN

In the past there have been persons who found themselves unable to adapt themselves to the colony. Many of them were persons who earnestly desired to do so, and they were much disappointed at not being able to get the pleasure and enjoyment and benefit from the colony that they should have, and that others did. It was not their fault; they simply could not adapt themselves.

Under the new Land-Secured Membership plan, such persons may go to their land, develop it, farm individually, live in close proximity to the colony, and enjoy many of its advantages, and benefits, assisting in the building of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Then there are those who fear that they may not like the colony and fear to put their money into the colony. Under the new Land-Secured Membership plan they do so with the full knowledge that they have one year in which to make up their minds, and that during that year they will be living in the colony and will be employed by the colony. If they decide that they can do better alone, then the privilege is open at all times to do so.

COLONY DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The plan for developing the colony will not be changed in any respect. A large central body of 6000 or more acres of land will be developed for the colony, and will be farmed co-operatively to such crops as are best adapted to this locality as to the soil, and which promise the best returns. The building of a city which shall have the most beauty, the utmost convenience, the greatest efficiency, and the most striking characteristics, combining with these things comfort and originality, will be carried out. No definite time is set; the work will be carried on as rapidly as possible.

The huge 16,000-acre plantation will be developed as rapidly as possible. The 6,000 acres or more reserved for the colony will be developed first. The land securing memberships will be sold contiguous to or near this colony reservation, but not in it, for the colony would not want it cut up into private holdings.

Industries will be established as rapidly as circumstances justify. Those who decide to take their land and farm individually should derive much benefit from the co-operative industries which will be estab-

lished, which will market their goods for them at a saving, which will assist them in purchasing, and which will in other ways secure them a greater share in the product of their labor, and save them from exploitation in many ways.

HOW TO PURCHASE A LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIP

First send for an Application for Membership form. This must be secured from the Membership Department of the Llano Co-operative Colony at Stables or Leesville, Louisiana. The post office address is Leesville; the colony is a Stables.

This application form will ask many questions. It will be passed on by the Membership Department of the Board of Directors. If it is accepted, the member may then pay out and will be given a deed to a tract of forty acres or more of land.

A membership in the colony is conditional on a year's residence and work in the colony, and cannot be secured before this time. When the full required amount is paid in according to the scale below, the member is permitted to bring his family to the colony, to occupy a colony house and to be employed by the colony just as other members are.

His rate of pay will depend on the prevailing wage being paid, and may vary with conditions, but all stock-holders in the colony are paid according to the same wage scale, no matter what the work they are doing may be. Those who are contemplating ultimate membership are paid on the same basis as regular members, and their families are paid.

A contract of employment is entered into between the prospective member and the colony which states specifically his relation to the colony. When the year is up he becomes a regular member, as heretofore explained.

The cost of memberships was raised on May 1, 1918, and put on a sliding scale as follows:

Single man, \$1,000 Add for wife, \$200 Dependent over 20, \$200
Dependent, 12 to 20, \$150 Dependent under 12, \$100

From this table it will be possible to compute very easily the cost of entrance fee for memberships. This table is based on the cost of maintenance during the first year.

WARNING AGAINST ALLEGED AGENTS

There are various persons and associations purporting to sell stock with membership privileges in the colony.

NO STOCK IS BEING SOLD WHICH GIVES MEMBERSHIP PRIVILEGES!

The only way to become a member in the Llano Co-operative Colony is thru the purchase of LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIPS. The ownership of stock in the Llano del Rio Company does not of itself give any rights of residence.

Those expecting to purchase stock, those holding stock, and those now under contract of purchase of stock should correspond with the colony. Installment members are particularly warned against purchasing stock from any source other than the main offices of the Membership Department. Several persons have been defrauded by purchasing what they believed to be legitimate stock, carrying working contracts, or the privileges of living and working at the colony. The colony will not be responsible unless these instructions are followed.

NEW MEMBER'S WORKING CONTRACT

During his probation year, the new member will be employed in the colony, working at the industries or on the main body of the colony reservation, the Llano Plantation. He will not work on his own land during that time. He will be in every respect on the same footing as all regular members. He will be paid a wage, live in a colony house, enjoy the benefits and advantages of colony life. Only in the event that he makes himself obnoxious to the other colonists, or himself desires to leave will this be changed. Otherwise at the end of a year he exchanges his land for a regular stock-membership. However, if he decides that he does not like the colony he can at any time go on to his own land and develop it according to his own ideas.

Thus the new Land-Secured Membership does not change the relations of the colony to the member, but merely gives him this additional security. Most of those who come will never go to their land, probably, but will always remain as colonists.

Membership Department

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
Stables, Louisiana

"The Most Constructive Magazine for Socialism in America."

THE INTERNATIONALIST

Formerly "THE WESTERN COMRADE"

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JOB HARRIMAN.....Managing Editor ALANSON SESSIONS.....Associate Editor ERNEST S. WOOSTER...Business Manager

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LEESVILLE, LOUISIANA, JUNE, 1918.

No. 2

EDITORIAL

By Job Harriman

UPON the breaking out of the war, Germany startled the world with siege guns.

Necessity demanded that the Allies employ similar guns for defense.

Again Germany attacked her enemies with poisoned gases. And again the Allies were forced to employ the same methods to save themselves from annihilation.

Again Germany startled the world by dropping bombs from flying machines on London and other, other cities. And again the Allies were forced to meet Germany with similar machines.

Now it is reported that Germany is converting the bodies of those who die from wounds into nitroglycerine while those who are killed outright are said to be converted into oleomargarine for table use.

Is it possible that we will be forced to adopt this course also?

If food will win the war, its efficiency will be measured not by ethical reasons but by the quantity, quality and availability of the supply.

If it is true that 400,000 Germans were killed in two weeks, the supply would seem abundant and the quality sufficient.

Saving this world for democracy seems destined to brutalize the race.

Whether the outcome will be better than it would have been under Wilson's early peace policy is indeed a grave question.

THE railroads, under private ownership, broke down under the stress of business when war demands came upon them.

The Government came to their rescue, put affairs in order, increased the efficiency, handled vastly larger amounts of freight and made a larger profit than the railroads have made in previous years.

Therefore:- The law provides that the Government should return the roads to private control soon after the war is over.

What fools we mortals be!

THE first installment of wealth conscription is now on.

Why not?

If it is right to conscript human energy, it must be right to conscript the product of human energy.

What was wrong under old conditions may become right under new conditions.

If it has become right by reason of necessity for the governments of the earth to conscript the wealth of the nations, it may yet become right for the common ple of the world to conscript the bonded indebtedness of the world.

Necessity knows no law.

NONRESISTANCE in Russia, if properly understood, will become a most powerful factor against Germany and indeed, world, autocracy.

The war was started by Germany on the theory of the defense of the fatherland against Russia.

To this standard the German people rallied.

But the war is being ended by the annexation of vast nonresistant Russian territory.

Against this standard the German people will rebel.

The German people, led by the German Socialists, are with the people of Russia and against the despotism of the Kaiser.

The people of the Central Powers fear a victory by the Allied governments.

The people of the Allied countries fear a victory by the governments of the Central Powers.

But the people of either belligerent power do not fear the people of the other.

An offer by the Allies to the German people to open the ports and the water highways of the world to all peoples alike; to disarm all nations; to abandon all ideas of victory; to abandon the idea of conquest or forcible annexation; to grant absolute freedom and self-government to every people; to establish a United States of the World,—this would start a revolution in Germany and end the war with the downfall of autocracy.

WAR profits have trebled the number of millionaires and quadrupled the number of multimillionaires since 1914, and their high prices have impoverished the people that made such fortunes possible.

Wages have been increased a little, but prices have gone up enormously.

The difference in the advance in prices over wages expresses the amount of which labor has been robbed.

The earnings of labor therefore, should not be touched until all the profits and property of the profiteers have been taken.

1. Conscription of the profits of the profiteers.
2. Conscription of the wealth of the profiteers.
3. Conscription of all other wealth proportionately.
4. Conscription of the bonded indebtedness, if necessary.

If the war is right, this program is right.

The people will support the program while food lasts.

The profiteers will fight it.

Their patriotism is born of profits.

Their war fever will die with wealth conscription.

Wealth conscription will last while the war lasts, even though conscription takes also the dregs.

We are in the war, and wealth as well as life will pay the penalty.

THE conservation of food is now the all important world question.

Wheatless days, porkless days, meatless days, with prices soaring higher and ever higher, means that a famine is rising like a wave of creeping paralysis over the world.

What has hitherto been a world question is now

rapidly becoming a personal question.

The war is forcing us to Hooverize food. The famine will force us to Fletcherize it.

Hooverizing food is reducing the quantity.

Fletcherizing food is chewing it until it is a liquid and all taste is gone, before swallowing.

If Fletcherized, one half the food we now eat will nourish us better than we are now nourished.

Our lives will soon be judged by this standard.

The day of judgment is near at hand. The judge is stern and relentless. His name is Famine and his judgment is "Fletcherize or death!"

WE ARE all very freakish at times. Ideas that are approved today are condemned tomorrow.

Some like the thought because they like the man who uttered it.

Later, if they form a dislike for the man, they dislike the thought.

This seems impossible, but it is true even among Socialists. We have known men to approve our editorials, and object only because they wished the editorials were more radical. Later, while angry, they disapproved them, thought they were too radical, and sought to arouse the authorities against us because we wrote them.

This is a terrible picture of a Socialist mind.

He is not a Socialist?

Tell him so and a fight is on.

The fight will convince him that he is and you that he is not, a Socialist.

It is apparent that an editor of a Socialist magazine has a difficult road to travel.

If he is too radical, the authorities will suppress him.

If he is too conservative, the Socialists will repudiate him.

If he is not absolutely clear and concise, his enemies will misconstrue him.

Yet hope sustains and charity makes life sweet.

ENGLAND and the United States have recently seized many Dutch ships and put them into service.

The conservative press finds that this is a violation of international law and holds up its hands in holy terror against the act, crying "No precedent!" "No law!"

Of course, there is no law. All law ends when war begins. Were the old laws sufficient, wars would not develop.

Being insufficient, and all commercial nations being

unable to agree upon a new rule of action, they resort to arms.

During hostilities they do whatsoever they have the power to do in line with their interests.

Such acts become the rule of action for the future.

Hitherto, it has been wrong, but henceforth it will be right to seize the ships of weaker neutral powers and to press them into service.

Thus commercial law is born and its wisdom (?) manifested.

Who is so blind that he cannot see the degrading tendencies of brute force?



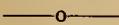
LOVE!

LOVE sets a premium upon good character by sending a thrill of joy through the heart of the rightdoer for every righteous act. Thus it blazes a pathway of ever-increasing happiness through a world of tribulations, to a haven of blissful wisdom.

It opens the heart and mind of all by the touch of its magic wand.

It demands honesty and good faith and yields in return absolute liberty.

It opens beautiful fields of activity on every hand and bids its children welcome.



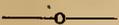
GREED!

GREED undermines and destroys character; adds ambition to power and bitterness, and anguish of heart to both.

It leads into entangled briers and quagmires, blinding its eyes with deceit and robbing itself of understanding.

It closes every honest heart and mind against it, uses treachery as its stepping-stone upon which it descends into intellectual bondage.

It pillages every field it enters, ravishes everything it touches, bewilders every heart in which it dwells, and makes enemies of all.



AFTER a year of struggle and disappointment, the Socialist party of the United States is beginning to see that the policy outlined by the Majority report adopted at St. Louis was a profound mistake.

It goes without saying that Socialists have always opposed war. For a quarter of a century we saw conditions developing that were leading directly to this cataclysm and we did all within our power to avert it. But it came.

Now that the country is engulfed, what shall the Socialists do? What stand shall we take?

Upon this question the Socialists are not agreed.

Some are opposed to taking part in the war; some are in favor of it. The same is true of the entire citizenship.

Those who are opposed to the war are, for the most part, believers in the doctrine of pacifism. They are not cowards. They will die for their convictions. Neither are those who believe in war cowards. They will die for their convictions. No man is a coward who will lay down his life for his convictions.

The pacifist would rather be killed than to kill. We find pacifists among the Socialists and among all religious denominations. We find them also among the general citizenship.

What are we to do with those who oppose war because they believe it wrong to kill—who would be killed before they would kill?

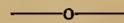
What shall we do with this fact?

Every pacifist, who, upon oath, declares that he would not take life, should be excused from combatant service, just as a juryman who is opposed to capital punishment is excused from jury service.

I am more than confident that, as a compromise, ninety-five percent of the pacifists would render most efficient non-combatant service while they would die or go to prison rather than render combatant service.

Opening the opportunity for non-combatant service to all such persons would unite the forces in the United States in a manner that each could render service in keeping with his conscience.

Better by far have a united country with the service of all in this manner, than a disunited country, however large or small the factions may be.



ARE the Socialists of Russia responsible for German success in the far East?

Many capitalist papers and magazines are flaunting this theory before the world.

They are still clinging to capitalism.

They do not know it is dying.

They do not know it is dead in Russia.

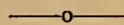
They do not know that the new order is being born now among the Slavs.

They do not scent the decay of the old.

They will not know the new when it comes.

Forgive them: they know not what they do. They belong to the dying past.

Let the dead bury their dead.



HOPE dwells in the mansion of prospective possibilities.

Despair dwells in the mansion of prospective impossibilities.

Will Birth Control Decrease Prostitution?

NO one can give a guaranteed answer to this question. The evidence is not all in. But judging from the experience of those countries where birth control information has been most easily and longest accessible, and considering some of the most persistent impulses in human nature, it is a fair prophecy that birth control will substantially lessen prostitution.

The two sorts of men who mostly patronize prostitutes are the young men, who cannot afford to marry, and the married men whose relations with their wives are rendered abnormal by the fear of unwanted pregnancy. Knowledge of reliable scientific methods of contraception can hardly fail to lessen the prostitution evil in both instances.

Nothing in modern civilization is more tragic and more of an outrage upon nature than that young people of the mating age should be driven by economic necessity to lead lives that are either sexually starved or sexually perverted. More and more young men and women are afraid to marry for fear they cannot pay the bills of a family.

Can they be blamed? Even before the war, the cost of living was going up steadily, and the average father of a family was earning less than \$500 per year. Since the war, the purchasing power of the dollar has dropped to 47c and the average increase in wages is not more than 20 percent. In some occupations there has been no increase whatever. Under such circumstances to deliberately bring little folks into the world becomes almost criminal. To do it unintentionally is to be victimized by a cruel situation in which the parents suffer, the children suffer, and society suffers. But this is what people face, who marry without knowledge of birth control.

How different is the case with knowledge? Then the young folks can naturally marry when they fall in love—say in their early twenties. They can spend the first few years getting adjusted to each other while both of them are earning money. They can hope to tuck away a little safety bank account for the babies, and then—say in their late twenties or early thirties—they can let the babies come, knowing that they will be welcomed, and will be fairly secured from want.

Under such circumstances; with mental strain and nervous apprehension reduced to the minimum, well-mated young married people are free to develop a secure companionship that not only provides a splendid foundation for the family, but it serves as the best possible preventive of the abnormal conditions which lead a man to patronize a prostitute.

It is a fair conclusion also that birth control information will go a long way toward stabilizing marriage itself as well as diminishing prostitution. The fear of unwished pregnancy is doubtless one of the largest factors in killing love. Many a couple who have lived through tragedy and separation, would today be together and happy if only they had known enough to "space" their babies as they wanted them, and had been spared that nerve-racking constant terror of discovering that another unwanted baby was coming.

There are relatively few men who prefer prostitution to natural mating. It is a perversion which is acquired largely because of unjust economic conditions and ignorance of how to make and keep love relations free from disastrous complications. Birth Control is not a cure-all for every human woe, but it is a help that can hardly be overestimated in view of the suffering which the lack of it entails. And when the

country once rescues the subject from the shocking legal connection it has had with obscenity and immorality in our out-of-date statutes, which make it a crime to give contraceptive information, it will be clear that birth control is in harmony with nature and evolution instead of against it, that it is biologically sound and socially beneficial.

Nature gave us our brains to use, and we cannot satisfy our hunger or our need for clothes or for shelter without using our brains. It is equally true that we cannot satisfy our sex impulses successfully without the use of our brains. Unaided nature is cruel if we do not intelligently cooperate and control and conquer.

—MARY WARE DENNETT.

Is Birth Control Dangerous to Women's Health?

THIS QUESTION is often asked and the answer is—NO! The beginning of any new life consists of the conjunction of the male and female germ. There really need be no mystery about it for nature follows pretty much the same rule throughout all her kingdoms. Go to the flowers.

Suppose we take a peep into Luther Burbank's garden and we shall probably find that several flowers are covered with white gauze. This is done to control the fertilization of the plant—to prevent conception taking place, except when the gardener wishes it. The flower is the sex organ of the plant. And now it is in order to ask, does this control injure the plant? Any gardener who knows his business will smile and say, no. It is through this means that the human mind is able to improve the flower or rather the plant, or better still, the species.

But supposing this was a great secret and an ignorant bungler came along and used a red or a black cover instead of the white or sprayed it with poisonous substance, most assuredly it would injure the flower. There is a right way and a wrong way of doing everything. There is no doubt that thousands of ignorant, ill-informed people injure themselves because no clean hygienic means of birth control is allowed to be taught. It is just exactly this that the birth control movement came into the field to do away with. Most ill-informed people firmly believe that birth control consists of abortion or the taking of poisonous medicine, and that fakers and grafters of all kinds flourish on this ignorance. Also the medical profession flourishes on this ignorance. But, of course, far be it from me, a mere lay member, to accuse that honorable body of wanting to keep the general mass of people in ignorance on this matter, for any economic reason or professional interest. However, the family with a fairly well-filled purse never had any trouble in getting this information from the family physician, while the poor mother and father get nothing as a rule except a professional smile or a benevolent shake of the honorable head.

"The information of birth control would ruin all our young girls," asserted a benevolent doctor. "But, dear sir," I protested, "who says we are in the field to teach young girls birth control? Besides, if the human race has produced nothing but a tribe of potential mothers who are as irresponsible as animals, we may as well call it off and confess that human evolution is a huge failure."

The fact of the matter is that the majority of normal boys and girls would have a very high ideal of parenthood and personal purity provided they were taught as much cold facts about their sex function as they are taught about the function

(Continued on Page 35)

The Story of American Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer, Editor "The New World."

I. THE COLONIZING PERIOD

Chapter 6.

THE CAPITALISTIC COLONY

THE MERE FACT that the Icarians had lost chiefly through land swindles calls attention to the further fact that during the period that marked the drama they played on the stage of America, capitalist control of industry for purposes of exploitation had developed strongly in this country. It gained its first strength chiefly through manipulations of large bodies of land, until it became a force stronger than the altruism that wished to use the land for nobler purposes. The new force began to exercise its influence on the community proposition in a way which embraces all the elements of incongruity that make it deliciously humorous. A capitalistic proposition that turned into a communistic society and then reverted to the capitalistic form came as the inverted climax to the drama of the communities.

This variation of the religious colony was brought about by Joseph Noyes about 1834. The first point of difference between it and other colonies lay in the fact that the promotor was a native of America instead of a foreigner. The second divergence came through the establishment of manufacture as the basis of the colony, instead of agriculture, as with the other colonies. A third line of demarcation lay in the fact that it began as a joint stock proposition.

The Oneida community was at its inception a family enterprise, amounting to a partnership. As others expressed a desire to join the work, and as the writings of Cabot began to influence the whole people, communistic features were added. The communistic idea was, therefore, in this case, an afterthought, while in the other communities it was the prime concept. The company first and then the community manufactured steel traps, traveling bags, and silks, and engaged in the preservation of fruits. Everything they did was well done, and the community acquired the reputation of reliability. Yet, up to 1857, the operations of the community showed a loss of about \$40,000. Then, however, a profit began to develop, and within ten years the community grew rich. The product for which it attained a national and last reputation was "community silver," consisting of table ware.

In doctrines the Oneida community developed characteristic features. It was among the very first institutions in the world to pronounce itself favoring total abstinence from intoxicants, and opposition to chattel slavery. In religious matters it was no less remarkable. It advocated and permitted "freedom of love," yet under such conditions that it was anything but licentious. The three doctrines mentioned, however, did not meet general approval. Consequently the colonists came in for severe criticism. Churches especially denounced them on account of their "freedom of love in practice and doctrine." It is quite likely that the charges made in later years against the Marxian Socialists was an echo of the old fight against this isolated body of utopians calling themselves socialists while being in reality co-operative capitalists.

After about thirty years, the "Perfectionists," as they called themselves, abandoned the community, resolving themselves into a joint stock company.

Noyes, the founder of the community, possessed high literary attainments, and was the first historian of American

colonies. The very fact that he was the historian indicates that the curtain had been run down on the drama. The unities were completed, and the ending was capitalistic, as though to call attention to the new force that was in control of things. The drama of the colonies had been picturesque, heroic, full of action, combined with the most somber pathos and delicate humor, and through it all there ran high resolve and deep philosophy. It had developed a literature of its own. It had produced a philosophy most beautiful, and advanced new, great ideas of its own. It had touched the world.

ECHOES OF THE COLONY WAVES

I. MORMONISM

JOSEPH SMITH, founder of Mormonism, was in the neighborhood of one of the religious colonies, and also near the home of the Fox Sisters. For six months he roomed with an avowed socialist. That he was influenced by these surroundings is plain from his subsequent actions.

Smith began preparation for his work by making a book that claimed both inspiration and authority. In this he had a surer ground for building a permanent movement than any of his predecessors had. When he founded his colony at Zoar, Ohio, he bound them to him with faith that provoked enthusiasm, and the church he organized sent missionaries through all the world. From Ohio his colony moved to Far West and Independence, Mo. It prospered, but met opposition from his neighbors. Finally, it was forced to leave Missouri and took refuge in Illinois. Here it grew, accumulated wealth and began to exercise a strong political influence, Smith even announcing himself as a candidate for president. Probably it was the disturbing element in politics more than anything else that led to the persecution of the Mormons in Illinois, culminating in the killing of Smith and his brother, Hiram.

Brigham Young was chosen the new president of Mormonism, and, selling the Nauvoo lands to the Icarians, prepared to seek a home in the distant west. The journey of the Mormons to Utah is one of the most daring and romantic things in American history. The taming of the desert by these spiritualists and co-operators under autocratic control is a marvel of achievement. And through it all, they sent missionaries throughout all the world, established new colonies in other states and even in other nations, and attained a political power that dominated the west for many decades. But the practice of polygamy led to a split in the church, and a new Mormonism was established with headquarters at Independence, Missouri, near Kansas City. This branch prospered and grew. Both elements have persisted to the present, and seem to have a permanence that is predicated, doubtless, on religious beliefs and practices more than on co-operation. Yet both freely admit that it was early co-operation that enabled them to accomplish the remarkable work they did, and it is a peculiar kind of co-operation that makes good their boast that there are no pauper Mormons.

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2. OTHER RELIGIOUS COLONIES

The Perfectionist movement had as its central thought the second coming of Christ. Long after it had its day, Peter Armstrong, an Adventist preacher, claimed he was inspired

to select a retired community for the reception of the 144,000 saints during the last days of trial. Accordingly, he arranged to buy 2500 acres of land in the Alleghenies, in Pennsylvania. The land was solemnly deeded to Almighty God. The Armstrong family renounced allegiance to all earthly governments, and then for nine years he, his wife and seven children labored in preparing the land for the future work. Finally they were joined by four others. He published a paper at the time, which he called "Celestia," termed the Day Star of Zion, which attained a moderate circulation and awakened much enthusiasm. It appeared that hundreds were ready to join the colony, when, being unable to make a living, Armstrong abandoned the land and moved to Philadelphia.

During the Millerite excitement in 1843, Frederick T. Howland founded a colony on the farm of Leonard Fuller in the neighborhood of Boston, called Adonai-Shomo. Some of the colonists introduced revolting practices and made extravagant claims that resulted in the breaking up of the colony.

The Mennonites, Germans who lived in Russia, fled from Europe to avoid going to war, and established numerous communities in various portions of the United States. Each of these communities bought about 30,000 acres of land and contained some 125 members. They farmed, raised stock, and prospered. Many of the communities still exist, the colonists commanding high esteem from their neighbors, and being financially well fixed.

Thomas L. Harris, after a successful ministry in other churches, became a spiritist and founded, in 1851, the Mountain Cove community of spiritists. The experiment was short lived. Afterward he founded the Brockton community in New York. It attracted men and women of culture. This failed, and he later established a colony in California, at Santa Rosa. Here he started what he called The Brotherhood of the New Life.

Cyrus W. Teed, who called himself Koresh, devised a new system of cosmogony and religion, and attracted followers, leading them to the establishment of a colony at Eastero, Floriad. The colony is still in existence, although its founder has passed on. He claimed to be under supernatural control.

At Benton Harbor, Michigan, "Benjamin and Mary" have a community which they call The House of David. There are colonies with similar religious tenets at other points. They prosper and have many conveniences and beautiful surroundings in their communistic homes.

Dr. J. B. Newbrough, of New York City, about 1882 published a large and striking volume, called "Oahspe," purporting to have been received from the spirit world by automatic writing. One of its instructions was to take New York waifs and raise them into good citizens in a community far removed from contaminating influences. Accordingly, a community was established later on in New Mexico, called Shalem, and referred to as the Children's land. Inhabitants of the community were allowed to live much as they pleased, except that they were not allowed to own houses or lands that they did not actually use, and had to contribute a tenth of their income to the support of the orphans that were brought in from the slums of the cities. Many children were raised into good citizenship. But the community fell into disuse when the children who were adopted at its inception grew up. The cult based on Oaspe, however, is a growing force to this day.

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III. SOCIALIST COMMUNITIES

Robert Owen had dreamed of a colony in Mexico. In

1870 Albert K. Owen, a civil engineer, no relation of Robert, came upon an inland sea in Mexico, which the Indians called Topolombarpo. The site charmed him, and he interested others in the project that came to him, of starting a communistic colony there. They obtained a grant of 30,000 acres from the Mexican government. The land was laid out, a third being devoted to public grounds, parks and sites for founders were not prepared for such a contingency, and public buildings. Then advertisements were inserted in many papers for colonists. Hundreds without means, and sometimes without health, appeared at the colony site. The appeal had to be made for funds to support the colonists until buildings could be erected and land brought under cultivation. The ground was poor and far from markets. The colony finally was moved to the coast. Here a system of irrigation was laid out and begun. But dissensions entered into this purely socialistic colony, many deserted, and finally the Mexican government cancelled the grant, and the enterprise collapsed. The widespread interest it had awakened is shown in that seventeen states of the United States, besides Canada and Mexico, were represented among the colonists.

After J. A. Wayland made a success of the "Coming Nation" at Greensburg, Indiana, he projected the Ruskin colony at Ruskin, Tenn. Everyone who contributed \$100 or secured 200 subscribers to the paper was reckoned a member. The land was bought without being seen and was of poor quality. The colonists went on this land, and had to cut timber and build huts in which to live. The newspaper moved to this primitive camp. Conditions were so bad during the first winter that the suffering colonists were moved to seek a new location. They now selected land with a fine cave and spring on it, still in Tennessee. Here they planned big things. They had a rousing Fourth of July celebration in the cave. The colony grew, and built, beside many residences, a large printing office, a public hall and other improvements. A college was started, and the paper boomed. But dissensions entered. Wayland finally withdrew from the colony. The land and personal property was disposed of at public sale, and the colony removed to Duke, Ga. Here over fifty houses were built, a store, repair shop and public hall erected; manufacture of a cereal coffee, of leather suspenders and of brooms were started; a library of 1500 volumes was founded and woman's clubs were organized. But dissatisfaction entered again. Some of the colonists deserted. Others wanted to move back to Tennessee. A few months later the property of the colony was sold at public auction and the proceeds divided among the members. The "Coming Nation" was discontinued. It was afterwards revived by the Warren brothers, E. N. Richardson and the writer of this, at Rich Hill, Mo., and then again fell into the hands of J. A. Wayland by purchase.

The Colorado Co-operative Company was established by socialists. It claimed to have attained a membership of 300. It was short lived.

The Brotherhood Co-operative Commonwealth of Equality was established by socialists at Equality, Washington, in 1895. The colony existed until 1904 when it went to pieces over internal dissensions.

A Co-operative Brotherhood was started at Burley, Washington, by socialists, in 1898. It gained members from many states and started apparently under favorable conditions. A reorganization later on eliminated many of the co-operative features, and the membership rapidly disintegrated.

The Mutual Home Association was a socialistic community founded at Home, Washington, in 1898. It attained a membership of 155, and then went out of existence.

A community was established at Kansas City with a flourish and promise of wide co-operation, in the early part of the twentieth century, by Vrooman. Domestic troubles caused the collapse of the big plans, Vrooman's wife having the money and shutting down on its expenditure.

Walter Thomas Mills had a school with co-operative, communistic features, at Kansas City, for several years in the early part of this century.

A community was established at Ruskin, Florida by a Miller follower of Vrooman, in the early days of the Marxian movement, having a paper, a college, and not a few industries.

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IV. MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNITIES

Martha McWhirter, a pious Methodist of Texas, received, she said, revelations that prompted her to gather neighboring women together for prayer and development. They not only prayed, but they also managed their meager affairs so that they might have a little money of their own. They even demanded rights for women. They were ostracised and then mobbed. But they continued steadfast and blameless. They finally pooled their savings, worked at odd spells, and from the proceeds built a hotel and steam laundry. Some of their husbands left them for daring to do such unwomanly things. But they persevered and prospered. They became wealthy in common property; then public opinion began to veer toward them. Finally they moved to Washington, D. C., and there with their common property incorporated The Woman's Republic of Washington, D. C. The twenty-four women led blameless and useful lives, agitating for political and other reforms, and as the Republic went to pieces through the death of the membership, its property, according to their previous arrangement, went to the perpetuation of an orphan asylum in Washington.

Madam Modjeska, Henry Sienkiewicz, author of "Quo Vadis," and other Polanders, founded a co-operative agricultural community in Orange county, California. The property purchased was mortgaged and when the indebtedness came due in 1878, it ceased to be.

Katherine Tingley has founded the Universal Brotherhood organization and Theosophical society, a community at Point Loma, California. The membership grew to about 500.

Single taxers have a colony at Fairhope on the gulf in Alabama. It has been in existence for many years, and has a population of about 500. The members lease the land from the company, but own their own homes and improvements, and engage in private enterprises. Land, however, is not held privately or sold, but rather administered by agents of the community.

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I have called these echoes of the five colony movements. First, because they did not represent a concerted effort to accomplish world emancipation; second, they followed in some respect the ideas of one or more of the former movements; and third, they did not take into account the changes that had come since the early colony wave had swept over America. These changes included the Mexican war and the gold rush to California, which had broken over old frontiers and tremendously enhanced individual initiative. They included the development of trading, the creation of roads, the building of canals, the growth of river traffic, the coming of the railroad, the inception of the factory system. Conditions under these sporadic enterprises were very different from conditions when the colony waves came to America. The changed conditions made their success, under the old plans, much more difficult of realization.

The Farce of Frank Bohn

Frank Bohn, once upon a time a Socialist, is one of the renegade comrades who early in the war became infected with the virus of irresponsible patriotism and haughtily, withdrew from the party, denouncing all who remained as satellites of Wilhelm and exponents of kultur.

Frank assures us that while he is enthusiastic about the war, he is dead set against all that savors of militarism.

Now, we must confess that we have been slightly twisted up by Mr. Bohn on this subject of militarism. Not very long ago, in the now defunct "New Review," he was very positive that a citizen army was the acme of absurdity. He KNEW it was, because he had studied the thing, and had served in the army. Moreover, he denounced a democratic army as a stand-menace to the right of Labor to rebel.

Yet, Mr. Bohn now maintains that the reason Germany is and has been a menace to democracy and liberty is because of her autocratically picked and trained army—that such an organization has poisoned the psychology of the German people, and has made them subservient to the will of the junkers.

Mr. Bohn says that a citizen army is a farce. May we suggest that the socialism of Frank Bohn is something of a farce, also?

—A. S.

Roosevelt Rants

Theodore Roosevelt pours out the vials of his wrath on the Bolsheviki. He exoriates them for their disloyalty to the Allies. He denounces them for referring to America as a capitalist nation. He says:

"We have had many evil capitalists in the United States, but on the whole the worst capitalists could not do the permanent damage to the farmers and workingmen in America which these foreign and native Bolsheviki would do if they had the power."

Utter rot! Mr. Roosevelt is either mendacious or he is the ignoramus on social questions that many believe him to be. Who was responsible for the Bisbee deportations? The capitalists. Who was responsible for the St. Louis program? The capitalists again. Did not Senator Johnson of California prove that the American Fleet Corporation was deliberately grafting on the United States government to the tune of several million dollars? How about the recent revelations of corruption and graft concerning Swift and Armour? We make the flat statement that CAPITALIST GREED HAS DONE MORE TO PARALYZE THE EFFICIENCY OF OUR WAR PREPARATIONS, A THOUSAND TIMES, THAN THE SPORADIC OPPOSITION OF ANTI-WARISTS.

Mr. Roosevelt is the unconscious tool of sinister capitalist interests that are daily securing a firmer grip on the destinies of the American people.

—A. S.

No matter how loyally we stand behind the boys with bayonets across the sea, it is still eternally true that no man who knows him can conceive of Jesus Christ driving a bayonet through a human brother's breast.—"Our Dumb Animals."

The United States produces about two thirds of the world's output of crude petroleum, and has produced about 2,750,000,000 barrels since the first oil well was drilled in 1895.—"Scientific American."

Every man replaced in an industrial plant costs the management from \$10 to \$300, depending on skill and ability.—"Engineering and Contracting."

Colony Development

ONE THOUSAND ACRES of the colony land will soon be under fence. Nearly half this area is now fenced and will be under cultivation this year. The colony is going in for food production exclusively, and on this land will be grown corn, peanuts, sugar cane, beans, and acres and acres of vegetables in the garden.

The corn is up, the peanuts are being planted, the cane is sprouting nicely, the beans are coming through the soil and promise a good stand. Every where over the great Llano Plantation there is grass enough to feed thousands of head of cattle.

Down in the gardens the cabbage is firm and crisp and beginning to head. The tomatoes stand in long rows. There are several acres of them, and the small cannery which the colony purchased this year will be put to work canning tomatoes in the summer.

There are egg plants and peppers, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, melons—all kinds of them—squash, pumpkins, radishes, lettuce, and all the things that go into the garden. They are doing nicely and look well. The hot beds are still producing plants to be set into the ground.

Three months ago the land where the garden is was mostly brush. Now it is growing garden. The urge throughout the South this year is that food be produced. The Llano Plantation is heeding this fact, and though established but a very few months is already claimed as the largest plantation in Vernon Parish. The energy of the Llano workers, their determination to put their land under cultivation as rapidly as possible, and their steady effort is winning results.

It is also impressing the kindly disposed neighbors in Leesville who recognize the value to this parish of the sort of work that the colonists are doing. The value of the land is more than doubled the first year by the work put on it.

Some time ago the workers asked for a nine-hour day. They didn't exactly go on strike for it, but they demanded it. This is quite contrary to the usual procedure. Instances where the workers have demanded a nine-hour day instead of the eight-hour day they have been enjoying are sufficiently rare to excite comment.

The Colony needs equipment, horses, mules, implements. It requires machinery and seed and all of the things that new farmers on new farms require everywhere. But it is getting them and it is making progress. It has shown what can be done by foresight and labor, by co-operative and carefully directed effort.

This year it has been necessary to use the methods of the farmers here. Single plows have been used because they were the only ones that could be used. The greatest result from the amount of energy expended could not be secured, because the methods to achieve this result could not be put into operation. But next year it will be possible to make greater progress.

With the crops growing, with the animals housed, with the people cared for, with the printshop running and the commissary in operation, the colony can begin planning for other work. For instance, there is the dance hall to be built in the park. Just in front of the hotel is the most beautiful natural park of forty acres. This is to be made into an amusement park. First to be built will be a dance hall. It will be a pavilion. The floor is here and ready to be used. The lumber for the roof is cut and ready for use. There is material for the sides which will be left mostly open. When the dance hall is built it is expected that the Llano Plantation

dances will shortly become one of the features of Vernon Parish. It is planned to make the dancing floor more than 100 feet long and about 33 feet in width. Flanking the floor will be refreshment parlors, wherein can be sold coffee and ice cream and cake and other dainties.

At present the dances are held in the big dining room of the hotel and they are well attended. There is never less than a six-piece orchestra. The music is excellent, comparing more than favorably with the music furnished by high-priced imported orchestras. One of the colonists who has been away for a year, and who is passionately fond of dancing, says the dances at the colony are more enjoyed by him than any dances he has attended in all the time he has been away.

Another social feature that has not been much spoken of is the Sunday night entertainment, which always furnishes some good musical numbers, and frequently has other good things to offer.

At both the entertainments and the dances there are many visitors. The popularity of the colony entertainments is growing. No charge for admission is made. Those of the colony who have talents give of them freely.

The social life of the colony is what grips and holds in spite of hardships and privations. There is a fascination about it that cannot be broken. Colonists who are away and who write back to friends rarely fail to mention this as the big outstanding feature of colony life which they remember above all else. With no profits made, with no greed of commercialism entering, with each performer giving freely of the best he has, there is a genuine reason why the social life is so pleasant. And it is only fair to add that colony audiences are never cruelly critical, never fail to appreciate and are always ready to encourage. It is a kindness of spirit that is not manifested where entertainment is paid for. The absolute sanity of the colony life is the key to its wonderful success.

The colony has the best orchestra for many miles around. With a great floor and with free dances and good music, there should be an excellent attendance at the dances. This is one of the ways by which the colony will become acquainted with its neighbors.

Machinery for the saw mill is here but is not set up. Neither is the shoe shop set up. Farming takes precedence just now and will continue to do so. Every man who can be spared is kept at work at some phase of farm work.

Letters come in every day asking what progress is being made. When there is nothing to record but the building of miles of rail fence, there is little to write about. It is picturesque, this fence building in the Abe Lincoln style, but it is not exciting, and once mentioned there is little left for a follow-up story. This is also true of the garden. It is growing and promises to furnish a large proportion of the sustenance of the colony for several months to come. Field crops, too, promise liberal returns, as measured by the standards of this country, and if intelligently handled return an incredible per cent on the investment.

This is a country rich in many natural products. The great abundance of timber solves the fuel and building problem to a large measure. The woods are a thicket of berry bushes, thickly laden with fruit that today, May 1st, is becoming red and will soon be black and sweet and luscious, furnishing fruit for those who will harvest it. There are

(Continued on Page 37)

The Menace of a United States of the World

THE great abyss which now threatens to engulf the race is the proposal for a United States of the World. It is a vast and unthinkable conspiracy against human life. Every free soul will resist with all his powers such an attempt to organize life into one final monopoly. Such an outcome of the war would mark the triumph of that mechanical genius which has made civilization the greatest enemy of man. It would mean that in an attempt to gain facility, life had become dehumanized. It would mean that shameful capitulation of freedom known as a "moral triumph." It would signify that man was fast losing that most precious of all rights—the right to be a criminal.

For organization is the great enemy of life. It represents an invasion of life for the purpose of crushing out what is novel, unique, eccentric and unforeseeable—in short, that which is vital and personal. Organization enlists in the service of life with a covert motive. With high professions of humility and willingness to serve, it enters the realm of life, only to spy out the land for an eventual mechanical occupancy. Once within that vital realm, organization extends its mechanical sway to the outmost bounds of human life, sets up a mechanical tyranny and touches life with static death. Once organization has invaded life, the finer human gestures give way to mechanical processes, and the cry of the human is lost in the rumbling of the machine.

My brothers, this is death. Unless men of all races and nations rise in universal revolt against the tyranny of mechanical order and form as seen in nations and inter-nations, the human cannot survive.

When States unite to "protect" men, humanity will become a prostitute in their midst. Verily, the machines have become "righteous," and are uniting to impose moral order upon the world. Let us understand then, that when machines become "moral" it is time for men to become "immoral." When organization conspires with morality to defeat life, then "criminals" become the saviors of the race.

The hour has struck when free men everywhere must espouse revolt as an ultimate creed and proclaim the absolute and divine right of self.

—FLOYD HARDIN.

Written Specially for THE INTERNATIONALIST

The Outlook for a United States of The World

By George Bernard Shaw

THERE is no outlook for a United States of the World. A United States of the World is tomfool nonsense. When Anacharsis Klotz made the French Revolution ridiculous by his Deputation of The Human Race, it became necessary to guillotine him. His ghost is trying to walk at present; and the sooner that, too, is guillotined, the better.

What is possible is a combination of the States which accept Democracy, and are virtually homogeneous in civilization, with the object of establishing international and supernational law, and renouncing their "sovereign rights" to the extent to which such law can be established, the main immediate purpose being to abolish war, which now threatens the very existence of civilization. The combination, though it must be large enough to make an armed attack on it an insane enterprise, must not be too large to be manageable; and it must be really homogeneous: mere alliances are no use except for military purposes between men of different color, different mind, different morals, and different stages of political evolution.

The obvious nucleus for the first combination (for there will be more than one in the world) is the present alliance between the United States of America, the British Empire, and the French Republic. To make it effective, the German Empire must be added; and the problem just now is how to qualify Germany for admission by knocking Democracy into her and Imperialism out of her. If we had completely knocked the Imperialism out of ourselves, the task would be easy; but as it is, we have not trusted Democracy enough in our own countries to trust it in another, or to ask others to trust it. We must therefore wait until the war knocks Imperialism out of all of us. When that is done, the rest will almost do itself. With Democracy solid from the Carpathians to the Rockies we should have the material for quite as much supernationalism as we could possibly handle to begin with. The Federation of the World may be left to those who are in a hurry to bite off more than they can chew.

Taine on "The State"

The State makes use of the money which it extorts from me to unjustly impose fresh constraints upon me; this is the case when it prescribes for me its theology or its philosophy, when it prescribes for me or denies me a special form of religious observance, when it pretends to regulate my morals and my manners, to limit my labor or my expenditure, to fix the price of my merchandise or the rate of my wages. With the coin which I do not owe it and which it steals from me it defrays the expense of the persecution which it inflicts upon me. Let us beware of the encroachments of the State, and suffer it to be nothing more than a watch-dog.

The Rebel

For all of these my heart with longing beats:
For wealth and beauty,
For peace profound and rest;
But while men kill and women walk the streets,
I choose the life of strife and of protest.

—E. Ralph Chcyney.

Llano—A Soul Laboratory

By Clinkenbeard Clews

THERE are lots of things about living in the Colony besides eight hours a day, equal wage, free medical attendance, pay on sick leave, the social intercourse, and those other benevolent and admirable features so thoroughly advertised.

For instance, there's human nature. Some people, grown cynical, insist that it isn't human. Maybe not. Maybe it is just human and not venerated. Anyway, we see human nature under the most powerful soul microscope in the world. We see it spread out before us in a soul laboratory which gives cultures to show just what the human animal is and what he—or it—will do under any combination of circumstances.

Doc says he can tell when a man steps off the train just what he will be saying and doing in two months. That is quite a strong statement, for the only part of the new comer Doc sees when said new comer steps from the train is new-comer's feet, for we are opposite the station and look under the train. But Doc has been in the colony longer than most of us and he has had a lot of experience. I have seen him make some most uncanny predictions that came out just as he said.

For instance: there was the man Bolley. Bolley came in quite by accident. Was just camping through the country and hadn't even heard of the Colony. Didn't know it was here. Oh, yes, he had heard of it. But it was quite by accident that he happened to drop in close to us.

We took Bolley in. He seemed to be honest and a good worker. Had a lot of livestock that he turned in as payment for his membership. Fairly good stock. Then the soul of Bolley was put under the microscope in the colony soul laboratory. At first it was hard to find, but we finally discovered it. Bolley's soul proved to be a queer animal. Whether he came in or just happened in, operated for pay, or was taking a little flyer of his own, we never exactly learned. But one day he slipped out with his livestock and the one thousand shares of stock. He represented himself as a hard-working man. His wife represented herself as an agitator. They are probably both right, at least we have no doubt of the fact that she is an agitator.

Then there was Hungtown. He was another agitator. Hungtown came in without putting a dollar into the colony. Came in on his ability before we had the soul laboratory keyed up to catch the difference between ability to do and ability to talk. We were deceived. Hungtown came in as one of the finest tutors who ever tooted. There was nothing in the realm of mathematics that he couldn't solve. His life was a dream, his wife a queen, his services invaluable, himself indispensable. We trembled when we thought of the hazards we had run before we got him. He was a real wonder-worker, a genuine he-teacher. He told us all this in the first half hour after the stage dropped him down in our humble and unsuspecting midst. Hungtown had all of the self-effacing humility of a circus band. He would no more get himself in the spotlight than would a movie queen seek to keep squarely in front of the camera lens. He was as modest and retiring as a polecat and eventually became as much endeared to us.

But Hungtown couldn't seem to get the hang of things, quite. He failed to tutor as he tooted. He tooted more than he tutored and his dissertations on the sublimity of his married life soon robbed the class of its interest in this subject. When he had purged the school of all its pupils by his dreary

monologues on domestic virtues as radiated by himself and his fair spouse, he was put to keeping books.

Now if there is one thing that narrows the soul, or that attracts the narrow soul, it seems to be book keeping. We never learned whether it was cause or effect, whether the narrow soul took naturally to double entry, or whether double entry made sandwich souls.

In the same office at the same time there was a book keeper of aristocratic bearing and overbearing disposition whose name was Orton. Orton was English and he pruned the aitches out of the alphabet perseveringly, restoring them in unexpected places with the instinct of a trade rat. In an emotional tirade he once referred to the eloquence of another member of the colony, as being "hall 'ot hair," which translated into ordinary un-English means, "all hot air."

Into this office with Orton went Hungtown. There was another in the office there with them, an amiable young Swede named Wonthide. This young man was a most likable chap, stood in the esteem of all, and merited this esteem. That is, he did before he became associated with Orton and Hungtown. But afterwards—well, the aitchless Hinglishman and the regular he-teacher were too much for him. Their contaminating influence became such that the soul microscope began to register sun spots on the immaculate spirit of Wonthide. These celestial freckles grew, till Wonthide became one of the most bitter and implacable enemies that the colony ever had. Yet the colony had done him no harm, and even extended him an invitation to come back after he had left.

Once long ago there was an organization formed within the colony of dissenters who took to themselves the name, Welfare League. They met out in the sagebrush and each wore as the insignia of the order, a piece of sagebrush. It became known as the Brush Gang, and the word brush became a part of colony language and remains so today. To "brush" is to become dissatisfied and to make trouble. A "brusher" is one of the dissatisfied.

Well, Orton, Hungtown, and Wonthide brushed. Now this man Orton didn't pay his way in full, and he never put a dollar directly in the colony either. Wonthide did. He was clean and straight until the evil influences of the others corrupted him. The three of them worked on the books for months. They were presumed to know of every entry that was made.

Of course, the easiest attack to make on the integrity of any concern is to attack its war chest. A run can be made on any bank in the country if only a little industrious whispering be indulged in. Hungtown was a whisperer. He buzzed night and day. He made vainglorious boasts of his prowess as a book keeper, of what he would do, if the irregularities of the accounts, etc.

An investigation was ordered by the colonists, instigated largely by Hungtown. Now here is where the soul microscope shows up things that wouldn't otherwise be noticed in a thousand years. Hungtown was a power-seeker. He showed it when he said he wouldn't be president of the company for any salary on earth. But Orton was also a power-seeker. You couldn't get him to be superintendent of the ranch! Of course not! But if he were, now mind ye, 'e wouldn't be for hanything in the world, but if 'e was, 'e would 'ave done thinks in a much better mawner, and 'is friend Mr. 'Uungtown would bear 'im hout in 'is statement. They both wanted

power, but their interests lay in the same direction, temporarily.

When the investigating committee brought in its report, it performed some very clever strategy. Educated by experience, it made the report free from any animus, because to betray animus would prejudice the hearers against those making the report. The report of the committee was clean enough. It noted "some discrepancies in accounts, some apparent slight irregularities which could probably be explained," etc. But the committee was ambitious and bitter, and being ambitious its collective and individual consciences were somewhat dulled. It became unscrupulous in its methods. One of its members, a gaunt, swarthy, sarcastic man, not long in the colony, named Harquelin, got before the assembled colonists, drew a paper from his pocket, and asked the privilege of making some remarks. Herein lay the cunning of the committee. Knowing the flare-back that would come of a report containing biased statements or attacks on the administration, these ambitious power-seekers took this method of making their drum-fire effective.

Now this man Harquelin was not fluent and he knew it. But he thought to catch the popular ear. The fineness of psychology escapes even the most acute of us now and then. The grotesque Harquelin, speaking with a slightly foreign accent, uncouth, unprepossessing, lacking in eloquence, and already suspected of not being altogether ingenuous, opened his speech with "Fellow sufferers!"

There's something about the human mind that makes it almost impossible for it to separate the deadly serious from the ridiculous. An Englishman is likely to take a joke with complete seriousness, while an American is quite as likely to get himself badly damaged physically by guffawing at the most serious place of an argument. Llano audiences were always courteous, and they are always ready to listen to a speech. They can take more punishment along that line than any people in the world. So they listened to the harrowing tale of Harquelin.

But it was next day that they began to express their real feelings in the matter. Meeting in the road in front of the hotel, two colonists greeted each other simultaneously as "Fellow sufferers." All over the ranch men and women and children were shouting "Fellow sufferer" as a matter of greeting. It was the beginning of the end of the committee. When ridicule begins to creep in, it is time for the committee to begin folding its tents and silently slipping away.

But the best of us are blind to psychology sometimes, and forget the lessons we have learned. Orton and Hungtown whipped Wonthide into line and renewed their attack. Listening posts were established, and we were subjected to all sorts of verbal barrage fire.

There were various complications which kept the committee from ever finishing its work on time. For one thing, most of the executives were kept so busy on business trips that they could not all be gotten together to receive the attack. There was one splendid example of this, and it came when the attacking force was rapidly disintegrating.

A special meeting of the colonists was called to hear the report all over again. The executives and others had been given notice. The fact that one of them was two thousand miles away at that time made little impression on the committee. Bloating with a sense of their own importance, the worthy individuals composing the committee expected all to whom they issued notices to at once appear before them and make such explanations as they might be able to give.

However, the executives had other business and could not run across the continent to please the whim of a little, ambitious mind. The meeting dragged. The colonists came out

of curiosity, sat about and talked, and waited. Finally one of the committee suggested that the meeting be called to order. The crowd felt no responsibility in the matter whatsoever. The committee had called the meeting. Therefore, let the committee conduct it. So the colonists sat about and chatted some more. Finally, one of the committeemen took the chair, called the meeting to order and asked that the chairman and secretary of the regular General Assembly take charge of the meeting. But the secretary and chairman were quite loath to do so and found adequate excuses why they should not. Then another colonist was suggested. He refused. Man after man and woman after woman was nominated and all refused to serve. Some subtle psychology hinted to the audience that the meeting was to be a farce. There was also the growing feeling that the committee was more interested in its own personal filibustering exploits than it was in the general good of the colony. Later, after nearly an hour, the colony undertaker consented to take the chair. More time was consumed in selecting a secretary, and at last the doctor was the only one who would accept this office. Then some wag went to the kitchen and got a large soup bone and gravely presented it to the chairman as the official gavel!

With an undertaker and a doctor to direct the meeting, it could not be taken seriously. A few dispirited motions were put and languidly voted upon without discussion. Then Orton tried to make an appeal to stir interest. In a loud voice he demanded that the absent executives appear, as this was the appointed time. There was a death-like and soul-chilling silence. Hungtown tried to arouse some interest, but was not taken seriously. Finally Orton said that as the executives were afraid to appear, and there seemed little that could be done, that the report of the committee should be accepted. Silence followed that, till some tired colonist, who remembered that he had to work next day, moved an adjournment. The motion was put and voted down, but the entire audience got up and walked out. Technically, a large and disinterested audience is still considering that report there in the hall.

At a later date the report was taken up in order and disposed of to the entire satisfaction of all but four men—Orton, Hungtown, Harquelin, and Wonthide.

There was an aftermath to it all, however. A disgruntled trio went to Los Angeles, formed an association to bankrupt and disrupt or control the colony, and at last reports were still operating, with some fell design spurring them on. Revenge seems to be the motive. Their influence has never been felt in the colony, and they are probably having a splendid time making reports, rearranging the colony to their own designs, and generally re-making and re-working the entire co-operative field. Wonthide wouldn't stay with the group, but the three leaders in the plot for power have stayed together.

Two human frailties that drive people out of the colony are the lust for power and the greed for gold. We've had scores of men come to the colony for the express purpose of taking almost immediate charge and operating it according to their impulsive ideas. Then there have been a large number of those who came for gain. Their idea of co-operation was to secure substantial advantages for themselves. They were unwilling to wait for results. Such persons eliminate themselves in the course of time; the colony never has to take action against them.

Plots for power have been more numerous than would be believed by those who forget that a socialist is merely a human animal who has gotten hold of a vision or a piece of a vision. This vision is, too often, merely a hankering to rule, a greed to seize through collective effort, what he could not take for himself by individual exploitation, and his selfishness is always

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Theosophy: Its Essence and Achievements

By Scott Clough, United Lodge of Theosophists.

THEOSOPHY presents to every man a theory of life whose basis rests upon three fundamental propositions, which are absolute in their nature and universal in their scope. These propositions, therefore, do not rest upon any one's authority, but upon their inherent truth. Only that truth is absolute which can be directly perceived, which is axiomatic, which does not depend upon evidence or testimony.

These propositions may be broadly formulated as follows:

I. All things that are, that have been, or that will be, spring from one Source, omnipresent, eternal, boundless, and immutable.

Discussion, definition and dogmatism in regard to this Source are idle and useless, for it is unthinkable and unspeakable, beyond the range and reach of thought or imagination. It antedates and underlies all conditioned and manifested existence. It interpenetrates, includes and sustains all things. All things come from It, exist in It, return into It, as all bodies, large or small, visible or invisible, move and have their being in Space. Like Space, It cannot be conceived of by itself, as absent from anything or anywhere, or as affected by any changes that occur in It. It is this Absolute Deity or Self of all that men have vainly striven to formulate and define as God. All such definitions are but images and idols of the mind, product of the ignorant fears, hopes and conceit of man.

II. In this Absolute Deity or Self or Space, Universes, solar systems, suns, planets, and the beings of which they are but aggregations, continually appear, disappear and reappear in boundless procession. This periodical manifestation has neither beginning nor ending as the Law of all existences. It has been likened to a Great Breath, or to Absolute Motion, eternally coming and going. As the Great Breath goes forth worlds and beings appear. As it is indrawn, beings and worlds disappear into the Great Source, to reappear at the next Great Breath. Our life is but one of an infinite series of lives; our world but one of an infinite series of worlds; our universe but one in an endless chain of universes, without conceivable beginning or imaginable end.

This second proposition is but the assertion of the absolute universality of that law of periodicity, of flux and reflux, ebb and flow, which physical science has observed and recorded in all departments of nature. An alternation such as that of Day and Night, Life and Death, Sleeping and Waking, is a fact so common, so perfectly universal and without exception, that it is easy to comprehend that in it we see one of the absolutely fundamental laws of the Universe.

III. The fundamental identity of all Souls with the Universal Soul, the latter being itself an aspect of the Unknown Root; and the obligatory pilgrimage for every Soul—a spark of the former—through the Cycle of Incarnation (or "Necessity") in accordance with Cyclic and Karmic law, during the whole term. In other words, no purely spiritual Soul can have an independent (conscious) existence before it has (a) passed through every elemental form of the phenomenal universe, and (b) acquired individuality, first by natural impulse, and then by self-induced and self-devised efforts, thus ascending through all the degrees of intelligence, from the lowest to the highest, from mineral and plant up to the highest and holiest being.

This third and final fundamental proposition of Theosophy flows from the other two, as the second flows from the first,

the three propositions standing to each other in the relation of the absolute, the universal, and the individual or particular. The individual is part and parcel of the universal; the universal is part and parcel of the absolute Eternal. Immortality, therefore, is not an acquisition; it is inherent in every individual, because his essential nature is one with the Absolute. What is to be acquired by each Soul for itself is knowledge—knowledge of its own eternal nature and of the eternal nature of all other beings. That knowledge can only be acquired through action, experience and observation. Each Soul is eternally acting, eternally sowing and reaping, now in one form and now in another, now in one field and now in another. The universe exists for the sake of the Soul's experience and for no other purpose. Souls differ in the degree of their acquired experience and intelligence, and according to the use they make of their experience, their observation, their intelligence and powers, do they progress, helped or hindered by the results following upon their inter-relations and inter-actions; for being identical in their source and in the law of their being, they are inter-dependent in every sense. It is these three relations of absolute, universal, and individual, that are implied in the three words, Spirit, Soul, and Mind. As Spirit all are identical and unchangeable; as Soul all are universal and eternal, as in mind, or intelligence or being, all are constantly changing in form and possibilities.

These three propositions cover everything that has ever been conceived of under the general terms of God, Law, and Being; but because, as stated, they are absolute in their nature and universal in their scope, they are free from limitation, all-inclusive, and explanatory of all nature and every phase of nature. Once a man has gained a clear comprehension of them and realizes the light which they throw on every problem of life, they will need no further justification in his eyes, because their truth will be to him as evident as the sun in heaven. On their clear apprehension depends, for the individual and for the mass, the understanding of all the mysteries and inequalities of life. On their correct application to the individual's own thoughts and actions in the varying conditions of life, here and hereafter, depends his emancipation from the thralldom of ignorance, of prejudice, of preconception, of partial and erroneous knowledge. There are no privileges or special gifts in man, or any other being, high or low. All are in evolution from the threefold basis of the Spiritual, the Intellectual, and the Physical, and whatever the nature of any being may be, it is the result of his own efforts throughout a long series of metempsychoses and re-incarnations. The Spiritual nature of every being is the enduring. Out of its ceaseless action is built up the Universal or Intellectual, which endures only as it accords with the Spiritual. Out of the Spiritual and Intellectual nature of each and all, is built up the physical, whether that latter is the familiar body and matter cognized through our senses, or other and finer grades of Substance. Whether we speak of the varying grades and gradations of manifested being as Spirit, Soul, Mind, Energy, or Matter, or any combination of these, one and all they represent successive stages in the great School of Life Eternal. All have evolved to where they now are, all will continue evolving. The goal is the perfection of being. Thus, this life is but one of many, human intelligence but one of many grades, this familiar

world of waking existence but one of the many schools of experience, to which we return again and again, life after life, until we have learned all its lessons. There are beings as much higher than man as man is higher than a black-beetle! They have long since passed through and learned the lessons of human life. The various kingdoms of beings below man are on their way upward, evolving slowly toward man's estate.

There is, therefore, in sober truth, a Brotherhood of all Beings, not merely the Brotherhood of Man, and its basis is not merely physical, not merely intellectual, but Spiritual, and rests upon the identity of their essential nature, and the identity of the law of their evolution, or acquired nature.

It is not hard, when these statements are pondered, to perceive that they are, in fact, contained in every system of thought, philosophy or religion worthy of the name, and are the common basis of them all, however they have all in time become corrupted and overlaid and obscured by purely human speculation and fancy. Every so-called Savior who ever entered the field of human life, was one of a body of perfected beings who, moved by the spiritual knowledge of universal brotherhood, exercised his divine compassion by once more re-entering the ranks of men, "becoming in all things like one of us, to walk with us, and, like a teacher in school, teach and guide us by precept and example towards a higher life. Men have in all times for the most part ignored, derided and persecuted these Elder Brothers when they came, and later worshipped them as gods and made of their teachings a dead letter religion of forms, ceremonies, dogmas, creeds, with rewards for those who "believed" and punishment here and hereafter for those who disbelieved. Theosophy, then, in its wider sense, is a body of knowledge; as a name to identify the teachings of H. P. Blavatsky and William Q. Judge, it is that portion of the ancient eternal Wisdom-Religion—the accumulated experience of the ages—imparted to mankind in our time. It is, therefore, not a belief or dogma formulated or invented by man, but is a knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution of the physical, astral, psychical and intellectual constituents of nature and of man.

Step by step, as a man studies it and endeavors to apply it to his own conduct and the solution of his own problems, Theosophy becomes self explanatory, self-revealing, self-inspiring, self-evident. Man ceases to regard himself as mortal, perishable, football of fate, or subject to the caprice of any god whatever; no longer a "poor, miserable sinner," incapable of doing anything for himself. He sees and knows the dignity of Life, in himself and in all others; realizes its purpose, its justice, its limitless field of progression; he enters the company of the conscious immortals. With Thomas Paine he can exclaim, "The world is my country; to do good my religion."

The sincere and thoughtful Socialist, like the sincere and thoughtful man of any philosophy, or religion, or system of thought, must often be appalled at the apparent inequities, the seeming fruitlessness of life and effort, even the best and the best-intentioned. When he turns alike sincerely and thoughtfully to take stock of his own mental possessions, no matter how labeled, he must often be bewildered and disheartened at their shortcomings, at their inability to explain what confronts him. Then he either closes his mind against consideration of the unknown and the unresolved and goes on with what he has; or relapses into the dull indifference of negation; adopts some new scheme of life which seems to offer him the rewards he covets; or—looks boldly and further afield into the hidden world of causation. All systems of thought are neither more nor less than attempts to explain the causes, the rationale and process whereby things have become as they are. For men, being spiritual and in-

tellectual, perceive intuitively that all that confront them are effects, and that if they can but grasp causes truly, they can direct and control effects. All systems of thought embody some perception of causation, otherwise they would find no acceptance among men; but the sincere and reflective mind, having observed effects, when he turns to his hitherto accepted system of thought will find its explanations absurdly limited, erroneous and contradictory. He will find that when applied, it will not work out in all times, in all places, in all circumstances, in all conditions. What good is it, then, as a court of final resort, as a reliance here or hereafter?

From Theosophy, in its larger significance of the accumulated experience of the ages, has come all the progress of the race. It is definite, complete, accessible. Each human being embodies it in some degree, but there is no limit to its further assimilation and embodiment by any one. Each human being applies it to some extent, but there is no limit of the extent to which it is capable of application by any individual. But each must, because by his very nature, each only can, apply it for himself. No one else can do his thinking for him.

It is recognized that limitations, both of the writer and of the space assigned to him, necessarily make this outline faulty and incomplete. Those interested in gaining a better and clearer understanding of Theosophy would do well to write The United Lodge of Theosophists, Metropolitan Building, Los Angeles, Cal., for a small booklet, entitled "Conversations on Theosophy." It will be sent free to all who ask for it.

Making The World Safe For Hemp

THE "Tulsa World" for November 9, publishes the following ennobling and Christian utterance:

"In the meantime, if the I. W. W. or its twin brother, the Oil Workers Union, gets busy in your neighborhood, kindly take occasion to decrease the supply of hemp. A knowledge of how to tie a knot that will stick might come in handy in a few days. It is no time to dally with the enemies of the country. The unrestricted production of petroleum is as necessary to the winning of the war as the unrestricted production of gunpowder. We are either going to whip Germany or Germany is going to whip us. The first step in the whipping of Germany is to strangle the I.W.Ws. KILL THEM, JUST AS YOU WOULD ANY OTHER KIND OF A SNAKE. DON'T SCOTCH 'EM; KILL 'EM, AND KILL 'EM DEAD. It is no time to waste money on trials and continuances and things like that. All that is necessary is the evidence and a firing squad. Probably the carpenter's union will contribute the timber for the coffins."

As a result of several such effusions, hundreds of innocent, but class-conscious men, were whipped, tarred and feathered "in the name of the women and children of Belgium."

There is little use for the handful of humanitarians who still remain in this nation to complain. As Thomas Paine said, "to argue with a man who has lost his reason is like giving medicine to the dead." The world has gone stark mad and remonstrance is worthless.

But Labor's day is coming. A certain king once told a certain people that when they became hungry, they could eat grass. And the gory head of this same king decorated the end of a pike a few years later.

The "Tulsa World" and thousands of other poison-slinging sheets in this nation may write discourses on hemp, but let them reflect that they are also giving the masses an excellent tip as to how to wreak revenge.

—A. S.

Fighting With Co-operation

By C. F. Lowrie, President American Society of Equity

THE American Society of Equity is a result of the spontaneous demand of the wheat farmers of Montana for a larger share of the products of their labor as represented in the price of wheat. The low prices for the three years preceding the war, when most of it was raised at a loss to the farmers, was the impelling cause of the organization. A directing force for the sentiment created by these conditions was the more or less closely thought-out plans of a number of natural revolutionists, who had been wage-slaves in the cities, factories and mines, and had obeyed the call of "back to the land." The central idea of these people was the elimination of the exploitation between the producer on the farm and the workingman consumer in the city, factory and mine.

The American Society of Equity distinguished itself from other farm organizations by allying itself with the Trade Union movement, the latter being affiliated with the State Federation of Labor.

The first business done in a co-operative way was the buying of twine for the 1914 crop, which resulted in a saving of over \$100,000 for the farmers of the state of Montana. This was followed by a great deal of co-operative buying and selling on the club-order plan. However, as a result of experience gained in this work and a study of the development of co-operation in Europe, it was soon determined by those in charge of the Society that co-operation, in order to become permanent must be organized along the lines that had proven so successful in Europe. So that now, there has been a gradual evolution in the methods of the organization, until as a result, we now have a state wholesale association, called the Equity Co-operative Association of Montana, with a capital stock of \$500,000, over \$125,000 of which is subscribed, doing business as a wholesale agent for twenty co-operative stores now operating and seventy-five co-operative grain elevators. The local Co-operative stores and elevators own the shares of stock in the Central association. Each local store and elevator does business in a wholesale way with the Central association. Co-operative retail stores have also been organized in three of the principal cities of the state, namely, Great Falls, Butte, and Helena; and others are in the process of organization in the other industrial centers of the state.

As an illustration of what this organization will mean in the future when completely organized, I will say that the major share of the apple crop which is raised in the Western part of the state, was marketed through this co-operative organization last year. Arrangements for assembling the car loads were made by the co-operative stores at the local points; the State Wholesale association arranged the sales in car lots to the co-operative stores and elevators in other parts of the state which did not raise fruit and not a middleman touched these apples so handled from the time they left the hands of the grower until they reached the consumers.

During all this development a running fight has been fought with the big commercial interests. Just one instance of these battles:

The Royal Milling Company of Great Falls, which is a

subsidiary of the big Washburn-Crosby Flour trust of Minneapolis, refused to unionize their plant. The Central Labor bodies, including the Equity farmers declared the flour unfair. The retail stores of Great Falls, through pressure brought by the wholesalers, refused to handle any flour but the unfair flour. The Clerks' union replied by refusing to handle the scab flour. The retailers replied by closing every store in town, except the Equity Consumers' League Co-operative store. The Co-operative store was in financial difficulties at the time and an implied threat was made, that unless a certain \$3500 obligation was paid the Co-operative store would be closed. The Trade Unions and farmers rallied to the support and raised the \$3500 in two hours time. As a result the stores were all opened the following day, as the co-operative store was getting all the trade. As a result the Union Labor of the city was placed squarely behind the Co-operative store and success for the future seems assured. Another result is to stimulate the plan for a million-dollar co-operative flour mill to be located at Great Falls; nearly \$50,000 worth of stock is already subscribed by co-operative stores and elevators and within a years time the co-operative mill will undoubtedly be one of the biggest mills in the state of Montana.

THOSE in the forefront of the battle for the establishment of permanent co-operation, believe that co-operation will prove a great factor in the coming Social Revolution in Russia and Great Britain. Already the farmers and trades unionists of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois are seriously considering affiliating with the new National Co-operative Wholesale.

At the present writing the Mine Workers' Union in Butte, which is on strike against the Copper company is backing the Equity Consumers' league co-operative store at that point. Those in the forefront of the battle for the establishment of permanent co-operation believe that co-operation will prove a great factor in the coming social revolution in America, as it already has done in Russia and Great Britain. As a result of the expansion of the co-operative movement in Montana, F. A. Bennett, the man who has been chiefly responsible

and who by his sacrifices has made possible the success of this organization, has been called to St. Paul to form a national co-operative wholesale, which will develop the same kind of an organization in other regions. Already the farmers and trade unionists of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois are seriously considering affiliating with the new national co-operative wholesale. The Co-operative Wholesale Society of America, as it is named, has offices on the ninth floor of the Pioneer Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The general plan of doing business is to imitate big business in every way, except in the ownership of the business, which is distributed among the whole people (that is the working men and the farmers) and in the distribution of the profits. After paying a nominal dividend amounting to current interest rates on the capital stock, the remainder of the profits are pro-rated back to the buyers and sellers in proportion to the amount of business done. The time is now ripe for permanent co-operation in America and we believe the time is also ripe for the co-ordination of co-operation with the ultimate forces which are making for the co-operative commonwealth, that world events may bring to pass sooner than some of us had dreamed for a few years ago.

Christianity and Pacifism

By R. B. Whitaker

[One of the foremost ministers on the Pacific Coast, a man of reputation for his "advanced" religious views, published in one of the most open-minded of the denominational journals a criticism of "Christian" pacifists. It was addressed in particular to one of these Christian pacifists, Rev. Robert Burdette Whitaker, of Paradise, Butte County, California, a nephew of Robert Whitaker of Los Gatos, and likewise an all-round radical. Whitaker replied to this criticism in the following good tempered and well argued article. The editor of the denominational journal in which the criticism had appeared publicly stated that he thought in fairness he ought to publish the reply, that it was a thoroughly fit and an eminently able answer, but admitted that HE DID NOT DARE TO DO IT. And this editor, as his work shows, is not a coward. He has already risked his editorial head again and again by his refusal to join the war madness. His journal represents a church which boasts its independence, and claims the men and women who landed on Plymouth Rock as its own special possession because they were of its membership. Yet its constituency, made up largely of ministers, consented apparently without protest to this suppression of the article. In the interests of fair play, as an exhibit of how little the workers of the world can depend upon their "spiritual guides" for even decency in the discussion of economics, and as in itself a fine presentation of the CHRISTIAN CASE AGAINST WAR we take pleasure in giving to our readers the rejected paper by Mr. Whitaker.]

THE majority of the Christian leaders of the world are telling us that in the present crisis, the real question before us is not the academic one as to whether war is right or wrong, but the practical problem of what the Christian program for the present involves. Under existing conditions, they would have us believe that participation in the prosecution of the war is a **necessary part** of the Christian program.

To an ever growing minority, this seems a mistaken judgment, especially as many of those who advocate this view go so far with us in their conception of the nature of Christian faith. Referring to a statement in "A Pacifist Confession of Faith", one friend recently said in a personal letter to the writer: "With all my soul I believe that 'the religion of Jesus was and is a way of life for the present, and not merely an ideal for the future.'" Now it seems to the thorough-going pacifist that that one admission ought to make impossible the life of a soldier for any Christian disciple, for if there is any one thing which perhaps is more fundamental than all else in connection with "the Christian Way" it is the Way of Loyalty to Jesus as the supreme loyalty. In Him we see the very heart of God revealed to men, so that loyalty to Him is loyalty to the Father whom he reveals. Or perhaps it would have been a better stating of the case to have said that the supreme loyalty is loyalty to God as He is revealed in Jesus. The Christian's difficulty here with the whole war problem is, that military efficiency depends upon implicit obedience to military authority as at all times the chief duty of a soldier.

A soldier in action can have no authority but that of his commanding officer. If in the course of the war he is commanded to assist in reprisals (merely a polite term for military retaliation) then he must not stop to think that Christ has forbidden any disciple of his to have anything to do with retaliation. Rather, he must obey without question. To state the matter plainly then, the question, "What Would Jesus Do?" is not one which it is allowable for a soldier to consider. A persistent asking of that question in the light of New Testament teaching would lead to insubordination and sedition on the part of the Christian members of our army; for there is much in modern warfare besides reprisals entirely out of keeping with the spirit of Jesus. It is only because for the period of the war, under cover of "military necessity," we allow the

voice of the military authorities to become for us the voice of God, that we can prosecute the war at all. The reasoning of the average man runs about like this: It is absolutely necessary to overcome Germany. War is the only method by which this can be done. Therefore the war must be right. Like the convert entering the Roman Catholic church, the soldier entering the army must make the great decision and the great surrender once for all. By the very act of becoming a soldier he thereby gives up his right to individual judgment as to the righteousness or unrighteousness of whatever he may be required to do. As the church is the infallible judge of right and wrong for the good Catholic, so is the military authority for the good soldier. To question the judgment in one case is heresy, in the other insubordination. The pacifist is frank to say that he thinks it is more reasonable to accept the Church as the voice of God than the dictum of military authorities.

Again, as related to this conception of Christianity as a way of life, there is the matter of the impossibility of reconciling the military machine, and its treatment of the individual, with the Christian teaching as to human value, and the supreme worth of personality. Military efficiency is attained by treating the individual soldier as merely a cog in the machine. The more completely the private in the ranks learns to keep his place as "only a cog," and not a person, the more efficient will his service be. On the other hand, he is not only treated as a "thing" himself, but it is incumbent upon him, if he would be a good soldier, to treat his brother man who happens, because of the accident of birth to be on the other side, as a "thing" also.

The pacifist has no more regard for mere physical existence than have many others. It is not what war does to a man's body, which makes it for us a weapon never to be used, but rather what it does to his soul, or to use the more modern term, to his personality. As has already been noted, the military method is based upon the transgression of two of the most sacred rights of humanity; first, the right of private judgment, and second, the right of every man to be treated as a person. It seems to us a mistaken idea to try to protect persons, or ideals, by a method which involves the desecration of that which is most sacred in personality, and the utter abandonment in practice of the very ideals we would defend.

In a letter already referred to, the writer speaks of "war in the protection of good being less evil than acquiescence in the destruction of good." Those of us who hold to the interpretation which is being presented in this paper, are far from believing that Christian men are ever justified in "acquiescence in the destruction of good." Our difference is one of method, not of end. We believe that it is incumbent upon every follower of Jesus, and upon every lover of humanity, to work for the overthrow of the evil which is just now so rampant in the world. But we must do it by **Christian methods!** As stated already, the real question at issue is not the abstract one of whether war is right or wrong, but rather "what the Christian program for the present involves." The friend whose letter has been quoted, also writes, "We are completely agreed, too, in our detestation of war, of its brutality, its inhumanity, its intolerable inconsistency."

Now the pacifists of the country are thoroughly convinced that no program can possibly be **Christian** which of necessity involves "brutality, inhumanity and intolerable inconsistency." It seems to us that the Christian program must take as its ruling principle the words of Paul, (which, by the way, are

merely an apt statement of the teaching of Jesus) "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." If the Christian people of this nation would demand that our government spend the same amount of time, and money, and energy, in seeking for a solution of this problem in a Christian way that it has spent in prosecuting the war, then the way would be found. But even when the nation as such has chosen to go the other way, we still believe that it is incumbent upon disciples of Jesus to be true to their Master's method. Practically all religious leaders admit war as a moral evil. "War is hell," and to use it in the defence of good is to call upon "Satan to cast out Satan," a course of procedure which Jesus very frankly held up to ridicule. Therefore, if we are to use such a method, let us make honest acknowledgment that it is necessary to quit being Christian for awhile until we get the world straightened out. **For one thing is absolutely certain, and that is, that war, with its "brutality, inhumanity, and intolerable inconsistency" can never be reconciled with a Christian program.**

Our friends are mistaken, too, in thinking that the pacifists of the country are acquiescent or passive at the present time. We are far from it. We are fighting for the protection of democracy, for the establishment of those principles which alone can make possible a permanent peace, for the freedom of men before God, and for the alleviation of suffering, in what seem to us the only ways open to Christian men; and we believe that in the methods we are using we are accomplishing more for those ends than would be possible if we gave the nation our support in the prosecution of the war.

There is another fundamental issue which ought to be brought up at this point. We suppose that there are few Christian leaders in this country who hate war more than Dr. Chas. E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, and yet now that America has entered upon this struggle, he writes, "We cannot wash our hands and say, 'We will have no part in this business.' For we are citizens. We belong to the Republic. We are cells of a great organism. We are part of a huge bundle of life. When a nation is at war, every citizen is involved. Every citizen has duties which make sacrifices which are not called for in ordinary times. It will not do to say, 'I had nothing to do with bringing on the war,' or 'I am opposed to all wars.' The war is here, and no matter what we think or wish or feel, it is the duty of all citizens to do all in their power to bring the war to a victorious finish."

A part of Dr. Jefferson's conclusions we are entirely ready to accept. It is true that we cannot wash our hands and say that we will have no part in this business. There is no one of us who is not in part responsible for the condition of things which made war possible. We have all been guilty at times of that spirit of suspicion, of intolerant criticism, of self-seeking, which is the real cause of the war. Therefore, we owe it to our God and to our fellowmen to make all possible sacrifices at this time in behalf of a better world wherein the spirit of Jesus shall rule.

But the mistake of Dr. Jefferson and of others who take his position is in failing to recognize that war is not the only method whereby men may seek to overcome the evil forces which just now threaten our civilization. It is possible to work for the victory of righteousness, and for the protection

of our Republic, without participating in what we consider a mistaken method of accomplishing that end. We believe in sacrifice too, but for the Christian the cross, not the sword, points the way to conquest. The way of the sword provokes and intensifies the very evils which it would overcome. When the war is over, we shall have all of the old problems to solve, and shall find ourselves in a worse position to meet them than we were before the struggle began, inasmuch as we shall labor under the curse of ten-fold more suspicion, and intolerance, and selfishness. As a matter of fact, it is probable that only the passing of this present generation and the birth of a new one which has forgotten something of the bitterness and hatred engendered by the war, will make possible any real solution of the problem.

If it were not for the moral blindness which afflicts the nation for the time being, we might see that the very spirit which we have deprecated in Germany is fast coming to rule our own land, brought on by the satanic method which we are using to fight Satan. Dr. Edward A. Steiner, who has certainly won the right to be trusted as a good American, has given ample proof of the correctness of the foregoing statements in his article entitled, "A Wrong Strategy" which appeared in the "Outlook" for January 2, 1918. Surely the "Outlook" need not be suspected of giving publicity to any misstatement of facts in connection with such an issue as the present one. Dr. Steiner says (speaking of the treatment which loyal German-Americans are receiving at the hands of our state and county officials) "I know what is going on in the hearts of the men who have been cruelly treated and maligned. If I were not so thoroughly an American, and if I did not sense the American spirit at its best, the treatment I have received would make an anarchist of me. I am pleading for a new strategy, for we are **unmaking good Americans, and not making them.** . . . Frankly, I am fearing for the future of our country after the war, not while it lasts. I fear that the breach will grow

CHRI**S**TIAN pacifists are fighting for the protection of democracy, for the establishment of those principles, which alone, can make possible a permanent peace, but they believe that in their methods they are accomplishing more for those ends than would be possible if they gave the nation their unqualified support in the prosecution of the war.

the greater as the war proceeds, and as it exacts from us greater sacrifices. I fear that we who were alien born, and were born again into Americans, will be made into aliens again. Where I am writing, we are **being controlled by a Prussian cast of mind; we are fast becoming that which we are fighting, and the alien born are finding themselves in the midst of the very conditions from which they fled.** We need a new strategy, else we shall lose more than we shall gain." (Emphasis in this quotation the present writer's).

Any man who knows anything at all about what is really happening in our country at the present time, knows that Dr. Steiner's words are true, and that he has stated the truth mildly. We do need a new strategy, the strategy of Jesus as over against that of militarism; the strategy of the cross, as opposed to that of the sword! This new strategy each individual Christian who has faith in "the way" can help to put it into operation. **America needs protection at the present moment from the despotism on her own shores. She needs men who with Christian devotion will show our foreign born population that there is still something of the old Americanism left.**

We agree with Dr. Jefferson, too, in his statement that "We are citizens. We belong to the Republic. We are cells of a great organism." We are, indeed, citizens of the Republic of

God. We are cells in that spiritual organism which Jesus called "The Kingdom." Of course, we understand that Dr. Jefferson is not talking about the Kingdom of God, or the Republic of God, whichever title we give to it, but rather of the American Republic. Now while it is true that we are members also of this American Republic, it seem to us that Dr. Jefferson will have to admit that our first loyalty is to the heavenly Kingdom, not to the earthly. For us the law of Christ is above every law, and the loyalty to his kingdom above every loyalty. Furthermore, the heavenly Kingdom is one which knows nothing of the barrier represented by nationalism. There is a stronger tie than that of a common birthplace; it is the tie of a common spiritual experience by which men are made citizens of the Kingdom of Brotherly Love. Neither language, nor color, nor education, nor birthplace, serve to separate men who belong to this spiritual Kingdom.

As for the biological analogy, that we "are cells of a great organism," it is only true in a limited sense when applied to the relation of the individual to the state. Apparently the real difference of opinion here is as to whether as Christian men our first responsibility is to obey the will of God as we understand it individually, or, to fall in with the judgment of the social group when the two conflict as at the present time. To the writer it seems as though Jesus approaches the whole problem of life as primarily that of the relation of the individual soul to God. His chief concern was to get men to live the filial life as children of their Heavenly Father. His teaching has large social implications and consequences, but it is individual in its approach. Hence the fundamental loyalty of a Christian man even in time of war is not to the social group of which he is a member, but to God.

Dr. Raymond C. Brooks of The First Congregational Church of Berkeley, California, has expressed practically the same attitude as Dr. Jefferson's in the words, "whether we think the initial step was wise or unwise (that is entering into the war) we are now in it, and we must therefore meet as wisely and as manly as possible the responsibility for what has been done." To that the pacifist will say, "We believe in co-operating with our government when it is standing for the right, but when that government deliberately decides through those who are in control to enter upon a course of action which is wrong, then we can best be true to our country, and can best meet our responsibility as Christian citizens by persistently doing the right, refusing at the same time to have part or lot in the wrong course which the government is taking." Our first duty is to God, not to the government. The fundamental responsibility is not the social, but the individual. **We believe in no government which attempts to coerce the consciences of its citizens. Government of that sort is of the essence of what some have called "Kaiserism."**

In conclusion, then, it seems to the pacifists of the country that it ought to be evident to anyone who trusts to spiritual values, and to spiritual forces, as supreme that we shall never conquer the ideals for which some of our enemies seem to stand by stooping to their own vicious methods. Furthermore, we believe that the Christian method which has been suggested is one whereby we shall "more surely protect and defend the ideals which are our common possession," even though ed-

herence to it may mean that for the present our service must be accomplished through the smaller group, the minority, rather than through co-operation with the majority in carrying out the program of the government. We shall endeavor to avoid any spirit of intolerance toward those who believe that a Christian program for the present necessitates participation in the prosecution of the war; but as for ourselves, we cannot believe that God requires us to assist in defending either His truth or His people by a method which involves, from our standpoint, such an entire "moral surrender" of the whole Christian position.

Apocalypse

Today my boss died.

They say it was apoplexy.

That's why I'm here, lying in the grass,

Stunned and trembling at the wonder

Of these new-born things,

These violets and these buttercups

That stare at me so silently.

I had forgotten that there ever was a Spring,

And tender leaves and yielding earth

And birds that sing with joy;

I've lived so long where there are only grinding wheels

And cold, unliving cobblestones.

This morning, when they stopped the wheels because he died,

And closed the doors out of respect for him,

The unexpected freedom only left me dazed.

I could not believe that it was Wednesday,

And I outside the doors with idle hands,

While all around, the world rushed on with working.

I felt so lost and useless and alone.

Of what good was it to be not working?

And then, unthinkingly, I took a car

And it brought me out here.

Three hours I've lain here in the grass—just resting,

Thinking what I thought of long ago,

Before I grew too tired,

Feeling what is too beautiful to feel in weariness:

For three whole hours I have been alive!

It is queer—but grimly true . . .

Because a fat man fed his body over-much

And choked his mean and scrubby soul,

I have a day of freedom . . .

And if I said what I feel lying here,

Remembering what it means to be alive,

With the warm earth stirring under me,

I'd say I'm glad—I'm glad he died . . .

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

—o—

"There has not been a better thing done in this country, in my opinion, than the establishment of co-operation of which Lancashire deserves the principal credit."—WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

DR. EDWARD A. STEINER said recently in the "Outlook": "I am fearing for the future of our country, not the present. We are in danger of being controlled by a Prussian cast of mind; we are fast becoming that which we are fighting, and the alien born are finding themselves in the midst of the very conditions from which they fled."

Is Compulsory Military Training Desirable?

—A Symposium

MY primary objection to Compulsory Military Training in the United States is that the scheme itself, whatever the motives for which it is urged, is at once reactionary and suicidal. It would mean the introduction into a democracy of a system fundamentally at variance with its principles and which if rigidly carried out for a few generations would destroy democracy.

There are two forms of discipline, leading to two forms of efficiency. The discipline enforced from above, whereby the individual man becomes "a brick in the wall of an edifice—the nature of which is unknown to him," leads to mass-efficiency, and individual incompetence. The discipline from within, by which in freedom a man creates his own status, and shares a personal responsibility in all public acts, leads to individual effectiveness, and through freedom of development to national intelligence and wisdom.

The purpose of three years of military servitude in Germany is not to make good soldiers, but to make bad citizens. The purpose and result is blind obedience and docility, abject trust in officialism and abject subservience to the demands of wealth and power.

The purpose of the system is industrial quite as much as military, and in both capacities alike it puts the people at large at the mercy of the ruling oligarchy.

The military system may make for order. The unabashed rule of the rich, characteristic of Germany, makes a community comfortable for the favored classes, but it has no other merit, and being essentially lawless, sooner or later it goes down in blood. In the various states of Germany there exists no positive law,—that is, law made by the people and for the people. All popular rights are granted from royalty and all legislation is subject to absolute veto. It is so with all autocracies, and when the brass-bound system breaks, there remains no law at all. A democracy may be ignorant, tyrannical, misguided, but it is never as a whole lawless, for its law is of its own creating.

In favor of Compulsory Military training it is urged that many of our youth lack in physical development. This statement is often exaggerated, but in so far as it is true, military drill offers no remedy.

The only physical training of value in in a well-ordered gymnasium, or in well-planned camping parties and excursions into the open. To be worth while, all such training must be under competent teachers and under educational, not military control. To use old troopers as teachers of growing boys, as has been done in Australia, shows the worst possible way of training boys.

It is, besides, in accord with our principles of Home Rule that our schools should be under local control. A system managed by a Central Bureau at Washington would be intolerable. Then again, boys who are not in school need physical training even more than those who are, and girls need it quite as much as boys.

It is true that the hope of this war—and the main justification for our entrance into it—is that it is "a war to end war."

Our relation in this regard has been clearly and powerfully stated by the President. To save civilization we must do away with armies. Our position at the peace negotiations would be farcial if while declaring for lasting peace we made provision to have AFTER THE WAR, the most powerful army in the world.

The simple fact is that our own plutocratic elements have discovered the value of compulsion as a means of subduing the laboring masses. Germany has pointed the way, and the desire to subdue Germany is tempered by the desire to adopt Germany's methods of dealing with the "ungraded masses."

In this they will never succeed as a permanence,—not so long as America remains America. And the surest way for these elements to bring down "Bolshevism" on their own heads is to persist in attempts to undermine our own "bourgeois" democracy.

This country has been built up by free men who have something to lose through disorder or despotism, and who under just conditions are able to take care of themselves and have something left over for the public welfare.

—DAVID STARR JORDAN.

* * *

THE department has not sought and does not now seek legislation on the subject of universal military training for the reason that the formulation of a permanent military policy will inevitably be affected by the arrangements consequent upon the termination of the present war. Civilized men must hope that the future has in store a relief from the burden of armament and the destruction and waste of war. However, when a permanent military policy comes to be adopted, it will doubtless be conceived in a spirit which will be adequate to preserve against any possible attack on those vital principles of liberty upon which democratic institutions are based, and yet to be so restrained as in no event to foster the growth of mere militarist ambitions or to excite the apprehension of nations with whom it is our first desire to live in harmonious and just accord.

—NEWTON BAKER, Secretary of War.

* * *

I AM opposed to Compulsory Military Training, and here are a few of the reasons for my opposition:

1. As training for the body, military training is incomplete and inadequate; and, moreover, is intended for even less than half the population,—only for the stronger boys, not for the weaker boys who need physical training the most, and not at all for girls.

2. As mental training, the proposed military training is a hopeless failure. It develops blind, stupidly blind and brainless, obedience—automatic, mechanical obedience—just such obedience as we just now observe in the hordes of the cruel Kaiser. The wild-beast Kaiser sits on a hill, miles from danger, watching his human automatics, his helplessly obedient multitudes bleeding from millions of wounds while they butcher scores of thousands of their own class—TO KEEP A WILD BEAST SAFE ON HIS THRONE WITH A CROWN ON HIS HIDEOUS HEAD. Otherwise, too, it is a failure as mental training.

3. With respect to social development, military training is a disaster. Witness Europe at this awful hour.

4. That such training should be thrust upon the children, forced upon them, bound upon them, to get finally into the very blood and fibre of them—is an outrage.

5. The unanimous enthusiasm of the profiteers for compulsory military training forever damns it as a thing to be avoided as a pestilence.

I hope for a universal shout against it—from the working class.

—GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

UNLESS this be truly "a war to end war," to establish a league of peace for the world, the sacrifices of the nations will have been in vain. It is with a view to this lofty ideal that both President Wilson and Secretary Baker have expressed disapproval of a policy at present of compulsory military training. The sixteen-year-old boy cannot be a factor in the winning of this war. Why, then, should we cast suspicion upon our protestations by deliberate and extraordinary preparations for war in the future?

The most hated element in what is called "prussianism" is the militaristic mind, that mind to which discipline is the highest virtue and the state the sole arbiter of morality. Yet the direct object of military training is the inculcation of this disciplinary ideal. As a lover of Anglo-Saxon traditions, I wish to oppose with all my energy the subjection of our free boys to the mental "goose-step."

—JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

* * *

IF this war is to end war, why universal compulsory military training?

It does not teach a constructive but a destructive art.

It does not beget an independent but an obedient soul.

It enlists labor into an army revering authority and breeds a power that will suppress all insurrection.

The proletariat's best weapon is not guns but the general strike, and universal military training kills the idea and will suppress the fact.

Its complete object lesson is seen in Germany and the army of the German people invading Russia, deaf to the appeals of their fellow proletariat, for a real democracy of the people—political, industrial and spiritual.

—CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD.

* * *

PROPER physical training is desirable. It can easily be had, through the medium of the public schools. But there is no occasion to make it military.

Compulsory military service has but one object—imperialism.

A big army and navy to keep the working class down at home and to lick everybody that stands in the way of commercial supremacy abroad.

That's the whole story.

I'm against it.

What we want is a world organization formed along democratic lines—a federation of socialized nations.

This we must work for.

Then there will be no occasion for national armies.

—JOHN M. WORK.

* * *

COMPULSORY military training is, under existing conditions, desirable or undesirable according to the social condition at which you aim. If you regard political democracy as worth retaining and as a step in the direction of social democracy, compulsory military training is desirable. If you are quite indifferent to the maintenance of political democracy; if you are fond of repeating the drivel that it makes no difference whether your employer is an American capitalist or a Teuton field-marshal; if you prefer to delude yourself with phrases and dwell (for a time) in a Bolshevik fool's paradise, then compulsory military training is highly undesirable. Of course, you run the risk that sooner or later a well-armed nation will come along and overrun your people, lay upon you an enormous burden of tribute and reduce you to an actual slavery which will make you remember the thing you now call wage-slavery as a state of ethereal bliss. But

what of it? You will have had the transport and the ecstasy of your belief in the efficacy of words to ward off danger.

It's all a matter of taste. Some persons prefer phrases to facts, hobbies to horse sense. They learn nothing and they forget everything (except their phrases). Such persons, in their zeal to guard against militarism, are pretty sure to take the one course which will fasten militarism upon their backs. The Kaiser loves such people. They are useful in his business. He couldn't possibly get along without them.

—W. J. GHENT.

Concerning Losses and Gains

By SCOTT NEARING

So many people have spoken and written recently about the "stupendous sacrifices some folks are making for the sake of that principle," that I finally decided to set down the gains and losses that I, for example, have experienced during the past three years.

First as to gains:

1. I have gained a number of staunch friends.
2. I have had my belief in the essential soundness of human nature in the mass revived and immensely strengthened by the Russian revolution.
3. I have seen a new vision of the possible solidarity of labor actually working for the British labor movement. This makes me more than ever ready for international Socialism NOW.
4. I have seen the peoples of the world try force and hate as a method of handling social affairs, only to discover, through experiences of unparalleled bitterness, that society can not be maintained on that basis. Inevitably people will be compelled to adopt the only possible social principle—brotherhood and peace.
5. I have seen the theory of economic determinism WORK in the schools, churches, villages and cities of the United States. For me it is a theory no longer, but a demonstrated fact.
6. Finally, I have seen the young blood of America put to the test and I know that it is red.

Against these immense gains, what losses must I set down?

I have lost:

1. Respectability.
2. Academic position.
3. Income.

All of these losses are the merest social toys. Weighed in the balance of the ages, they are dust. But the gains?

They are the sign posts that point inexorably to a world state, built upon industrial democracy and aiming toward the brotherhood of man.

Wendell Phillips on Internationalism

I rejoice at every effort workingmen make to organize; I do not care on what basis they do it. Men sometimes say to me, "Are you an Internationalist?" I say, "I do not know what an Internationalist is." "But," they tell me, "it is a system by which the workingmen from London to Gibraltar, from Moscow to Paris, can clasp hands." Then I say, "God speed to that or any similar movement."

Five Minutes

By Mary Allen

JOE'S eyes left the wheel for a moment to peer anxiously at his wife.

"Warm enough, Bill?"

"Sure!" She snuggled further down in the auto seat. A low growl issued from the blanket which covered her knees, a dog's sleepy protest.

"Be still Mike! I've got to move once in awhile."

"You oughtn't to hold that dog, Bill. Put him down—the darn nuisance!"

"Mike," said Bill, "Joe's cross. Get down."

Growling his dissatisfaction, Mike rolled from her lap. She giggled girlishly. "Isn't it funny—"

"Funny—" Joe's hands clenched the wheel.

"You've got a sewing machine and a victrola and a second-hand Ford and a dog and a wife and almost a baby. Gee, Joe! You're getting rich! You didn't have anything last year when I married you!"

Noting his silence, she reached up and squeezed his face against hers. "Now don't you worry, kid. It's going to be all right."

"It's got to be," he said grimly.

"You'll get a job at San Pedro."

"If only that San Diego job had held out a few months longer!" he groaned. "I may get a job but it won't pay much."

"Joe," she asked wistfully, "do you blame me?"

"Blame you? Good God, no!"

"I've noticed something here lately, Joe. You've got a wrinkle right between your eyes. And you're only twenty-three. And I've felt kind of bad because I thought I made it."

"Not much you didn't, you crazy kid."

"I tried to be satisfied with Mike," her voice very low, "but somehow he didn't fill the bill."

"Let them that wants to, nurse a pup. My wife's going to have the real thing if she wants it. I'm a pretty poor stick if I can't keep a wife and kid."

He sent the car ahead with a spurt. "Poor little Bill! Trying to be satisfied with a dog because I said we couldn't afford a baby! Say, that day I caught you looking in that window full of kid do-dads, crying——"

"I wasn't!"

"You was— You might have fooled some, but you couldn't fool me! I saw your eyes. Say I wanted to crawl off into a gopher hole and die, I felt so small."

He slowed down to take a curve. "We must be close to Capistrano. See what time it is, will you, Bill?"

She struck a match and held it against the face of her husband's watch.

"Eight twenty-five," she replied.

"We'll make San Pedro before midnight easy. Gosh! What if I can't find a job!" He grew clammy and limp at the thought.

"Of course you will," Bill declared confidently. "If only——O-Oh! Joe!——"

Joe saw the glare but it was too late. A crash—a woman's scream—a stunning blow—excited voices giving orders—his senses grasped no more.

But he had not yet completely lost consciousness. His whole being seemed to be reaching out, groping in agony for something—something—. It lay just beyond the whirling, swirling white and red and black circles that were en-

gulfing him. What was it? Bill—was she safe—the kid—a job—job—that was what he was after—a job. One more grinding pain—one more wrench—and he would reach it—there behind the darkening circles. He reached again and slipped—down—down into darkness and silence.

Eons of time. Then his senses began to reach out once more. At first they knew nothing but pain. But they were not his senses. Plainly someone had a horrible pain somewhere. He finally located it in some one's head. At last in his, Joe's head.

Where was he? Then it came to him. There had been an auto accident. Where was Bill?

He raised himself and looked around. His shattered car first met his eye. Then Mike, a shred of mangled flesh. Poor little devil. But thank God Bill had something better than a dog.

Bill? He rose and found her. Some men were bending over her and there was blood on her head in her hair. He knelt down and took her head on his knee but she did not open her eyes. Bill was dead. Well, he always knew that life with Bill was too good to last.

He paid no attention to the group of men and they paid no attention to him, until one of them said,

"Here's the doctor."

The doctor was a little man in huge tortoise shell glasses with brown lenses. He spoke in a whisper, a sort of rasping hiss.

"Who may you be and what do you want?" he rasped at Joe.

"My wife," Joe replied humbly, "She's dead."

The doctor glanced at her carelessly. "Pooh! She isn't dead. Her skull's fractured."

Joe's heart gave a great bound. "Not dead?"

"Not yet, but she may be tomorrow."

"Oh!" Joe's tears began to come now.

"She'll need two operations. That bone in the head must be lifted and the child must be taken. How long is she pregnant?"

"Eight months."

"Yes, yes," the doctor rasped, "The child must be removed, and I'm the only doctor in the state who can perform the operation. Young man, it's a lucky thing I happened to be driving along here. Science and skill are at your command but it will cost you a good many hundred dollars."

"Oh God!" Joe gasped.

"I always demand my pay in advance."

Joe got down on his knees in the dirt.

"Doc, I can't pay in advance. I've only got ten dollars, but if you'll save my wife, I'll work my fingers off to pay you."

"Hum! You don't look like a fellow that can be trusted."

"Doc, I swear to God I'll pay you if you'll only give me time."

"Have you a job?"

"No, but I'm sure I can get one at San Pedro. Let me try, Doc. Doc, let me try."

"Well, all right. I'll take her to my hospital and operate. You go right over to the station. There's a train due for San Pedro."

"Doc," Joe beseeched timidly, "I'd like to stay and see how the operation turns out."

"Yes," hissed the doctor, "and lose the job. Go, or I'll

let your wife die right here."

Joe ran all the way to the station. He fell once and bumped his head. He almost missed his train but managed to swing on to the last car. His head ached intensely. But he would not complain of an aching head, for Bill was lying on a white glass table. He shuddered, he groaned in his agony when he thought what they might be doing to Bill. Poor Bill! Poor little Bill! What a shaft of light she had been in his life—her funny little tilted nose, her gay, foolish talk, her girlish giggle! And now she was lying on a white glass table and he must not think what they were doing to her. If his head went back on him he could not look for a job

"My name's Wilma," she had told him when he first met her, "but my friends call me Bill."

"I guess I'm your friend, Bill, ain't I?" he asked, and she had said she guessed so. . . .

Then that other time. He had bitterly said, "A guy like me can't get married."

"Why?" she had asked.

"I never had a chance to learn a trade. I'm just a roustabout. I'll never have anything. I'd be a dirty scoundrel to ask a girl to take me. She wouldn't get many of these." He had touched her transparent waist where a lacey edge of dainty undergarment showed through.

"Pooh! Clothes don't cost much when you make your own and know where to buy cheap. Besides—" she had said the rest so low he had to bend pretty close to hear—"If a girl cared—"

She stopped here, giggled a little, then started to cry. So he had married although his common sense told him he hadn't any business to. And now she was on a glass table.

His mind rose and fell in beats with the engine, over the fact that she was on a glass table. It was almost unbearable and he experienced no relief when he left the train at San Pedro.

He started directly for the shipyards. At last a job was in sight. But it was not going to be easy to get it. His path seemed to be strewn with obstacles. He lost his way and had to climb fences to reach the shipbuilding district. He encircled many huge buildings only to find that he had come back to where he started from. Once he was caught in a small rear yard and a policeman threatened to arrest him, but he had begged so hard that the policeman finally let him go with a warning. Also the policeman thumped him on his sore head with a billy. It made it ache worse than ever.

Finally he reached an employment office. There was a long line of men outside. He took his place at the end, and after waiting what seemed centuries he was given a hearing.

"What's your trade?" he was asked.

"I haven't a trade. I can—"

"Get out! Get out!" the man roared at him. As he seemed to be looking for something to hit him with, Joe got out. He was afraid of another blow on his very sore head. He began his wandering again, and this time he was more fortunate.

He got his job.

He figured out the wages he would get. It was hard to figure because his head hurt, but he finally made out that as the baby was lost, he and Bill could save enough to pay the doctor's bill in about five years.

He worked in a daze. He hardly knew what his job was, except that he had to do a great deal of pounding. Five men stood in a circle. One of them was a Chinaman whom Joe thought he knew. He had been cook on a ranch where Joe had once worked at harvesting. The five men, Joe

among them, had huge hammers with which they hammered all day long. Each man took his turn—one—two—three—four—five—Joe was five, and every time his hammer fell it jarred his head. He hammered for he knew not how long, until one night the paymaster gave him a bill. He folded it in a small wad and put it away in his pocket to save for the doctor. Then the paymaster called him back, saying he had a message for him.

"Your wife is dead."

"No," Joe said.

"Yep," said the paymaster.

Dead.

"Can I get a couple of days off?" he asked the boss.

"I guess so," the boss replied grudgingly.

Joe did not stop to change his clothes. He made a wild dash for a passing car, missed, and fell sprawling upon the tracks.

He rose and limped away, his hand holding his aching head. He began to laugh. It was just like a movie show, it was! The whole blooming thing had been like a picture show, with him the main guy, pulling off one fool stunt after another!

A breeze fanned his face, and something splashed upon it. Was it raining? He turned his forehead upward, hoping the drops might soothe the intolerable ache. But even the sky was against him. The splashes were hot, and brought no solace.

The idea that he was a part in a picture drama persisted. He seemed to step outside himself and as though seated in a theatre, he watched his own wild antics as they reeled past. He saw himself in a jitney rolling at a mad pace along a crowded boulevard; he saw the jitney miss other cars by a thumb's width, curling in and out as though reeling home from a spree; he saw himself sometimes walking, for the most part running, along interminable city blocks; he saw himself staring upward at a great white stone building with a cross on the tower; he saw himself stumbling, always stumbling, up the stone steps, through the open doorway; he saw himself addressing a young girl in white dress and nurse's cap who smiled at him pertly; he saw her shake her head and point down the street; he saw himself hurrying off in the direction she had pointed, where there was another building, long and low, a great many potted palms in the window and a sign across the front—"Undertaking Parlors—Ladies a Specialty." He saw himself being led to the rear of the building, through a long dark hall, and at the end of the hall a door, which was opened; he saw himself in a room—stone walls, bare, save for a slab in the middle, upon which was something wrapped in a sheet. He saw himself creeping toward the sheet and reaching forth a trembling hand. He saw himself turn back the sheet and bare the pretty face of Bill!

And now he was no longer a puppet in a picture. He was Joe with a heart so sore he could not even weep. Had it not been for the gash across her forehead, he could almost have thought she smiled. The little brown freckles across her tilted nose looked browner than ever against the pallor of her skin.

Joe looked around furtively. His hand stole into his pocket where he felt something cold and hard. Stealthily he clutched it, drew it out and opened the largest blade. Then he let it fall clattering to the floor. He remembered. He had sworn on his knees to pay the doctor. He could not kill himself. He must go back to his job and pay his bills.

The undertaker seemed to rise from nowhere. He stooped, picked up the knife, and gently slid it into his own pocket. He rubbed his hands together and spoke in a silky voice.

"We'd better go now and pick a coffin," he purred.

A new horror clutched Joe. "I haven't got any money—" he began.

"Dear, dear, how unfortunate," sympathized the undertaker, "But do not fret, my friend. We have board ones for that kind."

"I don't want a board one," Joe whispered, "I want it white—pure white—white silk."

"Dear, dear, but the money. I must be paid in advance."

"Give me time, and I'll pay you. I'll work," Joe said.

"Impossible. I assure you, board ones are entirely satisfactory. You must use a board one. And flowers? Can we afford a few flowers?"

"Yes," said Joe desperately, his hand seeking the folded bill—the doctor's money. "She's going to have lots of flowers. I'll go get them."

He went out and found a florist's shop. He looked long in the window, trying to make up his mind what he should buy. He finally decided upon violets and white carnations. Bill liked sweet smelling flowers best.

He ordered ten dollar's worth, then reached in his pocket for the money. It was not in the pocket where he had tucked it away. He turned the pocket inside out to be sure. Then all his other pockets. It was not there. It was gone. Lost. Dropped perhaps, when he had taken out his knife.

"Will you trust me for the flowers?" he said.

The florist did not answer for a full minute. Then he said, "What do you think I am?" and turned his back.

Head bowed, Joe retraced his steps. Suddenly he smelled something—an enchanting odor, just above him. Apple blossoms! Great branches of them! How Bill loved apple blossoms!

He looked up the road and down the road, but saw no one. He vaulted over the fence and climbed the tree, to the topmost branches where the blossoms were thick. He broke them off lavishly.

He heard a shout. Across the garden a man was running, gesticulating fiercely. He was a little man in huge tortoise shell glasses with brown lenses. My God! The doctor!

Now what? Well, Bill should have her flowers! That's what!

Grasping the flowers firmly, he jumped. And fell.

He cursed wildly. Damn it! Why should he always fall?

He tried to rise to his feet, tried to reach for the apple blossoms that were scattered all around, but his head swam so he could not. A cool breeze fanned his face, and something splashed upon it. Was it raining? The drops were hot. Even the sky was against him.

He heard a man's voice as if miles away. "He's coming round all right. Just a bump on the head."

Then a woman's voice. "Joe!"

Joe lay very still. Gosh! Was he dead? And had the preacher's got the right dope after all?

"Bill!" he whispered faintly.

"Oh kid! I thought you'd never come to!" The splashes fell like hot rain upon his face.

"Is this heaven?" he asked feebly.

"Heaven!"

"Are'n't you dead?"

"No I'm not hurt the teeniest little bit. Nobody's hurt but you—not even Mike. But you got an awful bump, Joe. Feel the lump on your head."

"If we'd been going fast, somebody might have been killed," one of the dim figures around him interposed. "We broke your lights and smashed the fender, but we'll pay for it of course."

Joe rubbed his hand up and down Bill's body and across her forehead. He stroked her warm healthy flesh with returning confidence.

"What day was it?"

"What day was what, kiddie?"

"The day I was hurt."

"Why, tonight! Just now!"

Joe sat up dizzily and looked at his watch.

It was eight thirty!

Bill had told him the time at eight twenty-five. Five minutes ago.

Five minutes!

Joe laid down again and asked for a drink.

The Trouble With The Socialist Party

AS an agency in diffusing the philosophy of Socialism throughout society, the Socialist party has been a brilliant success. As a theory, Socialism has been made popular by the Socialist party. But this work is done, and the urgent need is for an active, potent, virile, agency to carry the theory into practice, and make Socialism a real force in politics and industry. Whether or not the Socialist party is to become this agency depends upon the ability of the organization to adapt itself to new requirements. If it persists in being inflexible, if it persists in becoming a narrow creed based on what some patron saint thought, said, or wrote several years ago, its usefulness will soon become that of a historic relic, a fossilized effect of a past evolutionary period.

There is absolutely no doubt that Socialism, like all forces of evolution, has power to secure those ways and means necessary to accomplish its ends; but the rapidity of its forward movement in the immediate future depends upon whether the Socialist party is to become an obstruction clinging to the past, or an organization that can move forward, both revolutionary and efficient.

It is absolutely impossible for the Socialist party to carry on the work before it without more funds. More funds can

only be secured by raising the membership dues. And even with more funds, if administration is to continue as ununified, scattered, and inefficient as it is today, the increased income will be wasted as easily as the present income is wasted, as far as accomplishing effective results are concerned. If the membership dues were raised to ten dollars per year the cost to the average Socialist would be no greater than at present, for most every Socialist gives as much or more than this each year to be spent inefficiently and ineffectually.

The Socialist party must adopt a radical change in its relation toward the labor movement, for no Socialist organization can longer prosper unless it is organized both politically and industrially. It had as well be admitted first as last that there is little common ground for a labor movement that recognizes the profit system as a legitimate social institution and the Socialist party that professes to abhor that system and is determined to destroy it. There must be a labor organization within the Socialist party, for, unless the party is able to champion the cause of the revolutionary working class both on the political and the industrial field, it can not carry out the historic mission of socialism and must relegate itself to the past.

— H. A. MERRICK.

Two Poems

The Vagabond

I wander alone upon the earth.
I have no friend, no wife, no child to call my own.
Not a soul shares the rigors or the joys of my way.

And yet, I am but rarely sad,
Perhaps there is a little sadness in my days,
Like that which creeps into the days of Indian summer—
A sadness whimsical, transitory—
That casts transparent shadows
On gleaming colors and gay fancies
And quivers in the music of the sudden gusts of wind
That set the leaves to rustling down the footpaths
By slow rivers.

But for the most part I am glad.

And why not be glad!

Though I am scorned and outcast,
I am far more free
Than men who in the cities madly labor
On the treadwheel of the Money God,
Forever hoping to reach Freedom on the step above,
But forever finding it no nearer.
Their endless toil makes drab and their petty vices tarnish
The souls which should be radiant.
Their futile scorn but gives me courage to go on my way.

Yea, I am glad!

For days which men in cities spend in paying
For a Past that was a burden and saving
For a Future that may never come,
I spend in glorying in the Here and Now.
Though I am alone,
My loneliness gives me time
To joy in Life's evanescent glories,
Which the toil-driven in haste pass by
Or vainly dream on.

So, on sweet summer mornings,
When men, bound to the grinding wheels of Commerce,
Wake, unwilling, to the summons of the city,
Protesting, as they hear the clang of cars, the shriek of
whistles,
The dull, increasing roar of wagons on the pavement,
"Must we still go on!"
I drift from dream-free slumbers into a fresh new day,
And, as the morning wind moves softly
Through tall grasses and low-bending trees,
I listen tensely while the first faint stirrings of the Forest
World
Swell mightier and mightier into a song that sends up to the
sun the cry

"We're glad to live! So glad to live!"
And in the long days
When the city-bound bend limp and joyless over galling
tasks,
That cramp their muscles, dull their eyes and numb their
souls,
I trudge far down my winding, luring road,
My muscles sinewy like the young green tree,
Head up before the friendly onslaughts of the winds.
And when those wonder-working winds,
That spread the pollen in the spring and the ripe seed in the
fall,
Sing to me their wild, exotic songs,
My soul, care-free and joyous, answers them,
As does the meadow lark.

Then, too, there are the nights.
When city men, searching for the day's lost joy
In dives and tawdry dance halls,
Drown their souls in uncouth, rakish clamors,
I watch the moon rise silently and gild the fog-haze on the
hills;
I watch the short, swift journeys of the shooting stars,
So like careers of humans mad for glory.
One moment they blaze forth meteoric, dazzling,
And then vanish,
Leaving but the question whence they come and whence they
go.
And pondering on that question,
Out there beneath the stern, blue vault of Heaven,
I seem almost to grasp the Infinite

Yea, but I am glad!

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

Immaturity

A gaffer scored a gay young boor:
"Young man," he carped, "You're immature!
A cub, a tadpole, just a sprout!
The way you prance and gag and spout
Is more than man can long endure.
Young sir, you're callow, immature!"

"Oh," cried the wag, "Now, you don't say!
That means I'm far from your decay.
Go on and rave! Maturity,
Old sire, is no decoy for me.
The ripe vine falls into decline;
The sprout has still to be a vine!

"I know if you but had your way,
For my red blood you'd give me whey,
And for my spontaneity,
Old dogmas tempered carefully.
Methuselah, I do abjure
Them all. Hurray, I'm immature!"

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

The Poetry of Ruth Le Prade

By David Bobspa

RUTH LE PRADE, one of the most promising of the younger group of Western writers, early espoused the cause of humanity. Her poetry is palpitant with life and love for all life. Passing through the weary way of crass materialism into a rich and beautiful life of spirituality, she has caught the vision of a democratic earth. Activity in the Socialist and Pacifist movements has brought her into prominence in the radical world. Her poetry was early recognized by Edwin Markham, who wrote a beautiful tribute to the young Los Angeles poet in his introduction to her book, "A Woman Free, and Other Poems."

Ruth began her literary career by contributions to the Socialist and labor press of California under the title of "In Passing." She is known by her Golden State comrades by the simple name of "Ruth."

"A Woman Free" is one of the finest poems of liberated womanhood in current literature. It begins:

Oh I am a woman free! My song
Flows from my soul with pure and joyful strength.
I shall be heard thru all the noise of things—
A song of joy where songs of joy were not.
My sister singers, singing in the past,
Sang songs of melody but not of joy—
For woman's name was sorrow, and the slave
Is never joyful, tho he smiles.
I am a woman free. Too long
I was held a captive in the dust. Too long
My soul was surfeited with toil or ease
And rotted as the plaything of a slave.
I am a woman free at last
After the crumbling centuries of time.
Free to achieve and understand;
Free to become and live.

And, after reciting the story of woman's emancipation, the poem ends:

Oh I am free! My song
Flows from my soul with pure and joyful strength;
It shall be heard thru all the noise of things—
A song of joy where songs of joy were not.
Oh I am free! I thrill
With radiant life and gladness.
I advance towards all that waits for me.
I chant the song of freedom as I go.
My face is toward the sun,
My soul is toward the light,
My feet are turned toward all that waits for me.
I advance! I advance!
Let ignorance and Tyranny
Tremble at sound of my song!

Ruth has ever been a devotee at the shrine of liberation, and one of her latest poems, published for the first time in "The Dead Line" is:

THE REBEL

If God is a tyrant—
Then shall I rebel against him;
I shall summon hosts of angels
To rebel against him;
I shall never rest
Until with Satan as my ally
I storm the gates of heaven—
And overthrow Him!

It is with a different vision that Ruth turns to the beauties of nature, when her heart swells with such songs as:

THE PURPLE WISTERIA

The purple wisteria grows upward, seeking the stars,
Sweet is its perfume, strangely sweet;
And silver are its leaves, fairy leaves.

I walk in the moonlight near the purple wisteria which grows
upward, towards the stars.
I walk in the moonlight near the strange, sweet flower that I
love so.

Oh the mystery of the night is in my blood!
And the charm of the moonlight is in my heart!
And the fragrance of the flower thrills thru my soul!
Oh I am mad with strange and passionate joy!

Flower that I love so, flower that grows upward, seeking the stars;
Flower with strange, sweet perfume and the silver fairy leaves;
Why do you thrill me with such strange and passionate joy?
Why do you madden me with ecstasy divine:

Flower that I love so, your beauty vibrates thru my soul forever—
Oh help me upward, for I, too, am seeking the stars!

Like a benediction from the Man of Galilee, reads:

WE CANNOT MOUNT ALONE

Oh I would mount to the bright stars;
I would be joyful always;
I would be pure and full of strength;
But alas, I cannot—

For as long as one man is sorrowful and broken
I, too, am sorrowful and broken.
As long as one woman is surrounded with vileness
I, too, am surrounded with vileness;
And as long as one soul is weak
I, too, am weak.

No bird falls to the earth with broken wings;
No lily's lovely whiteness turns to brown
But I, too, am affected.
And as long as one small child sobs in the night
My heart will answer, sobbing too.

The stars are bright, tho they are far away.
I cannot mount to them alone,
Nor would I if I could.
I am no nearer to them than the level of the lowest man.
I can but lift myself by raising him.

Humanity is one, we cannot rise apart;
And joy, that strange, sweet thing which all men seek,
Is never found by those who seek alone.

The stars are bright tho they are far away.
We cannot climb towards them apart.
Oh let us wake, thrilled with radiant love,
And mount forever upward, hand in hand!

A strange cry of vividity we discover in the opening lines of "Because Your Beauty Is":

Darkness, Earthquake and Storm,
And I in the ruins alone,
With my crumbling heart at my feet.
Then the luminous whiteness of your soul shone down upon me;
And I lifted my face, unto your love—
A love which folds all creatures to your breast,
The love of Socrates and Christ;
Understanding all,
Forgiving all,
Hoping all—
And I was glad
Because your beauty is!

Ruth is young in years of this life, but an old soul, universal in her loves and passions. She has lived such messages as:

I have loved winds that wander, tossing trees, tossing the
silver leaves;
Touching my body softly or with rude strength;
Blowing thru my hair; saluting me and passing on.

I have loved flowers that blow;
Silver lilies, purple poppies, orange flowers, honeysuckles,
pansies, lilacs, geraniums, violets.
I have loved the contact of grass, and of the trees;
Of the brown earth, pregnant with promise.

* * *

Because I have clasped hands with nature I can clasp hands
more knowingly with man.

Oh I have thrilled with all his strange and passionate joy;
And I have wept with all his sorrows.
I have loved him in his beauty and his strength;
I have loved him in his struggle and his pain.
I have loved him to the heights and depths—
And I have understood.

Oh more than everything have I loved man.
I have loved man more than God—
For man is God made manifest.

The same theme shines recurrent in:

I AM A WOMAN AND I LOVE

Amid the darkness and the doubt
I kneel and do not know.
Around me the wild dust
Of un forgotten dreams is blown;
And in my ears the sound of tortured souls.

Amid the horrors of the dark
I kneel and do not know.
I do not know, I do not know,
There is not anything I know—
Except—

I am a woman and I love;
I am a woman and I love—
Not one man only, but all men;
Not one child only, but all children;
And not one nation only, but the world.

And what a rapturous little stanza this:

Dost thou know where the fairies live?
The fairies live in the lilies white,
And in the silver soft moonlight;
The fairies live in mad delight
Within my heart—tonight.

In past incarnations the soul of Ruth has known the white
heat of passion, else how were such lines as:

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO LOVE TOO MUCH

If I had loved you less,
I might have been a happy woman,
So they say.

If I had loved less,
If I had not ventured all—and lost.
If I had not hurled defiance
At the cold respectability of man
And faced the censure of a world.

But, dear, I could not love you less.
You came into my life
Like a song when all was still,
Like a bird where birds were not,
Like a bright star in a black, black night.

I could not love you less;
I would not give the wild, strange sweetness of your kiss,
The sound of your dear voice saying, "I love you!"
For everything the world could yield.

If I had loved you less,
I might have held you longer.
But, dear, I would not breathe one word of blame.
Whatever you have done, I know
That for a while you loved me.

We few sad souls who stray with Love
Out of the cage where men have bid us sing,
Have learned some things while we were 'mid the stars.

And tho the race, its false conventions spurned,
Would cry us down into the depths of hell,
We rise triumphant, hurling our glad words
Across eternity—
The stars know they are true!

There is no price too great to pay for love.
It is not possible to love too much!

For the pedanticism of the ages Ruth has her fling:

Oh these exalters of reason, of the cold intellect;
These worshippers at the tombs of the dead;
These men of petty vision and of rules!
With dead languages, dead philosophies, dead thots.
They shut themselves from the sunlight,
And demand that others do likewise.

They are but ghouls
Feasting on the dead.

Ruth would weld the heart of humanity into a perfect
unity, and her faith visions through triumph of

SOLIDARITY

In the long night a word was spoken;
And when the Masters heard it—
They who feed on children's blood and women's flesh—
They hid their faces from the stars and cried:
"It must not be!"

In the long night a word was spoken;
And when the workers heard it—
They who build the world with strength and fearful pain—
They turned their faces towards the stars and cried:
"It shall be so!"

In the long night a word was spoken;
A single word—yet empires fell and systems turned to dust.
And thru the lessening gloom a white bird rose,
Singing a hymn unto the dawn.

And still another gem of different type:

Forget? Forget!
Perhaps when the stars have crumbled
And the dust of the worlds blow wild
I will forget.

Perhaps when my tortured soul
Has risen from its last cross
I will forget.

Forget? Forget!
Yes, I will forget
When you have forgotten.

From Ruth's manuscripts I select; almost at random, this
unpublished poem, written a few days ago, and unchristened:

Do not ask for my love
I have locked the door of my heart,
I have thrown away the key.

It is useless to ask for my love,
I have locked the door of my heart;
I have thrown away the key.

But who is this who comes striding over the earth?
And what is it he holds in his hand?—
Oh, now I tremble and am afraid!

Ruth is not an imitator. She possesses originality and in
the few years that I have known her, has grown in power,
and is expressing her message unhampered by conventionality.
She does, however, belong to that school of poets represented
by the greatest of all American singers, the Good Gray Poet.
It is appropriate to close this little visit to Ruth's Los Ange-
les home with her tribute

TO WALT WHITMAN

Dear Father, you called for those who were to justify you.
Behold they appear!
With a loud shout they announce themselves.

The Impotence of Direct Action

By Alanson Sessions

LESTER F. WARD, probably without a peer in the realm of sociology, has elaborated a celebrated theory entitled "The Indirect Method."

The gist of this theory is that all progress is made by adapting means to an end. Any advancement or improvement is accomplished by strategy and direct action is the very negation of strategy.

To illustrate: A huge stone is to be moved. The first impulse of the unthinking savage is to use "direct action" on the stone, and so he attacks it with his bare hands. The man of reason, however, employing strategy, adopts a policy of indirect action, and, securing a stick of timber, uses it as a lever. He thus moves the stone.

The latter method is doubtless a circumlocutory one, but its efficacy, compared with the former, is indubitable.

This great principle is applicable to movements of social reform. There are many reform organizations extant that come under the general classification of direct actionism. Among them are the prohibitionist parties, the associations campaigning for legislation abolishing sex vice, and others of a similar nature. While such legislation often accomplishes good, it rarely effects a fundamental solution of the evils which it seeks to remedy, and oftentimes it renders conditions far more complicated than they were previously.

The red light abatement laws in many states are flagrant examples. These laws were intended to abolish, to a greater or lesser extent, prostitution and its attendant evils. After several years, not only have these laws failed to do this, but the unlicensed and uninspected prostitutes, plying their trade clandestinely, have spread venereal disease until the situation has become deplorable.

The scientific way to deal with sex vice is to ascertain the CAUSES, which are largely social and economic, and then eradicate them.

This indirect method, true, is not so spectacular as the direct method, but it constitutes a fundamental remedy.

Prohibition will unquestionably accomplish some good. Among the beneficial results will be the absence of the corner saloon to constantly tempt the passing youth. Blind pigs

will abound, of course, but the uninitiated youth is not inclined to travel the devious pathways necessary in such a case to acquire the liquor habit.

Outside of this, however, little good will result. Our direct action friends, the prohibitionists, fail to consider the underlying cause of inebriety. They naively suppose that the only reason that men imbibe injurious beverages is because those drinks exist. And, of course, proceeding upon this hypothesis, its corollary follows, namely, that the way to abolish intemperance is to banish alcohol.

This entire line of reasoning is fallacious and superficial. The man who craves the intemperate use of alcohol is either abnormal or else he is surrounded by abnormal social and economic institutions. As the vast majority of men are congenitally normal, it follows that social and economic conditions are largely responsible for the appalling amount of intoxicants consumed in this country annually.

The number of economic and social causes of inebriety are legion, and an enumeration of all of them would require the space in a good-sized book. But we can safely say that most of them come under the general head of POVERTY.

Francis Willard, one of the noblest women of our century, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of temperance, in an address shortly before she died, said: "For twenty-five years, I have said that intemperance was the cause of poverty. I now say, after twenty-five years' experience, that POVERTY IS THE CAUSE OF INTEMPERANCE."

Chester H. Rowell, editor of the Fresno "Morning Republican," a man of broad social outlook and of astounding erudition, has the following to say concerning the drink problem, "Most men, if they cannot get liquor, will be sober most of the time. Most men, if they can get liquor, will be drunk most of the time. It is those whose lives are barren and monotonous and whose lives lack resource and initiative, who normally need outside coercion to protect them from drink."

Here is a candid admission by a non-Socialist that the sanest method of abolishing a great portion of drunkenness is to surround men with decent living conditions.

Prohibition, unless accompanied by a program materially ameliorating the working and living conditions of men and women, can accomplish little. Much praise has been heaped upon the ex-Czar of Russia for prohibiting the consumption of the national drink, vodka, but recent reports have been verified that the miserable peasants, in their extremity, have resorted to the use of various poisonous concoctions that have caused the death of hundreds.

This is eloquent proof that the causes that make for inebriety persist, unalleviated, even after the adoption of prohibition.

What the world needs is a sane economic and social arrangement of society. The soul-deadening poverty, financial worry and nerve-wracking economic uncertainty that characterize our present social system are almost entirely responsible for the liquor evils. When these evils have been abolished by an era of co-operation, laws, passed for the purpose of abolishing social maladjustments, will be universally considered utopian and unnecessary.

* * *

"I believe the Co-operative movement, by purifying and elevating commerce, will make it a nobler and worthier instrument for promoting the friendship of the world."—Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Rough are they with the touch of the wind;
Magnetic with the touch of the sun;
And their voices are strong, beautiful.

But those who feared you and ran from you
Are equally frightened by them.
The past-worshippers, the mediocre, the feeble-souled, the tiny-
minded, the scholars who feed on dead men's bones,—
All these are confused and recede.

They will have none of you nor your fearless brood.
They shut themselves in closed houses, fearing the wind;
The sunlight might fade their carpets; so they die.

Oh why did you ask to be justified?
To the understanding you are already justified;
And to the rest you can never be.

Does the earth need to be justified? or the sun?
Wise men once said the earth was flat.
The earth in its greatness was silent.
And if I, gazing at the sun,
Contend it gives no light—
I merely prove myself a fool.

The Future of the Socialist Party

By Ralph Korngold

THE editor has asked me to write my opinion about the future of the Socialist party. It is a bold undertaking in these bewildering days to write about the future of any existing thing. It seems as if destiny of late had taken a special pleasure in putting prophets to shame.

I have an acquaintance who is noted for diplomacy. When asked a question he generally replies, "Yess and no," and then proceeds to argue both possibilities. This is an excellent rule for a prophet to follow; and I shall confine my prophecies to what may happen if certain eventualities transpire, and to what may happen if they do not transpire. This will give me at least two chances of being proven not altogether wrong.

There has been a remarkable increase in the socialist vote since our participation in the war. The National office of the party gives out the following figures:

New York City: 1913, 32,000; 1917, 150,000.

Chicago: 1916, 16,000; 1917, 85,000.

Cleveland: 1915, 6,000; 1917, 27,000.

Dayton: 1916, 4,800; 1917, 12,000.

Toledo: 1915, 2,800; 1917, 14,903.

Rochester: 1916, 1,450; 1917, 8,200.

There has not been a corresponding increase in party membership. The National office announces that the membership has passed the 100,000 mark. This is an increase of about twenty to twenty-five percent since our entrance into the war; it is about 25,000 less than the highest level reached by the party.

Still one has to consider that many timid people are fearful to join the party at this time. They see visions of court-martials and lynching-bees if found in possession of a red card. This may explain the comparatively slight increase in membership. It no doubt does explain it to a considerable extent.

The election returns, superficially viewed, are very encouraging. I must confess that I do not view them with undiluted satisfaction. A part of the increase in our vote is due to the pacifists who vote the socialist ticket because their views on the war correspond with those of the socialists, and because they find in the Socialist party a rallying point and a means of protest. This increase in our vote is legitimate. There is a point of contact between the pacifist and the socialist. The pacifist's opposition to war is genuine. From mere sentimental opposition to war it is but a step to an understanding of the causes of war, and a conversion to socialism.

But what part of the increase in our vote is due to the support of genuine pacifism? How much of the pacifism in the United States is genuine?

The situation in this country is extremely complicated. Just before our entrance into the war I attended an immense pacifist meeting in the Coliseum in Chicago. At that meeting mention of Germany's submarine warfare was vigorously applauded by a not inconsiderable part of the audience!

No one can fail to observe that many of the so-called pacifists are German patriots and militarists whose opposition to war is limited to opposition of war against Germany. They would have applauded a war with England most heartily.

There is no question that thousands of these pro-German militarists and patriots have been voting the socialist ticket. These people are entirely out of sympathy with the socialist

movement. The reasons that lead them to vote the socialist ticket are the very opposite of the reasons that animate the sincere socialist or pacifist. **And it is a policy of short-sighted opportunism not to repudiate most emphatically this aid which is a reproach to us.** No lasting benefit can come to the Socialist party as a result of this silent acceptance of this militaristic aid. These reactionaries will desert us as soon as the war is over. They may desert us sooner if the militarists to whom they are in temporary opposition succeed in frightening them sufficiently.

o o o

Certain causes will operate to decrease our vote after, and even before the war.

The German militarists and patriots whose aid we have tacitly accepted will desert us. Let us speed their going.

There will grow up a deep resentment against the Socialist party among many people. A workingman may not have been enthusiastic about the war; he even may have been opposed to it; but having lost a son in the war he will put away all doubt about the justice of the war. To believe that his son had died in anything except a worthy cause would seem to him like a slur on his son's memory. He will feel a resentment amounting to hatred against a party that decries the justice of the war. It is a difficulty the socialists may have to contend with for many years after peace will have been declared. The greater the number of casualties to American soldiers the more ears of relatives and friends we may expect to find closed to us.

And yet this complicated situation presents another possibility.

If the war lasts a long time, with constantly increasing sacrifices on the part of the American people, and the hope of victory wanes, then the resentment of the people will turn against those responsible for the useless sacrifice. It will then be natural for the masses to turn to the socialists as the men whose counsel should have been heeded.

But even in the event of a complete victory by the allies, the Socialist party will have to be reckoned with.

Every great war has been followed by a period of industrial depression. This war can best be compared with the Napoleonic wars. Following the Napoleonic wars nearly every country in Europe was swept by revolution. Terrible unemployment in England gave birth to the Chartist movement. Germany, France, Spain, all had to make concessions to liberalism. The first International was a child of that period.

One would have to be blind indeed not to see that something very similar, though far more wide-spread and profound will follow in the wake of this war. Already labor in England and in France—though supporting the governments as a man out on the ocean in an open boat supports his companion in misery though that companion may be chiefly responsible for his plight—is speaking with a voice of defiance, and is hungering for the day of reckoning.

When the war industries no longer receive orders for war supplies; when millions of men returning home find that their patriotic employers, grown rich by the war, have no work for them; when wages and prices go tumbling; when breadlines of hitherto unknown length appear in the cities—then the people will awake from their intoxication. Fine phrases will then no longer suffice. You may get men to die cheer-

(Continued on Page 35)

Marriage and Free Love

By Marion Miller

EMMA GOLDMAN says that love does not necessarily have anything to do with marriage. But I think that it often may, and that marriage has a great deal to do with love. Let us not call marriage a complete failure because it often fails. One doesn't want to be called a complete fool because he does a few foolish things. One doesn't refuse all food because he can't eat cabbage. The fault is not, I say, in marriage, but in the uses the world has made of it.

As to men and women's marrying without proper acquaintance with one another, knowledge of life and sex—that is a different matter. But let us not condemn marriage for women because hitherto it has made her the slave and parasite of her husband. There are better possibilities in this institution, and it is for each couple to draw up its own agreements on the case. If they wish to stick to the spirit of the wedding ceremony, and the word, all right. But they can also refuse to do so.

To be sure, a girl should be instructed in sex life and her duties as a wife. That she isn't is not the fault of the marriage institution.

Also, if a woman wishes to "learn the mystery of sex without the sanction of marriage" that is a matter of her own. But I believe that this is wise, or, at least, desirable, for only a few women—women who indeed are "big enough" to understand fully themselves and their circumstances, and the consequences of their action. Nor do I agree that a woman's passion is her most intense craving in general; that lack of satiating this will undermine her health, stunt her vision, or break her spirit, as Emma Goldman says. Nor can I see that the glory of sex experience does the woman any permanent good. Perhaps it is pleasing—but does it make her life any broader or greater? Within limits, I mean. To be sure, she has the experience, and in that, may be superior to the virgin. But you get my argument. She may be broader minded after all this—but not unless she was narrow-minded before.

The sex passion, per se, was never created as a help, by Nature, it is only its result that benefits the race.

To be sure, love is free, in that it can not be bought. But once given, it will sacrifice. And it will endure marriage for the sake of home and children. In speaking of the love for children born out of wedlock having better care than others, of which Emma Goldman speaks, I wish to say that I do not believe that a woman, shunned by the world because she has an illegitimate child, will lavish all her love on it that she is denied the privilege of showing to others; and the extra pity for it she has because the world **does** revile it, will give more intensity to her love. But that is caused by the treatment of others, not herself. I think, too, that Miss Goldman confuses the issue. A woman may love a man enough to allow sex experience and even long for it, and yet not desire a child.

And it is, too, for the sake of the child and the home, that I condone marriage. A legal ceremony that will give the law a right to care for children, dispose of them if neglected, is necessary. I think divorces should be made easier.

A woman need not consider herself a parasite on a man if she helps make his home, and bears his children. Indeed, she does the biggest share. As long as economic conditions are as they are, "free love," used in its common sense, is impossible. And even if mothers were supported by the State, women would in small degree care for "free love"—

and I distinguish this from "free intercourse."

That is where Emma Goldman makes her big mistake. A man and a woman may have the greatest passionate attachment, without having any "love" for each other. That is why our marriages are so often failures. People mistake physical attraction for love. It would be utter folly for the couple whose only bond is passion, to marry. But for those whose attraction is both love and passion, if they are also wise, marriage will be a blessing.

The only way out is education—education that will teach us to distinguish between love and passion—education that will train the young in the sense of values between the two. Of course, doubtless some experience is necessary in this, but not necessarily sex experience. "Spooning" should be sufficient—or even a broad, theoretical training along that line.

And when we get this, I doubt if men and women will care for what is commonly understood as "free love." They may still care for "free passion," but I hold that the two are distinct.

Nature Cures

A book which it is no exaggeration to say that everybody should read and whose hints they should practice, is "Nature Cure" or "Philosophy and Practice Based on the Unity of Disease and Cure," by H. Lindlahr, M. D., a copy of which has recently been received by THE INTERNATIONALIST. That the work has met with great favor is evidenced by the fact that it is now in its eighth edition.

In a word, the book advocates natural living both as a prophylactic and a cure of disease. Answering the query, "What are the natural methods of living and of treatment?" it says:

"1. Return to nature by the regulation of eating, drinking, breathing, bathing, dressing, working, resting, thinking, the moral life, sexual and social activities, etc., on a normal and natural basis.

"2. Elementary remedies, such as water, air, light, earth cures, magnetism, electricity, etc.

"3. Chemical remedies, such as scientific food selection and combination, homeopathic medicines, simple herb extracts and the vito-chemical remedies.

"4. Mechanical remedies, such as corrective gymnastics, massage, magnetic treatment, osteopathic manipulation and when indicated, surgery.

"5. Mental and spiritual remedies, such as scientific re- tention, normal suggestion, constructive thought, the prayer of faith, etc."

Such a platform on which to base a system of therapeutics naturally appeals favorably to liberal, forward-looking people. An increasing number are coming to rely on natural methods, supplemented by generous doses of optimistic thinking and will power, and to these "Nature Cure" by Dr. Lindlahr will be an especially helpful volume, translating, as it does, an abstract principle into concrete rules, facts and advice.

"Nature Cure" should be in every home. It is a work which THE INTERNATIONALIST can unequivocally recommend. If its teachings were followed by human being habitually, disease and the general run of human weaknesses would be pretty scarce articles.

It is published by the Nature Cure Publishing Co., 525 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, and costs \$2.15.—E. D.

What Thinkers Think

Gems of Comment From Current Periodicals

—A world league, including Germany as a principal partner, will be a defensive league standing steadfast against the threat of a world imperialism, and watching and restraining with one common will the homicidal maniac in its midst.—H. G. Wells, "The New Republic."

—The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government.—Woodrow Wilson, "Scientific American."

—To deny a man the right to his conscience is the highest form of treason to the American States.—Oswald Garrison Villard, "New York Evening Post."

—France and Great Britain are disappointed at the slowness with which the United States is bringing its war preparations to fruition.—"The Independent."

—An efficient kitchen should satisfy the eye as a picture in which every principle of practical art is made use of and every principle of efficiency that a factory manager might install is yet especially adapted to the varied operations of work in the home.—Mildred Maddocks, "Independent."

—It would be a piece of slave-raiding to take Alsace-Lorraine and give it to France without inquiring into the wishes of the people living in Alsace-Lorraine by a local test vote.—Steven T. Byington, "The Public."

—My experience in political reform work has taught me that business men, as a whole, are the most uninformed on affairs connected with the political and economic functions of their government. Leaders of organized labor as a rule are statesmen compared with them.—Theo. T. Thieme, "The Public."

—The coldness of a dog's nose is due to the fact that it must be kept moist all the time in order to sharpen his sense of smell.—Berwick "Advertiser."

—The treachery of the Allies in forsaking the Russian people itself warrants the Bolsheviks in making a separate peace.—Emma Goldman, "Mother Earth Bulletin."

—In short, all truth is inherently un-Christian, for Christianity—its theory—is a delusion. It is absolutely opposed to free scientific research, and as such should be kicked out of doors and forgotten.—Theodore Dreiser, "Call Magazine."

—Nietzsche himself must bear much of the blame for the current misunderstanding of him. His aphoristic style makes for exaggerated emphasis.—"The New Republic."

—In the Erie Canal there are 150,000 horsepower unused; in the Niagara river, there are probably a million unused.—Franklin K. Lane, "Review of Reviews."

—Today Pershing has an army in France at least twice as great as that army which Grant commanded when he set out for Richmond in the spring of 1864.—Frank H. Simonds, "Review of Reviews."

—If I had the power I would write three new articles into our national creed: (1) Universal military training; (2) the United States the first air power in the world; (3) a two-ocean battle-cruiser fleet.—Eminent Naval Authority in "Review of Reviews."

—The National Nonpartisan League, or some other organization embodying the ideas that are its basis, will control the United States.—John Thompson, "Review of Reviews."

—The Kaiser is what he is because the preachers are what they are; and the preachers are what they are because the professors of theology and philosophy and biblical exegesis sold themselves to the Kaiser.—Dr. Joseph Odell, "Current Opinion."

—Christ's words: "They that take by the sword shall perish by the sword," so often quoted by the pacifists are not a defense of pacifism but a plain justification of the taking of the sword against those who would use it in wars of aggression.—Abraham Mitrie Ribbany, "Current Opinion."

—The universal application of the Sinn Fein motto would mean the death of Ireland, for only the spirit of international altruism could prevent so small a nation from going under in the struggle for existence.—"The Independent."

—We revolutionary internationalists are more dangerous enemies of German reaction than all the governments of the Allies taken together.—Leon Trotzky, "The Class Struggle."

—That Gompers should betray labor into the clutches of American plutocracy is not surprising. He has always been a constant political lackey for Democratic politicians.—Adolph Germer, "The Class Struggle."

—Teach military discipline under compulsion to English schools, and in two generations you will have produced in England all that we have most detested and ridiculed in the German life and character.—"The London Nation."

—It is the easiest thing in the world to condemn a man to death while stuffing him with the fattest calories to be found in the grocery store.—Alfred W. McCann, "Physical Culture."

—South Carolina is the only State in the Union that altogether forbids divorce.—Gordon Reeves, "Physical Culture."

—Russia could not logically want to campaign with guns and rifles against Europe in the name of anti-monarchism and anti-capitalism, because by such action she would deny her revolution's origin and its fundamental principles.—Harold Lenine, "Labor Scrap Book."

—In the United States the money of account is increasing twenty times as fast as the volume of the basic gold.—Herman Cahn, "Labor Scrap Book."

—Recently it was made clear, through the publishing of state papers, that world financiers met at Berne last September to bring about peace. The reason they did so was their fear of the growth of the radical movement if the war went on.—Roger Babson, "Wall Street Report."

—God is now leading the armies of the Allies.—Billy Sunday, "The Independent."

—Under the guise of "making the world safe for democracy" and protecting the rights of smaller nations, Russia is about to be made the victim of the imperialists of the world.—Irvin E. Klein, "Call Magazine."

—A Russel Sage foundation investigation revealed the fact that in 78 cities examined, one half of the children leave school before they are 14, and half leave before completing the sixth grade.—Dr. John J. Kallen, "Call Magazine."

—Poverty and its attendant evils are due to inherent mental and physical defects, while infant mortality is fundamentally a problem of eugenics.—A. Ploetz, "Journal of Heredity."

—There were about 1,500,000 Armenians in the Turkish Empire in 1914, while at the present time there are perhaps 700,000, the remaining 800,000 having been exterminated.—Burton J. Hendrick, in "World's Work."

—In women the stirrings of the inferior nervous centers are not so firmly controlled by the supreme centers as in man. Hence, they are at once more suggestible and emotional.—Prof. E. A. Ross, "Critic and Guide."

—A patient ought not to read in the prone position—no one should; the retina is accustomed to receiving horizontal light rays, and a reclining angle develops new and painful angles.—L. E. Burbanks, "Critic and Guide."

—Mr. Garabed T. K. Giragossian claims to have discovered a way to utilize, without burning of fuel or other expenditure of labor or material, what he calls "free energy."—"Scientific American."

—Government bonds are reckoned so stable that they have always been desired as vehicles for safely handing on to his children a man's accumulations.—Edmond C. Converse, "The Independent."

—We are headed toward a food scarcity within a year compared to which the fuel scarcity of this winter can be called only a childish trifle.—Agnes C. Laut, "The New Republic."

—Germany's victories will never force the Entente to accept a peace of violence. If the Germans could take Calais and Paris, and even force France and Italy to capitulate, then there would remain the English safe in their island, and America, protected by the ocean.—Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung."

—Drunkenness does not cause insanity, but both are symptoms of degeneracy.—Dr. Charles W. Burr, "Literary Digest."

BOOKS and READING

By David Bobspa

STOP DODDERING!

"Get well; stop doddering."

Very good advice to all classes of people. All things are possible to a healthy man. To the man weakened by poor health the simple acts of existence are a burden; the warfare for liberation can be carried on inefficiently at the best.

Comes Comrade James R. Nickum with an open sesame to health—of a magic wand that will advance the cause of radicalism by making its adherents an hundred fold more capable of carrying on the fight.

I know there are hundreds upon hundreds of health books; I have read many of them and have shelves full in my library. Some are good—many excellent. But Comrade Nickum has achieved what no health writer in America has heretofore accomplished. He has put in short space, at a price within the reach of all, a manual covering the entire field of getting well and keeping well.

More than this—here is a manual not only dealing with all phases of the most important question of life, but presenting the facts in a readily useable fashion. Fletcher wrote three books on proper mastication but only a few paragraphs at best on exercise; Sanford Bennett gives two most helpful volumes on exercise but merely mentions other health factors; Dr. Tyrell has mentioned other elements of health-seeking in his splendid treatise on hydrotherapy, but made the water cure too prominent a feature; MacFadden's encyclopedia covers the field pretty well, but it is so voluminous and profuse that few besides experts can readily use it to fullest advantage.

The task of James R. Nickum was to test all phases—Fletcherism, exercise, hydrotherapy, diet, mental control, etc.—put them into practice, and from his study and experience compile the only book in the English language that covers all of the field and that is readily available for use by all people.

James R. Nickum was weak physically from infancy—got a wrong start and couldn't catch up. At sixty he was partially paralyzed, given up as incurable by the physicians, and suffering greatly in all parts of his body. But this good socialist warrior wasn't ready to die. He has some good books on Socialism to get out of his system. He set to work to get well.

Stop doddering!

That was his first step. In three years he was a well man. As he sat in my study he pinched me with the hand that had been helpless with paralysis, and the grip was that of an athlete. The wrinkles have gone. The feet that had scarcely been able to shuffle about are today light and springy with the buoyancy of youth. Because the comrade quit doddering.

No miracle. Nothing impossible to at least ninety-nine percent of the human race if we are willing to spend half an hour or so daily in proper exercise, eat rationally and carry on a few simple rules. All of these rules are clearly set forth in Mr. Nickum's treatise, including full systems of exercises that will strengthen every muscle of the body. Everything is written in simple, non-technical style that any school boy can interpret and practice.

And listen, comrades. The poorest man in America can be healthy and with, say one-fourth of the working class increased 100 percent in health, strength and thinking ability, what strides would be possible! Health is fundamental. Whether you are a materialist or mystic, whether you favor political or direct action, whether you are old or young, your value to the working class is primarily measured by your brain power and physical condition.

For this reason, I consider James R. Nickum's book "Stop Doddering," the most important single message I have helped to bring to the attention of the working class of this country. I have the experience to consider myself an expert in dealing with this class of literature, and know what I am saying when I declare "Stop Doddering" the greatest and best health book, the most practical and, therefore, the most valuable, book on health ever written in America. It is pleasant to read, for the kindly spirit and gentle satire of Comrade Nickum lift the treatise into the realm of literature. Further, the author goes to the root of the question of physicians. He shows plainly that Socialism will solve the problem of the graft of the medical trust, as of other economic problems of the social life. Do not misunderstand—I do not infer that the fullness of life can ever be attained under capitalism—but the health can so be increased today that the progress towards liberation will be accelerated

at an unbelievable rate. Under Socialism, no amount of proper conditions will make you healthy unless you live in harmony with nature—and you will have no trouble in this if you will read and practice what Comrade Nickum so clearly sets forth. Isn't it worth while, comrades?

The book is being put out without profit, for the practical application of the Golden Rule. The life snatched from the grave is being devoted to furthering the cause of Humanism. (News Publishing Co., 118 East Market Street, Los Angeles. \$1).

* * *

LITERATURE AT DEMOCRATIC PRICES

All hail and long life to the Stratford 25c Universal library!

In the days characterized by unprecedented (and wholly unnecessary) high prices it is a welcome relief to find a lowering of the price of good books so great as to be almost revolutionary. In nearly every country of the world except America the best literature can be found everywhere at nominal prices—and the people read it. In this country practically all of the best of the world classics have been locked up in expensive volumes that kept the proletariat from enjoying the masters as they should.

But Henry E. Schnittkind isn't a profiteer. He has carried idealism into business—and has thus far made good. He established "The Stratford Journal," without a peer in this country in its field of international literature of first water, and it is firmly established in its second year. Some of the best of recent books have borne the Stratford imprint—and not one mediocre volume can be found in the lists of this house.

"Nine Humorous Tales" by Anton Chekhov is the first of the new Stratford 25c Universal Library. Russian literature with a laugh! Why, we almost thought there wasn't a laugh in all the land of the Bolsheviks. It is true we caught glimpses of it in Saltykov's "A Family of Noblemen" and in Fedor Sologub's short sketches. Dr. Schnittkind and Isaac Goldberg have presented to the English reading public some of the lighter side of Chekhov's versatile workmanship. Says the editor in the introduction:

"'A Work of Art' and 'Vengeance' most closely resemble the type of story generally associated in the public mind with the name of O. Henry. The sad undercurrent of 'Her Gentleman Friend' is likewise not altogether foreign to our native writer. 'Who Was She?' perhaps, is the most Maupassant-like story in the collection, while 'Such Is Fame' strikes a note that is peculiar to the Russian himself. In stories like 'The Scandal Monger,' 'Carelessness,' and 'Overspiced,' Chekhov's humor seems to display a gentle humanity beneath the surface of action. . . . If Chekhov is more humanely self-revealing than de Maupassant, he is on the whole more deep than O. Henry. If O. Henry may be called the American Chekhov with a 'punch,' Chekhov may be equally termed the Russian O. Henry with a caress."

A unique feature of this Universal Library—prettily bound in board—is that the majority of the books in the collection are not reprints, but first editions, published for the first time in this country. Among the titles already announced are "Russian Tales of the Present War"; "Stories of the Steppe" by Gorky; "Short Stories" by Tolstoi; a volume of stories by Artzibashef; the best French Stories by Guy de Maupassant, Dumas, etc.; "The Best Short Stories of The World," by Boccaccio, Balzac, etc.; "Lazarus," by Andreyev.

And, say, comrades, the Stratford Company is open to suggestions as to books you think ought to be placed in this popular Universal Library that is coming to your door at the price of a popular magazine. (The Stratford Company, Boston. 25c per volume.)

* * *

LINCOLN PHIFER'S EXPANSION

Lincoln Phifer's paper-magazine, "The New World" is to leave Girard for more favorable quarters, but will still remain in Kansas. It is not definitely settled where the new headquarters will be, but Comrade Phifer has plans pretty well under way. I'll not make any announcements of further radical changes in his arrangements until he gets ready to do so himself—but you want to keep your eye turned towards Phifer. He has a big message. His plutocracy series rather got under the hide of the plutes. Phifer's new book, "Old Religions Made New," will soon be off the press.

Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

The imminence of the social and political revolution in Germany is evident to the discerning in the great growth and present power of the German Co-operative movement with its program of industrial democracy. A recently received report by the Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th st., New York City, from the Co-operative Distributive, Building and Savings Society, "Produktion" of Hamburg, Germany, shows that it has 7,000 members, a share capital of over \$442,500, an increase over last year of \$37,500. The retail turnover totals about \$3,011,600, an increase of \$1,229,500.

RETAILERS ALARMED AT GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE IDEA

A grocer's paper of San Francisco recently published an article expressing great alarm at the growth of co-operation. The article is financial assistance. There has already been pledged in subscriptions over one million dollars for the establishment of co-operative stores, and for propaganda educational activities. Thirty stores have been organized which are to carry all classes of merchandise to be supplied to members at prices which will eliminate middle profits.

"The aim of the promoters is to place stores in every county in North Dakota, and then to branch out beyond the state and cover as wide a territory as possible. As many stores as are necessary to supply the patrons will be established in each community, with all their requirements."

The article continues:

"The scheme of organization provides that no store shall be founded with a lesser membership than 200. The average is actually 300.

The agreement signed by those who accept membership sets forth very clearly how the company proposes to operate. On the basis of that agreement, a purchaser of a membership certificate pays \$100 to the company. The first \$10,000 so subscribed goes to the establishment of a store. The balance may be used by the said company, either to establish and maintain a central buying agency, or wholesale establishment, or to carry on educational work or propaganda along all lines deemed by the board of directors of the Consumers' United Stores Corporation to be in the interest of or beneficial to farmers, and for the assistance of farmers' organizations, such as relate to the economic, educational or political interests of the farmers, or both.

"Through the organization of this string of stores the Nonpartisan League leaders are hopeful of dominating the retail business of the states in which they operate. Following the stores comes the organizing of banks. A beginning already is evidenced by the success of the League in obtaining control of one bank in Fargo and another in Grand Forks.

The article gives further details of the plan of organization and states that within the year officers of the Consumers' League expect to have 75 stores in operation. Space is also given in the paper to a brief outline of the tremendous strength of co-operative institutions in European countries and states that the war, so far from weakening them, has actually added to their strength and growth.

In summing up its conception of co-operation as a present menace to private retail business, the Advocate states that "a number of leading business men have already suggested that the retailers should also combine and operate their own buying and selling agencies, in this manner achieving the position of being able to successfully compete with the co-operative stores."

This article is truly a fine, free statement of how the retailers actually fear co-operation when once it is firmly and efficiently established. The retailers know full well that at this time when the people are being taught to eliminate waste and unnecessary expense in the handling of goods from factory to consumer the private retailer is doomed to ultimate extinction. Co-operative distribution is right in the spirit of the times and now is the right moment for its active promotion. The louder the cry of the retail grocer's publication, the surer we may be that we are on the right way.

—R. P. BRUBAKER, in "Pacific Co-operator."

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

In Japan there are 5,000 co-operative societies, 2,000 of which are credit unions. These societies have a membership of over half a million. This represents a really remarkable movement toward Japanese economic emancipation, inasmuch as in 1900 there were but 17 societies.

COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION

It is quite evident to students of social problems that our local communities are not going to become completely democratic until the members of the community have learned how to co-operate and have let their knowledge form a habit. But to the co-operator it is clear that this amount of co-operation is not going to be brought about until the members of the community have learned to work together in their own and their mutual interest, with the comfortable assurance that not one of them is making profit out of any of the others. Until the community has this comfortable assurance, it is certain to divide itself up into groups of suspicious people, who would let their prejudice rise above their reason and make impossible a democratic handling of local problems of interest to the whole community.

The system of voluntary economic co-operation, illustrated by the co-operative store society, is well calculated to increase the spirit of co-operation in the community. It must not be forgotten, however, that the co-operative store is but a beginning in community co-operation, although it is fundamental. It would be highly valuable in itself even though it did not lead to other related forms of co-operation since it has the power to regulate prices throughout the whole community, and, in a large measure, to raise the quality of merchandise sold not only in the co-operative stores but in all other stores. But the co-operative store must grow and become more and more a department store, supplying most of the needs of its members; and as it becomes the economic center it will also evolve into the social center for its members, who are ever becoming a larger proportion of the community. Co-operative entertainments—including lectures, plays, moving pictures, library, games, and competitions, picnics and outings, serve to bring the members nearer together and make their lives happier and more worth while.

Every co-operative economic enterprise can give still other benefits to its members. Co-operative insurance is thoroughly practicable; a co-operative bank and loaning institution will be found highly beneficial in many ways; and co-operative housing will be a natural extension of the service of the store. Perhaps even before these things come about a co-operative flour mill and bakery will have proved a big saving.

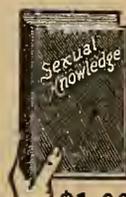
Of course, many co-operative extensions will have to wait on the organization by co-operative stores of their big central wholesale, since it is probable that the wholesale will prove the most satisfactory means here, as it has abroad, of carrying on co-operative insurance, banking and manufacture.

But there is no reason why any community convinced of the value of economic co-operation should not extend the field of its working together almost unlimitedly; and where this community is so fortunate as to possess a newspaper which will aid them in this work, the possibilities of developing a useful, intelligent and happy citizenship are sufficient to enthuse every lover of social progress.

—SCOTT H. PERKY, Secretary Co-operative League of America.

OKLAHOMA CO-OPERATION

In Oklahoma there are at the present time over one hundred thriving co-operative organizations and that many new associations are either in process of formation or are just opening business. Co-operative stores are being organized at El Reno and Oklahoma City. At Chickasha and Shawnee co-operatives are running particularly successfully and doing much to lower the cost of living. The Chickasha store is paying four percent a month on purchases.



SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE

ILLUSTRATED

By WINFIELD SCOTT HALL, M.D., Ph.D.

—SEX FACTS MADE PLAIN

What every young man and
Every young woman should know
What every young husband and
Every young wife should know
What every parent should know

Cloth binding—320 pages—many illustrations

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THE INTERNATIONALIST
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A Pagan Anthology

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Birth Control and Health

(Continued from Page 6)

of their liver, their teeth and eyes. The sub-normal boys and girls are quite a different matter. They should first of all be prevented from breeding, and they should be prevented being born in the future. They are born when parenthood is a crime, when on or both of the parents are unfit for that sacred function.

It is statistically proven that every time the population doubles, the feeble-minded quadruples. It stands to reason that at this state of our industrial evolution the workers cannot follow the "natural" law in breeding the good old sized family of from five to ten children. They have not the vitality. It is nothing less than barbaric and inhuman to keep the working women in ignorance on this subject. There is a great deal of talk about the injustice of the conscription of men for war, but for thousands of years the women have been conscripted for motherhood, where they suffer a thousand times more than any army on the battlefield ever suffered. Yet, most of our radical anti-conscriptionists are thoroughly in accord with the most conservative element when it comes to conscripting our working women for motherhood.

—CAROLINE NELSON.

Socialist Party Future

(Continued from Page 29)

fully when their stomachs are full; you cannot get them to live cheerfully when their stomachs are empty. The men who went abroad to fight for democracy will demand a practical demonstration of democracy at home. The only kind of democracy that proposes to fill hungry stomachs in peace time with anything else except charity soup is industrial democracy.

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Llano---A Soul Laboratory

(Continued from page 13)

the mainspring to his effort. Such men should not be classed as Socialists for they are merely those who have failed to individually gain benefits, and hopes through co-operation with others to secure them. They are socialists through expediency only. They are not to be trusted with power. It requires the laboratory of the colony to learn these things. I feel sure that right now many of the readers of this article are hotly repudiating this allegation and sincerely believe that each person wearing the Socialist label is the genuine Simon-pure article. But there is more counterfeiting of the Socialist principle than of any trade-marked article on the market.

One of the results of the Orton-Hungtown-Harquelin combine was the systematizing of attack on the colony. They are reported to have united with the Los Angeles Crimes. This is an influential organ and its stories are widely copied, as well as are the press stories it is able to send out. Therefore, the colony has been widely branded as a failure. The fact that it still goes serenely on does not prevent a frequent reiteration of its failure in the general press. We have been reading of it for four years now. Four years of continuous failure is quite a record. Many weak-kneed Socialist papers have also taken up the story, some gloatingly, some apologetically with explanations to show why the colony could not succeed.

But the colony goes serenely on.

Colony Development

(Continued from Page 11)

other wild fruits to give variety. In the fall there will be hickory nuts and in some places other nuts which may be stored away for winter.

The people of the nearby towns, those who visit us, and newly arrived colonists, are well pleased at the progress being made. The residents of the colony are being housed comfortably. They are working and achieving.

A great deal might be said about what we are going to do. But we are not saying much about the future plans except an outline of them, for if something happens to cause a change, we are placed in an awkward position. We might go ahead and tell more of what we hope to make of this town here, of how we expect to carry on our farming, of the plans for concentrating largely on one crop which promises to yield heavily and return good dividends with a minimum of labor. We could tell with convincing figures of what we will be able to do within another year, but if adverse weather conditions or something else that cannot be foreseen should intervene, we would have some difficult explaining to do, and there are many who would accuse us of misrepresenting.

When the saw mill and planing mill are set up and in operation, this fact will be recorded. But until that time, little will be said. Therefore, the story of colony development must remain only as interesting as facts justify and not as interesting as imagination and prophecy might make it.

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Many comrades throughout the country have small sums which they have saved, but which they do not know how to invest safely. The colony offers one with gilt-edge security. This land is to be offered for sale by the colony, such portion as will be sold, for \$25 an acre and up.

Sums of \$100 and up will be accepted and land security given. Smaller sums will also be accepted and good security will be given. This will be made known on application. Please write for this information.

Write today and ask the questions you have in mind. If you have money to loan or know of others who have, write us. This is an exceptional opportunity. Now is the time to take advantage of it. It will cost but a stamp to ask what you wish to know. Write AT ONCE.

Loan Bureau, Llano Colony
Leesville, Louisiana